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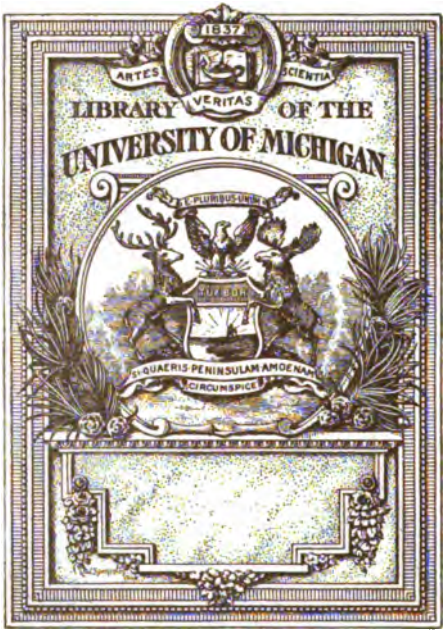
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1875.

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M. E.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1875.

ART. I.—RELIGIOUS IDEAS AMONG BARBAROUS TRIBES.

THE primitive religious sentiments of the human mind may be discussed as a fact, without reference to their genesis. We may inquire into the prevalence of these sentiments among mankind in different ages and countries, and in different stages of intellectual development; and may endeavor to ascertain the strength of the religious principle, and its efficiency in regulating the conduct of mankind. If we find religious notions possessing a general distribution among tribes of men who could not have received them through any other common channel than a common nature; if we find them playing the part of instincts and primitive beliefs; if we find them uniform in nature, and ineradicable under adverse conditions, we shall find in the facts of history and anthropology important corroborations of a conclusion which, we think, may be deductively reached, that the elementary theistic ideas of which we find ourselves in possession are either direct primitive intuitions, or simple spontaneous deductions from primitive judgments.*

* The doctrine of direct intuition—inspiration, faith, feeling—as the source of all religious phenomena, has been maintained by Jacobi, Schleiermacher, Nitzsch, Mansel, and, probably, Hamilton. The doctrine of deductive development is maintained by Cocker, ("Christianity and Greek Philosophy,") and many others. M'Cosh says: "Our conviction of God is not a single instinct incapable of analysis, but is the proper issue of a number of simple principles, all tending to one point." ("Intuitions of the Mind," p. 377.) The writer inclines more and

In searching among barbarous tribes for the presence of primitive religious notions, we must not expect to find them identical, or even similar, in their manifestations. If the principle be present which prompts to action of the religious class, it is the religious principle. To the enlightened conscience of Christianity these actions may be extremely incorrect; but we must recognize the nature of the underlying principle. The conclusions of two scientific men upon a debatable question may stand diametrically opposed to each other—like the conclusions of Locke and Hamilton in reference to intuitive ideas —and we may feel sure that only one conclusion is correct; yet both conclusions, the erroneous not less than the correct, may demonstrate the existence of a thinking faculty.

We must not be surprised to find religious notions, in some extreme cases, unrecognizable or wholly undeveloped. If these notions have to undergo an evolution, however simple, it is conceivable that human condition may somewhere sink so low that the simplest evolution has not yet been completed. If it be proper to regard them as primitive intuitions, it is still to be remembered that the adult human mind may possibly retain, somewhere, a condition of such infantile weakness as not to have come yet into the conscious possession of all its intuitive notions and judgments. In determining what is a law of mind we eliminate certain abnormal cases and conditions—the insane, those wanting in any faculty, and those who are idiotic either from congenital defect or tribal degradation. We shall not deny the universality of the religious nature if an occasional idiot show no signs of its possession, or an occasional tribe, sunken to the level of idiocy, betray no religious consciousness.

I. Prehistoric Peoples.

We do not raise here the question whether the primeval condition of man was one of savagism, because every one will admit that the prehistoric tribes which have come within the scope of modern investigation may have been far removed, at

more to the opinion that the deepest feeling of God is directly intuitional. Upon this supervenes, at an early stage of intellectual development, the deductive judgment. Note how such an opinion grows out of the discussion on which we are entering.

least for the greater part, from the epoch of the first advent of our race.

It would be a circumstance of almost crucial significance, in the present inquiry, if, among the relics of prehistoric peoples, we could discover some evidence on which all might agree, in reference to their religious instincts and practices. Sir John Lubbock and Professor Carl Vogt * are inclined to deny the religious meaning of any of the vestiges of prehistoric men which have yet been found in Europe. On the contrary, Quatrefages, the Duke of Argyll, Figuier,† and other eminent archæologists, fully believe that the Bronze Age, and even the Stone Age, have furnished us with some vestiges which require a religious interpretation.

The oldest indications are from burial customs. In the earliest period of human residence in Europe—known as the Cave-Bear epoch—it was the custom of men to deposit their dead in caves. Single caves were made the tombs of numbers of the deceased. The cavern of Aurignac, in France, contained seventeen human skeletons, by the sides of which lay various implements of stone and reindeer's horn, and a large number of articles of ornament. The mouth of the cavern was closed with an immense slab of limestone. In front of this was a broad terrace which had been employed as a hearth, apparently for roasting the flesh of various animals, whose bones were thickly strewn around. Mingled with the bones were numerous implements of flint—including not less than a hundred flint knives. These and other similar circumstances have been regarded, apparently with good reason, as indicating a belief in future existence, prevailing in the remotest epoch of prehistoric times. The implements and trinkets buried with the dead were votive offerings, like the beads and hatchets of the American Indian, and the wreaths and *immortelles* of our own Christian burial.‡ The funeral feast was offered in honor

* Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," London, 1865; "Origin of Civilization, and Primitive Condition of Man." Yet Lubbock puts a religious interpretation upon Stonehenge, as we shall see. Vogt: "Lectures on Prehistoric Man."

† Quatrefages: *Rapport sur le Progrès de l'Anthropologie*, 1868. Duke of Argyll: "Primeval Man," New York, 1869. Figuier: "Primitive Man," New York, 1870.

‡ Compare E. B. Taylor on "Traces of the Early Mental Condition of Man," Proceedings of the Royal Institute, London, ("Smithsonian Report," 1867, p. 396,) and Lyell, "Antiquity of Man," p. 192.

of the dead, as is still the custom with the Chinese and other eastern nations. These observances imply a belief that the dead have not passed beyond the bounds of life, and consciousness, and sympathy. "The weapons and trophies, the ornaments and joints of meat, placed by the side of the defunct, does not all this seem to establish the fact that a belief in future life existed at an extraordinarily remote epoch? What could have been the use of these provisions for traveling, and these instruments of war, if the man who had disappeared from this world was not to live again in another? The great and supreme truths, that the whole being of man does not die with his material body, is, therefore, innate in the human heart, since it is met with in the most remote ages, and even existed in the mental consciousness of the man of the Stone Age." *

In the Polished Stone Age, immediately following, man seems to have abandoned caverns as places of burial, and to have practiced the construction of what may be styled artificial caverns. These consist of immense slabs of stone resting upon vertical stone slabs or piers, in such a way as to inclose extensive passages or rooms, which could serve as a last resting-place for the dead. These rude constructions are known as *dolmens;* and many of them, if not all, were originally covered by *tumuli*, or mounds of earth. Many of these dolmens were surrounded by vast circuits of rude stone posts, called *menhirs.* Within are found the skeletons of individuals, and often, apparently, of whole families, placed in a sitting posture,† with weapons of war, trinkets, ornaments and clothing, associated with the bones of animals employed for food, and the cinders and ashes, which attest the ceremony of the funeral feast. All these circumstances constitute, as before, the basis of a conviction that the Stone Folk cherished a belief in future existence.‡

Descending to the Bronze Epoch, we discover, in addition to burial rites, some intimations of a prompting to worship.

* Figuier: "Primeval Man," p. 68.

† On the sitting posture in burial, see Lubbock, "Prehistoric Times," pp. 94–102, etc.; Morton, *Crania Americana*, p. 244; Wilson, "Smithsonian Report," 1862, p. 292.

‡ On the care of the dead as evidence of a belief in future existence, see Hériot, "Travels through Canada," p. 357; Herder, "Philosophy of History," vol. i, p. 457, English edition.

Stonehenge and Abury, in England, seem to have been enormous temples of religion. Abury, when perfect, covered an area of twenty-eight and a half acres, and consisted of two concentric circles of great stones, inclosing two smaller double circles, the whole surrounded by an embankment and a ditch, with two avenues bounded by erect stones, extending in two directions. An artificial hill ("Silbury Hill") in the vicinity is still one hundred and seventy feet in height. "Stonehenge," says Sir John Lubbock,* "was at one time a place of great sanctity." *Tumuli* cluster around it in great numbers. "Within a radius of three miles are about three hundred burial mounds, while the rest of the country is comparatively free from them." We can hardly resist the belief that these imposing structures stand in the relation of sacred temples to the cemeteries by which they are surrounded. The practice of burying about the religious temple has descended to our own times. The "church-yard" is the burial-place of the parish. These indestructible stones stand as mute witnesses of the religious practices and beliefs of a people so long passed away that their relics were as much a wonder and a mystery to the ancient Romans as to us.

Another class of relics, of a supposed religious character, has come down to us from the Epoch of Bronze. They are stone crescents, dredged from the Swiss lakes, measuring, sometimes, sixteen inches from point to point. They are ornamented with primitive designs. Some archæologists are of the opinion that they bear some relation to the worship of the sun. This opinion is not improbable, since they seem unfitted for any probable use; and it is known that certain Gallic tribes used a similar crescent for a religious symbol. In addition to these, the designs so often met with on swords and vases of this epoch, representing nothing in nature, seem to possess a cabalistic character. The frequent occurrence of circles and combinations of circles has suggested to some the idea of worship of the sun. Finally, the sign of the cross, which was afterward prevalent among the Etruscans, is one of the most ancient of symbols; and Mortillet † has attempted to prove that the cross has always

* Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 52.

† G. de Mortillet: *La Croix avant le Christianisme.* The cross was also a symbol of the Aztec religion. (Prescott: "Conquest of Mexico," vol. iii, p. 384.)

been the symbol of a sect which contended against fetichism. It is worthy, at least, of suggestion, that these various figures and symbols, which yield us no other intelligible meaning, are further exponents of a real religious nature, residing in the breasts of the rude peoples who vanished from the earth before the dawn of history or tradition.*

II. Religious Notions of Modern Savages.

The religious condition of existing savages has received a large amount of attention and study. Writers somewhat unanimously concur in the statement that the tribes with whom they have had intercourse manifest, in some degree, a religious consciousness. It will not be necessary to adduce very extensive testimonies to this effect, but some examples will prove interesting and suggestive.

Beginning with the savages of North America within the limits of the United States, we cite the testimony of Schoolcraft, who spent a large portion of his life among them. He summarizes the fundamental points of their religious belief as follows: † —

> The tribes of the Algonquin Family believe the world was created by a Supreme Spirit, Monedo. . . . To Monedo they assign some of the leading attributes of God, believing that he is everlasting, all-powerful, and all wise, and of immaculate and unchanging goodness and mercy. In this they agree. Of his ubiquity and invisibility there is some discrepance. A spirit, and dwelling in the upper atmosphere, or Ishpeming; yet whenever the *arcanum* of their belief is reached, they locate him in the sun, or moon, or indefinite skies, or as the presiding spirit of an Indian elysium. . . . Again, the Great Spirit is said to be invisible in form, and to possess ubiquity in the guise of symbols, as he is recognized in the pleasing or frowning shapes and colors assumed by the revolving clouds, the moaning tempests, the vivid lightnings, and the appalling thunder. In these shapes he is clearly represented,

Among Egyptian symbols it is frequently met with. (Lipsius: *De Cruce*, (*Lutetiæ, Parisiorum,*) lib. iii, cap. viii.) See, also, Champollion, *Précis*, tom. ii, Tabl. Gén., Nos. 277, 348; M'Culloch, "Researches," p. 330 *et seq.*; Humboldt, *Géographie du Nouveau Continent*, tom. ii, p. 354 *et seq.*

* Compare, further, E. B. Taylor, "Traces of the Early Mental Condition of Man," in Proceedings of the Royal Institute, London, republished "Smithsonian Report," 1867, p. 391; Duke of Argyll, "Primeval Man," part iv.

† H. R. Schoolcraft, "History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," vol. v, pp. 402, 403.

[pictorially,] not in a human shape, but by symbols. They apply to him, also, the terms Upholder of the World, the Master of Life, and, as the original author of life, the FATHER.

The Indian believes also in numberless inferior deities or demons, to whom the administration of the supreme moral government is delegated. All the tribes of the Algonquin family* believe, generally, that every remarkable creature has a peculiar god within it or about it.† "Every object having life, in any department of the universe, may be supposed to be inhabited by a manedo, or spirit." ‡ The spirits reside in the forests, the waters, the air, the grass, the thunder, the ground. "The waterfall utters the voice of a god, and the rustling leaves of the forest whisper the accents of a divinity. He is the true poet of the philosophy of the creation. To him there is no place unoccupied; and there is, in truth, no solitude in nature," §—"whether engaged in the business of peace or war, these mysterious influences are ever uppermost in his mind." ‖ "Floating down a woodland stream or awe-creating rock defile, the hunter lights his pipe to offer a pleasant oblation to the surrounding and unknown gods, and never alludes to them but in sedate and reverent manner. . . . His very language is without an expression equivalent to an oath." ¶ Chief over all these subordinates "is the great God, the Creator of all mankind." **

Some of the burial customs of the Indians incontestably disclose their belief of the immortality of the soul. But they believe the soul lingers in the body some time after death.†† Funeral feasts are common among them,‡‡ as among the eastern nations, from the Indus to the Brahmapootra. "Death to the Indian is rather an event of gladness than of terror. He passes away to his mortal account, as if it were to be a place of rewards and not of accountabilities and punishments. . . . The Indian lies down to die, as if to an assured rest or enjoyment after a period of toil. His mind has been filled, from early youth, with fictions of a future elysium, in which the

* H. R. Schoolcraft: "History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," vol. v, p. 404.

† Ibid., p. 71. ‡ Ibid., p. 73. § Ibid., p. 74.

‖ Ibid., p. 73. ¶ Ibid., vol. iii, p. 485.

** Ibid., vol. v, p. 71. †† Ibid., p. 79. ‡‡ Ibid., vol. i, pp. 18–39.

Great Spirit is ever described as the peculiar friend of the Red Race." *

This heaven of the Indian is a happy hunting ground. The wicked are sunken in retributive waters. This "Land of the Blest," or "Country of Souls," is not located in the sky. "It is a new earth, or terrene abode, which is to be replete with the affluence of animal life, disporting in its varied creations, amid beautiful groves, or along the banks of smooth streams and lakes, where there are no tempests, no pinching and chilling vicissitudes of weather, and no broken formations of rough mountains, cataracts, or volcanoes; but where the avocations of life are so sweet and varied, and so completely exempted from the power of the Spirit of Evil, that their happiness is complete. Death, it is fancied, opens the door to this sweet land; and death is, therefore, viewed with complacency." †

The Indian tribes of most other portions of the United States possess a religious character no less prominent. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Comanches, Kiowas, Huecos, Kichais, Cadoes, and Wichitas "have a firm conviction of the existence of one Great Spirit. The wilder the Indian, the less he has seen of the white man, the more implicit is his trust in the invisible Deity." ‡ The "Cherokees, from time immemorial, have been accustomed to baptize their infants with water when three days old. . . . They have a custom of sacrifices and burnt-offerings. . . . They believe in future rewards, but not in future punishments; in the Good Spirit, and in a happy spirit-land. . . . Misdeeds, they think, are punished in this world. The Comanches have an unwavering confidence in the Good Spirit. . . . They have yearly gatherings to light sacred fires. . . . The custom of fasting is practiced by all the tribes" of the south-west.

* H. R. Schoolcraft: "History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States," vol. i, p. 81.

† Ibid., vol. v, pp. 402, 403. See also vol. i, p. 316; "Iroquois Cosmogony," p. 317; "On the Origin of Men," and "Origin and History of the Osages," p. 320; "Pottawottamie Theology," p. 321; "The Island of the Blessed," ibid., vol. iii, p. 310; "Trapping in Heaven," vol. v; "The Worship of Fire." See, also, Hériot, "Travels through Canada," part ii; *Abbé Em. Domenech*, "Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America," 2 vols., London, 1860, vol. ii, pp. 376, 377, 397, 398, 402; Müller, *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen;* Gardiner, "Faith of the World."

‡ Whipple: "Pacific Railroad Reports," vol. iii, part iii, chap. iii, p. 35.

The Pueblo Indians say there is but one God, but that Montezuma is his equal. They are firm believers in the efficacy of prayer. Like the northern Indians, they believe in a multiplicity of divinities, but underneath this belief is a firm faith in the Deity, the unseen Spirit of good. His name is above all things, sacred, and, like Jehovah to the Jews, too holy to be spoken.* They have remarkable sacred traditions. They had, of old, their prophets. They regard Montezuma, the son of the Good Spirit, as their founder; and now that the ancient prophecies relating to the vicissitudes of their race are fulfilled, they, like the Aztecs, await anxiously the return of Montezuma, as the consummation of their system of prophecy.†

The Mojaves possess an earnest faith in religious matters. They have vivid "traditions of that bright era of their race which all Indians delight in calling to remembrance." Mat-e-vil, who was creator of earth and heaven, once had a dwelling-place among them. His grand habitation was destroyed, the nations were dispersed, and Mat-e-vil took his departure, going eastward over the great waters. He promised, however, to return to his people, and dwell with them forever; and the time of his coming is believed to be near at hand."‡ This expectation, living among the Comanches and Mojaves, of a deliverer coming from the East, like the Aztec expectation of Quetzalcoatl,§ reminds one of the Jewish expectation of a Messiah. They believe in future existence. They burn the body of the dead, but an undying soul rises from the ashes of the deceased, and takes its flight over the mountains and waters eastward to the happy spirit-land.

"The Navajos believe in one Great Spirit; to him they make, like the Zuñians, offerings of flesh and flour, asking favors and seeking good fortunes. They also make altars of stones and sticks, trimmed with feathers."‖ They do not acknowledge Montezuma.

The Moqui are reported to believe in a Great Father, who lives where the sun rises, and a Great Mother, who lives where

* Whipple: "Pacific Railroad Reports," vol. iii, part iii, chap. iii, p. 40.
† Ibid., p. 86. ‡ Ibid., p. 42.
§ Prescott: "Conquest of Mexico," vol. i, pp. 60, 312.
‖ Whipple: "Pacific Railroad Reports," vol. iii, part iii, chap. iii, p. 42.

he sets. The first is the author of all evil, the latter of all good.*

The Apaches have been known to engage in acts of prayer with the hands uplifted,† but nothing further is ascertained of their religious notions.

Of the Tinneh, or Chippewyan tribes of the eastern part of northern British America, Mr. Bernard Ross, of the Hudson Bay Company, testifies: ‡—

> Their knowledge of a first Great Cause, the Maker and Ruler of the universe, is very faint, yet I think it has always existed; but, as they have no idea of a future state of rewards and punishments, this credence, if they possess it, exercises neither power nor control over their actions. . . . Their religion is one of fear. They deprecate the wrath of demons, but no abstract notion of a single evil principle antagonistic to, and at war with, the good one appears to exist among them. The demons are, among the unsophisticated and unchristianized nations, many in number. They people the woods and streams, haunt deserts and lonely localities, and moan among the caches of the dead. To propitiate these spirits, offerings are made. . . . Fatalism appears to be deeply seated in their minds. . . . There does not appear to be any regular order of priesthood.

Of the Loucheux, or Mountain Tinneh, occupying the central portions of Arctic America, Mr. Hardesty § states: "Their knowledge of a Supreme Being, if they have any at all, is very limited. They know nothing of the soul. . . . They believe in a future state of rewards and punishments. . . . They believe in a future state of bliss, where they are to be forever in the same bodies they occupied while here."

The Esquimaux are described by Lesson as superstitious to excess, and possessed of those vague religious sentiments which pervade all the northern tribes. Their theistic notions are extremely vague, or, according to Crantz, ‖ entirely wanting; yet he admits that they believe in the future existence of the soul, and have fantastic ideas of a heaven in the bottom of the sea, and a place of torment in the sky.

The Aztecs, says Prescott, ¶ recognized the existence of a

* Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, in Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes," vol. iv, p. 85.

† Asst. Surg. Chas. Smart, U. S. A., in "Smithsonian Report," 1867, p. 419.

‡ "Smithsonian Report," 1866, p. 306, etc.

§ Ibid., p. 318.

‖ Crantz: "History of Greenland," vol. i, secs. 5, 6.

¶ Prescott: "Conquest of Mexico," vol. i, pp. 57, 64, 68.

Supreme Creator and Lord of the Universe. They addressed him in their prayers as "the God by whom we live," "omnipresent, that knoweth all thoughts and giveth all gifts," "without whom man is as nothing," "invisible, incorporeal, one God, of *perfect perfection* and purity," "under whose wings we find repose and a sure defense." They also believed in a plurality of subordinate deities. Their heaven was life in the presence of the sun; their hell was a place of everlasting darkness. They christened their children with baptism and prayers, and employed in their devotions many ideas and phrases which astonish us by their resemblance to Christianity. It is fair to remind the reader, however, that Wilson * has thrown much doubt over the credibility of Prescott's authorities.

The Fuegians are elevated only a few degrees above the brute creation. "Traces of superstition exist among them, and each has a conjuring doctor. . . . They exhibit a dread of some mysterious and invisible powers, but have no definite idea of a future life,† though, according to Falkner,‡ they believe in it. Admiral Fitzroy "never witnessed or heard of any act of a decidedly religious nature." Still, some of the natives suppose there is "a great black man" in the woods who knows every thing, "who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct." §

The Tongese, of Polynesia, formerly had many religious temples. Their religion is not fetichism, for most of their divinities are purely ideal. They worship a great number of deities. Bulotu is the principal deity. When the natives of the lower class die, they remain in the world, and feed on ants and lizards; but the spirits of kings, nobles, and inferior chiefs are wafted to Bulotu, "the island of the blessed." ‖

The Fijian has a principal divinity, Ndengei, and a great number of subordinate ones, some of whom are good, and others evil. They have a tradition that all men are descended from one pair of parents, and that they are themselves darker than the Tongese or the white, because they have behaved so

* Wilson: "New History of the Conquest of Mexico."

† Jenkins' "United States Exploring Expedition."

‡ Falkner: "Description of Patagonia," pp. 118, 119.

§ See also Forster's "Voyage," vol. ii; Ebeling's "Collection of Voyages," vol. iv.

‖ Jenkins' "United States Exploring Expedition," p. 319.

badly. They have, likewise, a tradition of a great deluge, happening many years ago, which destroyed all the persons on the island except eight. They have many sacred temples, in which they deposit offerings to their gods. They have a priesthood. They believe the spirit, after death, goes to Ndengei to be judged. Some are allotted to the devils, who roast and eat them; while others are sent to an island, where, after a time, they are annihilated. Many believe, however, that the spirit returns, after an interval, to hover over the place of its former abode.*

The Kingsmill islanders have several divinities, the chief one of which is Wainangin. They have priests to offer up prayers. After death, they believe their spirits ascend into the air, and are tossed about for some time by the winds, until, finally, if of high rank, they are wafted to Elysium. But the shade of the poor, or the person who is not tattooed, is intercepted and doomed by a large giantess called Baine.†

The Maories of New Zealand believed in a heaven which was regarded as a place where there would be continual feasts of fish and sweet potatoes, and where they would be always fighting and always victorious. They believed in immortality. They had no idea of an Almighty God, but believed in a spirit named Atoua, who was a cruel cannibal, like themselves. On some occasions they offered sacrifices to appease his wrath. They had a priesthood.‡

The Tahitians, according to Captain Cook, believed in the immortality of the soul and "in two situations of different degrees of happiness, somewhat analogous to our heaven and hell, though not places of moral rewards and punishments. Their religion did not act upon them by promises and threats, and their expressions of adoration and reverence, whether by words or actions, arose simply from a humble sense of their own inferiority, and the ineffable excellence of Divine perfection." This was certainly an almost ideal standard of religious rectitude.

The Ainos, or Hairy Men of Yesso, (Japanese Islands,) are

* Jenkins' "United States Exploring Expedition," p. 349; also Williams' "Fiji and the Fijians," pp. 215–217.

† Ibid., p. 408.

‡ Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 370.

said by Bickmore* to have many gods; but fire—not the sun, the moon, nor the stars—is the principal one; and they are accustomed to pray to it in general terms for all they need. The Ainos of Saghalien, when any one is sick, sacrifice a dog on the top of a high mountain—the higher the mountain the more they reverence it. They are thought to believe in a Supreme Being, and to pray to the mountain to intercede for them with the exalted Deity. They are naturally a very reverential people, and worship the sun, the moon, and the stars; but, it is believed, only as intercessors.†

The Koriaks of northern Kamtschatka are said to believe in an existence hereafter, much like that of the present.‡ They believe in evil spirits,§ and practice a species of Shamanism.

The Hottentots can hardly be said to have any religion, though they seem to have some notion of a Deity; and travelers differ as to the religious meaning of some of their customs.‖

Of the Kaffirs, Bechuanas, and other South African tribes, Dr. Livingstone says:—

> There is no necessity for beginning to tell even the most degraded of these people of the existence of a God or a future state—the facts being universally admitted. Every thing that cannot be accounted for by common causes is ascribed to the Deity—as creation, sudden death, etc. . . . On questioning intelligent men among the Backwains as to their former knowledge of good and evil, of God and the future state, they have scouted the idea of any of them ever having been without a tolerably clear conception on these subjects. Respecting their sense of right and wrong, they profess that nothing we indicate as sin ever appeared to them as otherwise, except the statement that it was wrong to have more wives than one; and they declare that they spoke in the same way of the direct influence exercised by God in giving rain, in answer to prayers of the rain-makers, and in granting deliverance in time of danger, as they do now, before they ever heard of white men.¶

* Bickmore: Boston, "Soc. Nat. Hist.," Dec., 1867; "Amer. Jour. Sci.," vol. xlv, p. 357.

† Ibid., p. 364. See also quotations, pp. 367–370.

‡ Bickmore, (from Paully): "Amer. Jour. Science," vol. xlv, p. 364.

§ "American Exchange and Review," vol. xx, pp. 86, 88.

‖ Thunberg: "Pinkerton's Travels," vol. xvi, pp. 33, 141; Kollen, "History Cape of Good Hope," pp. 37, 93, etc.; Harris, "Wild Sports of Africa," p. 160.

¶ Livingstone: "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa," p. 158.

The Mandingo Africans are pronounced by Mungo Park * to have, without the smallest shadow of doubt, the belief of one God, and of a future state of reward and punishment. They represent the Deity as the Creator and Preserver of all things; but "in general they consider him so remote and of so exalted a nature that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees and change the purposes of unerring wisdom."

The Ormas of Eastern Africa, and the eastern tribes in general, certainly "maintain the idea of a Supreme Being, whom they universally distinguish by the name Heaven, (Waka Mulimgu.) Referring to a pigmy race four feet high, Krapp † says, notwithstanding their beastly degradation, that they possess something like an idea of a higher being called Yar, to whom, in moments of wretchedness and anxiety, they pray.

III. Savages Reputed Destitute of Religious Notions.

We pass now to a consideration of all the alleged cases of savage tribes completely destitute of religious manifestations. In connection with each case we shall cite such opposing or qualifying statements as seem to be required for a candid view of the religious condition of the most degraded tribes known among men.

1. The Navajo Indians, according to Dr. Leatherman,‡ do not seem to have any religion or religious observances; and even have no word to express the idea of the Supreme Being.

This charge is explicitly contradicted by the later and more reliable researches of Lieutenant Whipple, already cited, who states that the Navajoes not only believe in a Deity, but erect altars and make sacrifices to him.

2. Some of the Canadian Indians are represented by Lubbock,§ on the authority of Hearnes, as being destitute of religious notions.

We have not been able to examine the particulars of Hearne's statements, but it is certain that all the neighboring

* Park: "Travels." Edinburgh, 1816, vol. i, p. 408.

† Krapp: "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa," pp. 80, 52.

‡ Jonathan Leatherman, Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in "Smithsonian Report," 1855, p. 294.

§ Lubbock: "Origin of Civilization," etc., p. 122.

tribes on the north, south, and west, possess religious characteristics; and that no other Indians in eastern or central North America, from Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, have been authentically reported as wanting in all religious manifestations.

3. Some of the Indians of California were reported by Father Bægert * as ignorant equally of "idols, temples, religious worship, or ceremonies," and as believing "neither in the true and only God," nor adoring "false deities." He says: "I made diligent inquiries among those with whom I lived to ascertain whether they had any conception of God, a future life, and their own souls, but I never could discover the slightest trace of such a knowledge. Their language has no words for 'God' and 'soul.'"

Bægert, nevertheless, testifies that "there existed always, among the Californians, individuals of both sexes, who played the part of sorcerers or conjurers, pretending to possess the power of exorcising the devil, whom they never saw. . . . Sometimes they went into caverns, and, changing their voices, made the people believe that they conversed with some spiritual power." † He also says: "I saw them frequently putting shoes on the feet of the dead, which rather seems to indicate that they entertain the idea of a journey after death." ‡

It ought, also, to be said that the narrative of Bægert was written a hundred years ago, and in the uncritical spirit which characterizes the Jesuit writers of the time. He deals in wholesale statements, and almost unqualified disparagements, which unavoidably raise in the mind of the reader a suspicion of inaccuracy and carelessness. Indeed, he convicts himself of inaccuracy by his conflicting statements. He asserts that the women manifest little love for their children, making only mock lamentations when they die; but if a child is chastised by the missionary for misconduct "they scream like furies, tear their hair, beat their naked breasts with a stone, and lacerate their heads with a piece of wood or bone till the blood flows." § He alleges that gratitude toward benefactors and kindred virtues are almost unknown to them. Yet, according to his own account, the forced departure of the missionaries caused great distress among the Indians, who ex-

* "Smithsonian Report," 1864, p. 390.
† Ibid., p. 389.
‡ Ibid., p. 387.
§ Ibid., 1863, p. 369.

pressed their grief by a general howling and weeping, which shows that the feelings of gratitude and attachment were not entirely wanting in their character.* Other self-contradictions are pointed out by Waitz.† Bægert's testimony also conflicts with that of Father Picolo, who alleged that the Californians worshiped the moon. He is at variance, also, with Venegas,‡ who mentions the belief in a good and bad principle as prevailing among the Pericues and Cotchimies.§

It seems necessary to be the more particular to ascertain the circumstances bearing on Bægert's testimony because he is very explicit, and would seem, at first, to be a competent witness, and because Sir John Lubbock gives his statements considerable prominence.

On the contrary, the religious instincts of the Californian Indians are fully attested by competent authority. The Sanels, who live in Russian River Valley, believe the sun and moon to be malignant spirits, and that "innumerable other devils" exist. They practice expiations, hold to the future life of the soul, and, on funeral occasions, often become transported with a religious enthusiasm.‖ The Gallinomeros have similar customs and beliefs. They also have a theory of creation, and a tradition of a deluge. They have a "vague notion of a great ruling power somewhere in the heavens, whom they call Calletopte, the Chief Above; but the tribe, like the Pomos generally, look upon the coyote as the visible embodiment of supernatural agency.¶

4. Some of the extreme northern tribes of the Esquimaux are reported by Ross and Franklin as without religion, and Crantz asserts that they possess no notion of Deity.** Of one of the Arctic Highlanders, on the northeast corner of Baffin's Bay, Ross says: "It was distinctly ascertained that he did not worship the sun, moon, stars, or any image, or living

* "Smithsonian Report," 1864, p. 379. Compare Irving's "Adventures of Captain Bonneville," p. 332.

† Watz: *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vol. iv.

‡ "History of California," 1755.

§ Waitz: *Anthropologie*, etc., vol. iv, p. 250.

‖ Stephen Powers in "The Lakeside Monthly," vol. vii, p. 453. June, 1872.

¶ Ibid., pp. 356, 357.

** Ross: "Arctic Voyages," First Voyage, p. 128. Franklin: "Journey to the Polar Sea," vol. ii. Crantz: "History of Greenland," vol. i.

creature. . . . He had no knowledge or idea how he came into being, or of a future state." In his "Sketch of the Boothians,"* he says: "They have no knowledge of God, or of future life, nor any superstitions which have a reference to them."

As an offset to this, and as a proof that even those degraded Esquimaux have a sense of the supernatural, Sir John Ross states that they have many *angekoks*, and that they believe it to be in their "power to raise a storm or make a calm, and to drive off seals or to bring them . . . and that they were afraid of them.† The Boothians‡ also have their *angekoks*. He also says that the Arctic Highlander, when told there is a future state and another world, said that a wise man, who had lived long before his time, had said that they were to go to the moon; but that it was not now believed, and that none of the others knew any thing about this history." The Boothians inflict punishment upon the crime of murder, and possess the virtue of truthfulness.

Sir John Ross himself enters his *caveat* against such a use of his account as Sir John Lubbock has made of it. He says:—

> Although there is, certainly, no proof whatever that the people have any idea of a Supreme Being, or of a spirit of good or bad, the circumstances of their having conjurers, and of their going to the moon after death, are of a nature to prevent any conclusion from being drawn to that effect, especially as it must be evident that our knowledge of their language was too imperfect to obtain the whole of their ideas on the subject."§

The Esquimaux in general are reported by Lesson as superstitious to excess, and possessed of the vague religious sentiments which pervade the northern tribes, and Crantz admits that they believe in the future existence of the soul.

5. The South American Indians of the Gran Chacos are said, by the missionaries, to have "no religious or idolatrous belief or worship whatever, neither do they possess any idea of God or of a Supreme Being. They make no distinction between right and wrong, and have, therefore, neither fear nor hope of any present or future punishment or reward, nor any mysterious terror of some supernatural power, whom they might seek to assuage by sacrifices or superstitious rites."‖

* Ross: "Second Voyage," Appendix.
† "First Voyage," p. 128.
‡ "Second Voyage," Appendix.
§ "First Voyage," p. 129.
‖ "Voice of Pity," vol. ix, p. 220, quoted by Lubbock.

6. The Brazilian Indians, according to Spix and Martius, do not believe in the existence of a God. Orton asserts that the Amazonian tribes "have no definite idea of a Supreme Being, few tribes having a name for God." Kidder and Fletcher state that "none of them, when first visited, seemed to have the faintest conception of the Great Spirit." *

Spix and Martius say, however, that they believe in the existence of a devil; and Orton asserts that they have a name for "the demon," and that among the Tucúnas each horde has a medicine man, or priest, of their superstitions,† and that the vagabond tribes on the Ucayli, though they worship nothing, kill their deformed children, saying, "they belong to the devil." ‡

7. The Toupinambas of Brazil, according to Freycinet,§ had no religion, though, if the name is applied "à des notions fantastiques d'êtres surnaturels et puissans, on ne sauroit nier qu'ils n'eussent une sorte de culte extérieur." They believed in the existence of a heaven for those who had killed and eaten many of their enemies; while those who were effeminate would be compelled to dwell "avec Aygnan (le diable) auprès duquel elles sont perpetuellement tourmentées."

8. The Botecudos, of whom a man and woman were brought to Paris from Brazil by M. Porte, are generally reputed "men who are without religion, manners, or laws;" but M. Flourens, who studied these savages, testifies: "They all appear to have, at the bottom of their hearts, a germ of latent faith and an obscure presentiment of another life, for they believe they will be changed, after death, into good or evil spirits, according as they have acted well or ill, and they do not believe this of animals." ‖

9. The Paraguayan Indians are described as having no ideas of religion; but Dobritzhoffer says the tribe of Abipones have some vague notions of an evil spirit.¶

* Spix and Martius: *Reise in Brasilien*, vol. i, p. 379. Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 316. Kidder and Fletcher: "Brazil and the Brazillians," p. 473.

† Orton: "Andes and the Amazon," p. 320.

‡ Op. cit., p. 321.

§ Freycinet: *Voyage Autour du Monde*, vol. i, p. 153.

‖ Flourens (P.): "On Human Longevity," p. 61.

¶ Don Felix Azara: *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, 1809; Dobritzhoffer, *Geschichte der Abiponer*. vol. ii, pp. 35, 64.

10. The Pellew Islanders, according to Wilson, have no religious buildings, nor any sign of religion.

11. The natives of Damood Island, north of Australia, are said by Jukes to be destitute of all religion.*

12. The Aru Islanders, according to Wallace, are also without religion, but they do not seem to be destitute of the notion of the supernatural. Mr. Wallace was the only white man they had ever seen, and his superiority to themselves seemed a realization of their latent notion of a supernatural power. "You know every thing," they would say to him; "you make the fine weather for your men to shoot, and you know all about our birds and animals as well as we do, and you go alone in the forest and are not afraid." †

13. The Arafuras of Vorkay, one of the southern Arus, according to Bik,‡ "possess no religion whatever. . . . Of the immortality of the soul they have not the least conception. . . . Neither have they any notion of the creation of the world," nor of a Supreme Being.

14. Some of the Polynesians are reported by Williams § and Dieffenbach as without religious sentiments. All the leading nations of Polynesia, however, are possessed of a well-marked religious nature, as we have shown.

15. The Andaman Islanders, characterized by Dr. Mouatt and Professor R. Owen as "perhaps the most primitive or lowest in the scale of civilization of the human race," are described as having no idea of a Supreme Being, no religion, nor any belief in a future state of existence.‖

16. The Australians are said to have no religion, nor any idea of prayer. Most of them, however, believe in evil spirits and mysterious beings, and have a great dread of witchcraft. They believe that white men are blacks that have risen from the dead. "Perhaps," says Sir John Lubbock, "the lowest

* "Voyage of the Fly."

† Wallace: "The Malay Archipelago," p. 473. Du Chaillu says that savages are apt to regard white men as belonging to a superior order of beings. Compare King: "Cook's Voyages to the Pacific Ocean," vol. iii, p. 69.

‡ Quoted in Kolff's "Voyages of the Dourga," p. 159, and in Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization," p. 122.

§ Williams: "Missionary Enterprises."

‖ Mouatt: "Adventures and Researches among the Andaman Islanders," p. 327.

form of religion may be considered to be that presented by the Australians, which consists of a mere unreasoning belief in the existence of mysterious beings."*

That this is not all which can be said of the Australians is proven by the testimony of Professor George Wilson.† "Well," he says, "it has been again and again declared that the New Hollanders have no idea of a God, and the Phrenologists were able to show that their brains had no cranny or crevice in which such a thought could by possibility lurk. Very good! and yet a recent traveler, who has visited the tribes in the interior, where little communication with Europeans has left them in their unsophisticated state, finds that these poor brainless people have minds subtle enough to conceive the idea of a future state, and do actually believe in a metempsychosis of souls. It appears that the first white strangers were supposed to be transmigrated beings of their own tribe, come back in a new incarnation."‡

17. The Tasmanians, according to Dove,§ had no word for a Creator. This information is insufficient to base any conclusions upon.

18. The Veddahs, or tribes sunken to the lowest degree of degradation, and living in the interior of Ceylon, are not known to have any religion; though, in some matters, they are admitted to have a keen and controlling sense of right and wrong;‖ and, according to Davy,¶ they entertain a belief in evil beings.

19. The Lepchas of Northern India are said by Hooker to have no religion.

20. The Yenadies and Villees are, according to Dr. Short,

* Lubbock: "Proceedings of the British Association," Dundee Meetings, 1869, "Origin of Civilization," etc., p. 349.

† Memoir, by his sister, quoted by Calderwood, in "Philosophy of the Infinite," p. 513.

‡ See, also, "Transactions Ethnological Soc.," vol. iii, p. 229, and Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia." Cocker, also, tells us: "We are assured by E. Stone Parker, the protector of the aborigines of New Holland, that they have a clear and well-defined idea of a 'Great Spirit,' the maker of all things."—"Christianity and Greek Philosophy," p. 91.

§ Rev. T. Dove: "Tasmanian Journal of Science," vol. i, p. 249, as quoted by Lubbock.

‖ "Transactions Ethnological Society," new series, vol. ii, p. 278.

¶ Davy: "Ceylon," p. 118.

entirely without any belief in a future state.* This information, as well as all we know of the Lepchas, is insufficient for the foundation of any opinions.

21. The Khasias of India are represented also, by Hooker, to be destitute of religion; but Col. Yule asserts† that they have religious practices. This contradiction somewhat impairs Hooker's authority in reference to the Lepchas.

22. Some of the Eastern African nations are reported by Burton and Grant as destitute of religion; but this is contradicted by Krapp,‡ already cited.

23. "The wilder Bedouins," says Burton, "will inquire where Allah is to be found. When asked the object of the question, they reply, 'If the Essa could but catch him they would spear him on the spot; who but he lays waste their homes and kills their cattle and wives?'"§ This statement, though betraying, certainly, a most absurd conception of Deity, really proves, instead of disproving, the existence of some notions of a supernatural power.

24. The Bechuanas, according to Moffat,‖ have no trace of religious ideas. After saying that it had been his opinion that man is every-where "a religious creature," and that he had endeavored to "discover rays of natural light, innate ideas of a Divine Being, in the most untutored savage," he admits that he was at length "induced to embrace what I once considered an erroneous view of the subject." The Bechuanas could not be made to evidence the faintest glimmer of a religious consciousness.

One would naturally think such testimony, forced against long-standing convictions, must be conclusive. It is also confirmed by Vander Kemp and Gardner.¶ Yet Lichtenstein** says the Bechuanas attributed all evil to an invisible god, whom they call Murimo; and Chapman†† states that the Bechuanas

* "Proceedings of Madras Government," Revenue Department, May, 1864, auc. Lubbock.

† Yule: "The Khasia Hills and People," p. 18.

‡ Krapp: "Travels, etc., in Eastern Africa," p. 52.

§ Burton: "First Footsteps in East Africa," p. 52.

‖ Moffat: "Missionary Labors and Scenes in South Africa," p. 265.

¶ Gardner: "Faiths of the World," p. 260.

** Lichtenstein: Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 332.

†† Chapman: "Travels in Africa," vol. i, p. 45.

cursed the Deity for sending thunder. Dr. Livingstone's statements, already quoted, are even more explicit, establishing a clear and positive system of religious ideas.

25. The Bachapin Kaffirs, according to Burchell,* had no form of worship or religion. They thought "that every thing made itself, and that trees and herbage grew by their own will." They had no belief in a good Deity, but some vague idea of an evil being, whom they called Muleemo or Murino. They believed in sorcery and in the efficacy of amulets.

Dr. Livingstone, however, asserts, "There is no necessity for beginning to tell, even the most degraded of these people, of the existence of a God or a future state, the facts being universally admitted." And more to the same effect, as before cited. "The want, however," he adds, "of any form of public worship, or of idols, or of formal prayers or sacrifice, make both Kaffirs and Bechuanas appear as among the most godless races of mortals anywhere."†

26. Among the Koosa Kaffirs, also, Lichtenstein‡ affirms that "there is no appearance of any religious worship whatever." But Lichtenstein states further that they ascribe all their diseases "to one of three causes: either to being enchanted by an enemy; to the anger of certain beings, whose abode appears to be in certain rivers; or to the power of evil spirits.§ Dr. Livingstone's testimony, moreover, is intended to apply to all the Kaffirs—"even the most degraded." Bishop Colenso, also, ascribes to the Kaffirs a distinct traditionary belief in the Supreme Being, whom they acknowledge under the twofold title of Umkulumkulu—the Great Essence, and Umveiinquanze—the First Comer Out.

27. The Hottentots, according to Le Vaillant, are also destitute of religious sentiments, but, according to Thunberg,‖ they have vague ideas about a good Deity. "They have much clearer notions about an evil spirit, whom they fear, be-

* Burchell: "Travels in South Africa," vol. i, p. 550.

† Livingstone: "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa," p. 158. Burton, however, entertains but little respect for Livingstone's authority as a witness, ("Abeokuta," vol. i, p. 177;) but if Livingstone was liable to err in one direction, Burton, confessedly, had as strong a predisposition in the other.

‡ Lichtenstein: Op. cit., vol. i, p. 258.

§ Ibid., p. 255.

‖ Thunberg: "Pinkerton's Voyages," vol. xv, p. 142.

lieving him to be the occasion of sickness and death, thunder and every calamity which befalls them." Kolben also testifies that they believe in the immortality of the soul.*

The facts which we have cited respecting the religious ideas of savage tribes constitute in themselves an interesting body of data, upon which every reader will undoubtedly reason for himself. We propose, however, if circumstances permit, to resume the consideration of this subject, and attempt to induce some general conclusions from these and other religious phenomena of our race.

Art. II.—A COMMON BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE FOR SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

To know or not to know, that is the question. We are living in an age when science and faith are arrayed against each other—when they are looking each other in the eye and are feeling for each other's throats. Science demands that belief shall accept nothing but positive knowledge as a foundation upon which reason may build its structure. In digging after truth, it proposes to throw every thing away as rubbish until it has reached the primeval granite of indubitable knowledge.

It not only demands that this shall be done, but it claims that it has reached such a foundation. Its very name implies that what it teaches is known with certainty. From this basis of pure knowledge it builds, by logical induction or deduction, systems which are claimed to be irreconcilable not only with revelation, but as well with the whole idea of religion whether natural or revealed.

Materialism, if it do not mean atheism, at least means a God whose hands are tied by law, and who is, therefore, powerless to answer prayer, to pardon sin, or to save a soul. Of course, where God is nothing more than a bundle of natural and necessary laws, or a being made under and controlled by these laws, religion would only be an empty name. But it is not only God who is thus handcuffed by law; this same ma-

* Kolben: "History of the Cape of Good Hope," vol. i, p. 314.

terialism denies all freedom of action or volition to man. He is simply the creature of circumstances, turned this way or that by the preponderance of motive, just as the needle will be turned to the right or left by the shifting of a magnet. The sum of this system, as it stands related to religion, is simply and very plainly, that God is not an object to be worshiped, even if men were free to worship him; and that man is incapable of worship, whatever might be the Divine claims upon him. In other words, that religion is only an empty illusion.

Religion, on the contrary, is based neither upon self-evident truth nor demonstration, but upon faith in the revelations of God's word and works. Natural religion, it is true, claims to be able to reason up from nature to nature's God, and from the world around us to deduce principles for the government of the world within us. But even in natural religion no one claims that we have demonstration, or truth which it is impossible to doubt. Every truth of natural religion has been doubted a thousand times, and is, therefore, not indubitable.

Religion, then, does not claim absolute knowledge as its basis, but only preponderance of probability. Science, on the contrary, claims to be built upon absolute certainty, and looks down with contempt upon any belief which is not demonstrable. Science claims that it knows absolutely what it teaches, and that we do not know what we teach.

Mr. Huxley sums up the drift of modern science when he says, "It is enough for all the practical purposes of human existence if we find that our trust in the representations of consciousness is verified by results, and that by their help we are enabled to walk sure-footedly in this life." *

Let us pause just here to examine the basis of science which makes such sure footing. Fortunately, we are spared the trouble of pulling down the temple of science to ascertain the rock on which it is built. Mr. Huxley, perhaps the ablest living exponent of modern science, has done this work for us. We quote his own words:—

I take up a marble, and I find it to be a red, round, hard, single body. We call the redness, the roundness, the hardness, and the singleness, "qualities" of the marble, and it sounds at first the

* "Lay Sermons," p. 329.

height of absurdity to say that all these qualities are modes of our own consciousness, which cannot even be conceived to exist in the marble. But consider the redness to begin with. How does the sensation of redness arise? The waves of a certain very attenuated matter, the particles of which are vibrating with vast rapidity, but with very different velocities, strike upon the marble, and those which vibrate with one particular velocity are thrown off from its surface in all directions. The optical apparatus of the eye gathers some of these together and gives them such a course that they impinge upon the surface of the retina, which is a singularly delicate apparatus connecting with the termination of the fibers of the optic nerve. The impulses of the attenuated matter, or ether, affect this apparatus and the fibers of the optic nerve in a certain way, and the change in the fibers of the optic nerve produces yet other changes in the brain; and these, in some fashion unknown to us, give rise to the feeling or consciousness of redness. If the marble could remain unchanged, and either the rate of vibration of the ether, or the nature of the retina, could be altered, the marble would seem not red, but some other color. There are many people who are what is called color blind, being unable to distinguish one color from another. Such a one might declare our marble to be green, and he would be quite as right in saying that it was green as we are in declaring it to be red. But then, as the marble cannot in itself be both green and red at the same time, this shows that the quality redness must be in our consciousness and not in the marble. In like manner it is easy to see that the roundness and the hardness are forms of our consciousness, belonging to the group which we call sensations of sight and touch. . . .

What we call extension is consciousness of a relation between two or more affections of the sense of sight or of touch. And it is wholly inconceivable that what we call extension should exist independently of such consciousness as our own. Thus, whatever our marble may be in itself, all that we can know of it is under the shape of a bundle of our own consciousnesses. Nor is our knowledge of any thing we know or feel more or less than a knowledge of states of consciousness." *

According to this lucid explanation, all that a scientist can know is the testimony of his consciousness, and is it then so absolutely certain that consciousness never deceives that we can always walk sure-footedly by following its teachings? Des Cartes, of whose philosophy the foregoing is only an explanation, conceived that consciousness itself might delude, and that man in his clearest ideas might be the sport of an evil genius. He found it necessary, therefore, in order to trust his consciousness, to assume the existence of a God who

* "Lay Sermons," p. 325–327.

would not allow him to be thus deceived in the holy of holies of his being. But what is consciousness but a name for the last hiding-place into which we can follow thought? Whether the *ego* is identical with consciousness, or whether it is an ultimate entity back of consciousness to which consciousness appeals, we do not know.

Des Cartes *assumed* that *thinking*, in the last analysis existence were identical; and it was only by this assun that he was enabled to frame his celebrated motto, "C *ergo sum.*" Huxley denies that he had any right from his sciousness to affirm anything more than "there is thougl. Consciousness testifies of nothing but thinking. Whether the be any thing material or spiritual, actual or potential, withou or within us; to correspond to thought, cannot be determined. We follow the path of thought back through the unexplored wilderness of our being "until it ends in a squirrel track and runs up a tree." All we know is "there is thought." Whence it started, or where it ends, or what it is, no man can tell. If consciousness be a granite foundation, the question will still remain, Is there not a stratum below granite in the geology of thought? Consciousness itself is unexplained, and the ultimate basis of all knowledge, therefore, is mystery, profound and inexplicable.

But whatever may be the truth or falsity of our consciousness, it is the only foundation of knowledge that we can get; and since all knowledge, religious and scientific, is based upon it, it will be as good a foundation for the one kind as for the other. I have neither disposition nor interest to deny the truthfulness of consciousness; I simply claim that we cannot *know absolutely* that it is true. But assuming the certain truthfulness of our consciousness, what does it teach? The ultimate fact of consciousness, that "there is thought," teaches neither science nor religion. Before we can proceed one step, we must assume the existence of a discriminating faculty which distinguishes between the different perceptions of consciousness and classifies them. One affection of consciousness is called color, another sound, and another shape. Each of these is subdivided—the first, into red, green, blue, etc.; the second, into loud and low, harsh and soft, etc.; and the last, into round and square, long and short, etc. The first stone in

the temple of knowledge is, "there is thought;" and the second one, less firmly laid than the first, is, "there are different kinds of thought." All the knowledge thus far gathered is internal and subjective; and thus far the distinction between science and religion does not appear. Had man never sought knowledge except in the direct testimony of his consciousness, science and religion had never been born, or had slept together, like twin babes, in the same cradle, without being distinguishable the one from the other. It is not until we go out of self, to find an outside world corresponding to the thought world within, that knowledge divides into two branches—the spiritual and material, or religion and science. Outside of self, the scientist finds a world. Outside of self, the religionist finds a God. Just here, where the road forks, let us start to follow the scientist and religionist to see if it be true that the former walks "sure-footedly," while the latter stumbles at every step.

The very first step, which science takes outside of direct consciousness, is pure assumption, without any shadow of proof. It assumes that our consciousness has a cause, and that different consciousnesses have different causes. It goes further and assumes that many of these causes are external to ourselves, and that they are similar in some respects to the consciousness resulting from them.

Where did man ever learn the relation of cause and effect? Consciousness teaches nothing of the sort. Hume denied that there was any such relation between things. All we know is that certain states of consciousness have always thus far accompanied each other, and that in point of time the one preceded and the other succeeded; but that the one produced the other, or that there is any relation between them whatever, except a relation of order and time, no man has the slightest knowledge to affirm. If we do not know that thoughts are caused at all, we certainly do not know that different thoughts have different causes. What shall be thought of the man who persistently teaches that the causes of most consciousnesses are outside of us, and that they possess certain properties, and calls that *science*, when no such thing as cause is known? He simply gives to "airy nothings a local habitation and a name" gratuitously. He locates and describes a thing which is not known to exist.

But science does not stop here. These external causes of our different states of consciousness, called phenomena, are next supposed to inhere in some *substance*, called matter. But the existence of matter is simply a theory, adopted to account for certain phenomena. Berkeley and Fichte deny the existence of any thing outside the human mind, and contend that all realities are only creations of the thinking principle. Tyndall, in a lecture delivered in Philadelphia some two years ago, said it was necessary, in order to understand phenomena, to suppose a subsoil into which phenomena struck their roots. This "subsoil" he admitted was "supersensuous," and was, therefore, only hypothetical. We only know phenomena. What they reside in, or whether they reside in any thing, we do not know. We have perceptions of shape, of color, of sound, of touch, but that there is any substance in which these various perceptions reside, we have not the slightest testimony of consciousness. Even if we admit that they come to us through the senses, we have no knowledge to prove that they come from a *substance*. The existence of matter is simply the result of the pure assumption that phenomena must have a cause. But, for aught we can know, phenomena may be uncaused and self-existent; or if they be effects, their cause may be in the human mind, and not in a hypothetical substance called matter.

But, the existence of matter being assumed, all external phenomena are not explained by it. Every sensation that we have, except that of extension, needs something besides matter to account for it. Matter alone is not an adequate cause for color, or taste, or sound; or the sensations of hardness and shape. Hence we have another assumption, namely, the existence of *motion;* and still another to account for motion, namely, *force*. What motion and force are no man knows or pretends to know, for neither ever came within the perception of consciousness. They are only baseless theories, invented to account for phenomena for which the existence of matter was not a sufficient cause. Given matter, motion, and force, can we now walk "sure-footedly?" One of the very first things which attracts attention and calls for explanation is light. And what is *light?* Huygens tells us it is an "undulatory motion." But a motion of what? Of a subtle ether, we are told, which fills all space. But what this ether is, no scientist

can tell; or that it actually exists, he will be slow to affirm. It is not matter; for every test of matter fails to discover its existence; and it is not *motion* or *force;* for it is something invented to explain them. So far as our knowledge goes, it is nothing but a theory—there is no shadow of proof that ether exists.

If from optics we turn to chemistry, we shall very soon learn that there is not only matter, but that there are *different kinds* of matter. Some substances are compound and some are simple. A compound substance is made up of parts of different simple substances, called atoms, united into groups, called molecules. But how is a simple substance constructed? We shall be told that it is made up of atoms. The word *atoin* means, cannot be cut. Every substance, then, is supposed to be made up of an accumulation of ultimate granules, which cannot be further divided. The whole science of chemistry is based upon the atomic theory, and without that theory chemistry would hardly be classed among the sciences. Yet this is nothing but theory. No man ever found an atom of any substance, nor is it possible to conceive of a particle of matter which cannot be further divided, or which itself is not made up of smaller parts. The chemist unmaterializes matter in order to account for its phenomena. If the atomic theory be accepted as true, the very root conception of matter must be changed. We have been accustomed to regard matter as a simple substance whose various phenomena resulted from the different arrangements of its parts. But let gold, silver, and iron be simple substances, made up of ultimate particles of the same nature as the whole substance, and it follows that we have as many different kinds of matter as there are simple substances. The only conception left us for matter in the abstract is a compound and heterogeneous mass of simple substances, having no nature of its own, but wearing a coat of many colors—the sum of all the natures of all its constituent parts. With this conception of it, so far from matter being an explanation of phenomena, its various phenomena are the only explanation of it, and their sum is the only conception of it.

If we turn from chemistry to astronomy, from the infinite divisibility of matter to its infinite extension, we shall find still

another hypothesis needed in order to explain phenomena. The *nebulæ* of the skies, the rings of Saturn, and the evidence of extinct igneous agencies in the earth, all demand explanation. To account for these various phenomena, it is assumed that all matter was originally in a highly rarified and exceedingly attenuated state. This vaporized and intensely heated matter filled all space, and furnished the rough material out of which all worlds were to be built. In course of time the cooling of this incandescent star-dust caused the mass to contract. This contraction, together with a supposed centrifugal motion, caused the mass to break up into fragments; while gravitation, or a supposed centripetal force, caused each of these fragments to roll itself up into a ball or world. As the ages rolled on, these worlds radiated their heat and solidified, until they reached the state in which we now find them. The *nebulæ* of the heavens and the rings of Saturn have been a little tardy in doing their work, and, in consequence, are still in a formative state; while the rock foundations of our earth are the cooling cinders upon the surface of an internal furnace whose fires are slowly, but gradually, dying out. The sun of each system is only the central mass of glowing star-dust that was left after the worlds of that system were formed, and which, because of its superior bulk, has not yet radiated its heat down to their temperature. It will be seen from this statement that heat and gravitation are made the master workmen in the mechanism of the heavens. These giant world-builders are spoken of by scientists as if they were thoroughly known and their mechanics fully understood. A little reflection will show that the method they are supposed to have pursued in the structure of the universe is entirely unthinkable. Let *all space* be filled with incandescent star-dust, and whither will it radiate its heat? Radiation is simply the giving up by one body its heat to another. But if all matter is equally heated, and fills all space, radiation becomes impossible. No matter whether we regard heat as a subtle fluid, or whether, with Mr. Tyndall, we regard it as a mode of motion; in either case the same difficulty meets us. Motion is as indestructible as matter. If it cease in one body, it must go into another. It may be said, however, that the motion called heat may have been converted into some other occult motion, which constitutes the

quality called *solidity* in matter. But the answer is that the known effect of heat upon matter is that it drives the particles of bodies farther apart—it melts and sublimes, but does not solidify matter. To suppose that it acted differently in creation, is to suppose it to be the opposite of what we know it to be. If all space was filled with heat once, it must be filled with it or its equivalent now. Space is not thus filled with heat, and we know nothing of an equivalent for it.

We shall reach no better result if we scrutinize the workings of gravitation. Gravity necessarily supposes an absolute center. Our only conception of it is a constant force drawing all matter to a common point of rest. But the conception of an absolute center is incompatible with the idea of the infinity of space. Infinitude has "its center every-where, and its circumference nowhere." There can be no center of gravity to a mass which has no circumference. But, given a center, what follows? Herbert Spencer says:—

> Gravitation and all central forces vary inversely as the squares of the distances, and physicists, in their investigations, assume that the units of matter act upon each other according to the same law—an assumption which, indeed, they are obliged to make, since this law is not simply an empirical one, but one deducible, mathematically, from the relations of space—one of which the negation is inconceivable. But now, in any mass of matter which is in internal equilibrium, what must follow? The attractions and repulsions of the constituent atoms are balanced. Being balanced, the atoms remain at their present distances, and the mass of matter neither expands nor contracts. But, if the forces with which two adjacent atoms attract and repel each other both vary inversely as the squares of the distance, as they must; and if they are in equilibrium at their present distances, as they are, then, necessarily, they will be in equilibrium at all other distances. Let the atoms be twice as far apart, and their attractions and repulsions will both be reduced to one fourth their present amount. Let them be brought within half the distance, and their attractions and repulsions will both be quadrupled. Whence it follows that this matter will as readily as not assume any other density, and can offer no resistance to any other external agent.*

From this very clear statement it will be seen that, if the particles of matter once filled all space in the form of incandescent star-dust, we have every reason for supposing that matter would forever have remained in that attenuated state.

* "First Principles of Philosophy," p. 61.

Gravitation, so far from building worlds, could not have changed the relative distances of any two atoms of matter. Take all heat and every other separating force from matter, and the ascertained laws of attraction and repulsion will balance each other, and leave matter in *status quo.* Neither heat nor gravitation, nor both of them combined, will account for the formation of the present universe from star-dust. Yet upon this baseless theory the scientific cosmogony of the universe is built.

In mathematics, however, it will be claimed that we have sure footing. Here, it will be said, we have "necessary laws," whose certainty cannot be questioned. Many of the laws of nature, we can easily conceive, might have been different. For instance, the elements might have had different affinities from those which they possess. All substances might have been solid, and incapable of taking a liquid or gaseous form. Or they might have been so made that heat should congeal and cold liquefy them. But when we enter pure mathematics, it is said the laws which reign here are immutable, and could not have been otherwise. The law of numbers, that two and two make four, and so on through the multiplication table, is called a "necessary law." The relations of space, or geometrical laws—that two straight lines meeting each other will make two right angles, or two angles equal to two right angles, and so on through all the axioms of geometry, could not have been otherwise, it is claimed. These are called "necessary laws," and are supposed to constitute an unshakable foundation of knowledge. Let us examine them. What is a necessary law? Mr. Huxley has well said, "*Necessary* means that of which we cannot conceive the contrary. *Law* means a rule which we have always found to hold good, and which we expect always will hold good." These redoubtable laws of mathematics, then, are called "necessary," simply because we cannot conceive them to be otherwise than they are. But are we right certain that human conception is the limit of possibility? Because we cannot conceive their contrary, does it follow necessarily that their contrary cannot be true? Is it not barely possible that there may be some truths beyond the power of the human mind to conceive? Let us see if any thing in experience indicates such a possibility. Suppose the

problem were given, to a man altogether ignorant of geometry, to harmonize in one regular figure a triangle, a circle, an ellipse, and an hyperbola. Would he not pronounce the thing an utter impossibility? The longer he thought about it, the more absurd would such an attempt appear to him. He could not conceive it within the limits of possibility thus to harmonize such dissimilar figures, and would pronounce the problem an insult to human reason, and the attempt to solve it madness.

But now let a cone be brought and divided through the middle from top to bottom, and lo! the inner surface of each half is a triangle; or cut it horizontally, and each section is a circle. Divide it diagonally, and you have an ellipse or an hyperbola, according as you make the angle of division greater or less. What before he could not conceive as possible, he now readily realizes as actual. Here, then, is a truth which was above and beyond the power of his conception. If, then, we, find that human conception is not the limit of truth at one stage of intellectual development, how do we become certain that it is at any other stage? Because we cannot conceive the laws of mathematics to be otherwise, it is not certain that they may not be. For aught we can know to the contrary, there may be worlds of truth where the laws of mathematics do not hold at all. The inconceivability of such a state of things is no bar to its possibility; and this iron mail of "necessity" in these laws melts and vaporizes in the crucial test.

But, some one will say, the naked "laws" still stand. And what are *laws?* Science is not satisfied with an observed rule or order of things, but supposes something back of it, called law, which produces it. What a law is no man pretends to know, and that such a thing exists no sane man will attempt to prove. Law is simply a gratuitous theory of science to account for the observed order of phenomena. All we know is that two and two make four, and that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, etc.; that any thing made them so we do not know. These laws, like ghosts, vanish when we search for them. Even in mathematics, the citadel of science, there is no absolute certainty, and hence no sure footing. Thus from the first impression of consciousness to the last inference of reason, at every step, science is compelled to assume existences which no man can prove, and which do not appeal directly

to consciousness. Her boasted iron chains of "necessary laws" and "absolute certainty" is found, upon examination, to have every third link made of tow, and drops to pieces upon being passed through crucial fires. The scientist who can walk "sure-footedly" upon such a chain must be an acrobat of the highest order.

We are not endeavoring to undermine belief in the dicta and theories of science; we are only trying to show that they *must be accepted by belief*, and not as the result of absolute demonstration. It sometimes becomes a serious question whether science or religion requires the greater faith in its acceptance. Certain it is that all science is based, not upon positive and certain knowledge, but only upon the preponderance of probability. That preponderance is often so overwhelming that it sweeps all doubt, disbelief, and objection before it, as the swollen river bears the driftwood to the sea; but there is not one dictum of science, the evidence of which is so certain, that it is impossible that the opposite should be true. So far as the basis of knowledge is concerned, science has just as sure footing as any other kind of knowledge, and no surer. It may be true, however, that she has exercised and trained herself for the march until she is a superior pedestrian to those who are plodding along other roads. But give the religionist the same care and training, and with as firm and certain a tread as the physicist can travel from sensation to the stars will he mount up the highway of revelation above the stars to the home of God.

Having seen the structure of science to be built, not of primeval granite, but of a conglomerate of consciousnesses, laws, and hypotheses, we now turn to the temple of religion to commence the search for its foundation.

If consciousness be a solid basis for one kind of knowledge, it must be also for every other kind. If it be, as it is assumed to be, an unimpeachable witness, it will testify as truthfully in one case as in another. The truth is, consciousness knows nothing of the different departments of knowledge. It simply reports its impressions, without knowing whence they came; and, therefore, without being able to make any distinction between them as regards their origin. It recognizes a difference between impressions, but knows nothing about a difference

between the causes of such impressions. But the distinction between science and religion arises only when, having grouped certain consciousnesses together and formed classes of them, we assign to the one a physical cause, and to the other a supersensuous or spiritual cause. Consciousness, being ignorant of the use which will be made of its testimony, must be a disinterested witness. If, therefore, we accept its testimony as true in relation to scientific truth, we are also bound to give it credence when it testifies to religious truth. Have we, then, a basis in consciousness for religion?

The ultimate and absolute truth of consciousness, we have seen, is, "there is thought." This is as much a religious as a scientific truth: for thinking is just as essential in discovering God and his laws as in discovering the universe and its laws. This very thinking, while it is going on, by some spontaneous evolution disintegrates into separate and different thoughts, easily distinguishable from each other. Some of these thoughts, or consciousnesses, we trace back to the senses as their source, and subdividing them, we call them consciousnesses of sight, of hearing, of touch, of taste, or of smell. These all grouped together form the basis of science. From these states of consciousness the scientist infers a universe outside himself, with its multitudinous motions, forces, and laws. While consciousness gives us no direct perception of cause and effect, yet by an immutable law of thought we are compelled to refer the concrete to an abstract, and the finite to an infinite. As no one thought is all of thinking, and as each sensation is finite, as having both beginning and end, we are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that there is a boundless, endless universe beyond us which is the cause of all sensation. This is the way in which we deal with the class of consciousnesses which we call sensations.

But all consciousnesses are not sensations. There are some which cannot be conceived to have come through any of the senses, and which cannot, therefore, be referred to the world of sense as their cause. Let us see whether, or not, from them religion can be built up in the same way that science is constructed from sensations.

Second only to the consciousness of thinking is that of *volitional power*. Whatever theories we may be led to adopt con-

cerning the freedom of the will, in order to harmonize man with nature, or man with God, the consciousness of the power of choice is universal. Every child asserts it before he has learned to express thought in language; all language implies it, nor would it be possible to frame a language for a being who is not volitionally free. All government is based upon the assumed moral freedom of its subjects; and every edict which it issues, and every penalty which it inflicts, takes it for granted that man has the power of choice between obedience and disobedience. Despite all theories to the contrary, man feels volitional freedom from the cradle to the grave, recognizes his responsibility for his thoughts, words, and deeds, and constantly acts upon the supposition that he is volitionally free. These cases are not cited to *prove* the freedom of the will, but only to show the universality and persistence of the consciousness of volitional power. The possession of this unconstrained, determining power is not a belief, or an inference, or a conclusion, but the direct testimony of consciousness. Men *feel* volitional power despite their beliefs and conclusions to the contrary. We are conscious not only of the fact of willing, but of the power to will, when we are not exercising it. There is no more direct, constant, and persistent impression of consciousness than that of volitional power. Here, then, in the very substance of thought itself, we quarry the foundation stone of religion—namely, the moral nature of man.

Again, we find in consciousness certain moral ideas, or impressions. Dr. M'Cosh says:—

> Take the perception that deceit is no sin. Take the conviction that we are not at liberty to tell a lie, when we might be tempted to do so. Take the judgment that the person who has committed the act is guilty, condemnable, punishable. Take the feeling of remorse which rises when we contemplate ourselves as having told a falsehood. Take the very peculiar and profound ideas denoted by the phrases "obligation," "ought," "blameworthy." We have here a series of mental phenomena quite as real, and quite as worthy of being looked at, as our very sensations or ideas of pleasure and pain.*

These phenomena cannot be traced to the senses; nor is it possible to conceive them as having their origin in matter.

* "Christianity and Positionism," p. 131.

The materialistic position that moral ideas are derived from sensation by laws of association as yet very imperfectly understood, is flatly contradicted by the only witness competent to testify upon the subject, namely, our own consciousness.

The connection between matter and mind, in the case of *sensations*, is utterly inexplicable. It is not because we can trace the connection between sensations and matter that we assign to this group of ideas a material cause. It is only because we perceive in matter a fitting and adequate cause of such impressions that we refer them to it. Could we conceive any other cause adequate to produce such impressions, our faith in the testimony of the senses would vanish, like a dream upon awaking.

When from *sensation* we turn to *moral ideas*, however, we are not only unable to trace any connection between them and matter, or between them and the sensations produced by matter, but we clearly perceive them to be radically different from all our impressions of matter. Association of sensations can produce nothing radically different from themselves. If moral ideas were generated by them, there must needs be some resemblance between the offspring and the parent; and if such likeness existed between the two classes of ideas, consciousness must be cognizant of it. But, on the contrary, there is a clear perception that they are utterly dissimilar, and that there is no community of nature between them. Between the sensations of color, of sound, of hardness, of odor, and of taste, and the feelings of love, truth, justice, mercy, hate, falsehood, injustice, and cruelty, there is an impassable gulf. Our consciousness itself separates these last from all impressions of sense. If we cannot trace the connection between matter and sensation, much less can we trace a connection between sensation and the moral ideas. Since by following up our moral ideas we can never track them back to, or even toward, a material starting-point, and since consciousness constantly declares them to be different from all ideas derived through the senses, we are bound to accept the testimony of consciousness and abandon the theory of their material origin.

Yet, by the same law of thought which compels us to go out of self to find a cause for sensations, and which thus discovers the material universe of science, are we forced to seek,

and warranted in assuming, a cause external to ourselves for the moral ideas and emotions which we find within. If we attribute certain qualities to matter because they correspond to the sensations produced by matter, then have we the same right to invest the cause of moral ideas with a character corresponding to our moral consciousnesses. If man has volitional power, there must have been a great Will Force which caused it. If he finds within him ideas of justice, truth, mercy, and purity, the counterpart of these must reside in a great moral cause external to himself. If man thinks, there must be a thinking cause above him. Center all these qualities in one existence, as we center all the properties which produce sensations in matter, and you have arrived at a thinking, willing, just, truthful, merciful, and holy being, as the cause of all the moral natures in the universe. Such a being is none other than *God.*

By the same process by which science arrives at a knowledge of a world, do we arrive at a knowledge of the existence of a God. If this process be sure footing for the one, it must be equally a solid foundation for the other. If all our states of consciousness have adequate eternal causes, then there must be both a material universe and a spiritual God. Nay, more; the certainty of God's existence is greater than that of the existence of matter. God is an ultimate cause for moral ideas, while matter is, confessedly, only an intermediate cause of sensations. Matter, as we know it, can by no possibility be conceived to be the ultimate existence. We only know it by its phenomena. But these are by no means constant. The same matter is sometimes hot, at others, cold; sometimes heavy, at others, light; now it is hard, and anon it is soft and yielding. We are compelled to assume a cause back of matter to account for its mutations. In the last analysis, matter resolves itself into *force.* Just as water will take on the form of steam, or fog, or snow, or frostwork, or ice, which may all be again reduced to water, so force assumes a thousand shapes in nature; but each material phenomenon will melt and vanish into force again beneath a searching scrutiny. Hardness is only a force, resisting touch; weight is only a force, pulling toward the center of the earth; color is nothing but the force with which waves of light beat upon the eye; and

sound is but a force beating the drum of the ear. Matter is only a name for the various forms of force. It is not the ultimate existence—it is only the manifestation of something beyond. Thought is driven back of matter, by an irresistible impulse, to some great, first, eternal, infinite Cause of things. Matter is only a connecting link between sensations and their cause; nor is there any thing in science to preclude the belief that the ultimate cause of sensible phenomena is an infinite, eternal mind. For any thing that science can show to the contrary, matter may only be one manifestation of the same God who reveals himself through moral ideas.

It is true that we *feel* a greater certainty in regard to our knowledge of material things than we do in reference to our religious knowledge. But the reason is not because material phenomena are more easily inferred or more clearly conceived from sensations, than the attributes of God are from moral consciousness; but because we can verify by experiment our conceptions of matter, while the great cause of moral ideas cannot be subjected to experiment. Matter, being a passive substance, governed by invariable laws, must yield the same result to experiment, under the same conditions every-where and always. We can thus repeat and multiply our sensations indefinitely. Because we can thus reproduce sensations at will, we fall into the error of supposing that we have a certain knowledge of their cause. But the repetition of phenomena under given conditions, while it deludes us into a *feeling* of certain knowledge in regard to matter, establishes nothing logically in regard to the cause of phenomena. A man might witness the ebb and flow of the tides ten thousand times, and yet know no more of their cause than when he first observed this fluctuation of the waters, except that the unknown cause was uniform in its action. All we know of the cause of phenomena is that it is invariable, and any other assumed knowledge is simply a delusion, arising from our familiarity with phenomena.

On the other hand, when we undertake to experiment with moral ideas, assuming God to be their cause, we arrive very often at the most diverse and contradictory results. From our inability to verify the attributes of God by experiment, atheism very illogically concludes that there is no God; and skeptical scientists generally boast that, if there be a God; we at least

have no certain knowledge of him. But both these conclusions are entirely unwarranted. In experimenting with sensations we get invariable results, and the conclusion is that their cause is constant. In experimenting with moral ideas we get diverse results, and the logical conclusion is that their cause is variable. We arrive at the same amount of certainty in regard to both. We know that the one is a constant, and the other a variable quantity. So far from this result antagonizing theism, it is the only result consistent with the conception of God. If we could bring God under a system of laws, so that we could experiment with him and produce invariably the same moral results, he would that moment cease to be an adequate cause of moral ideas, and would fail to fill up the conception which moral ideas necessitate. Our only conception of Deity is that of a self-existing and self-determining intelligence, and as such, governed by no laws but those of his own nature. One of the distinguishing elements of intelligence is that it acts with reference to ends; that is, that it has a design in all that it does; while physical forces act blindly, with no end in view, and may be turned by man to serve equally any purpose whether good or bad. An infinite intelligence must have an endless variety of alternatives of action, between which he is perfectly free to choose in accordance with the purpose which he has in view. With such a being it would be the height of folly, not to say of profanity, to experiment with the expectation of getting a constant result. The absurdity of Tyndall's famous "prayer test" was that it regarded God as simply a force in nature, and proposed to experiment with it to see just what it would do. It was assumed in the proposition, that if God answered prayer for a given thing once, he would always grant the same answer for the same thing under the same conditions. This might be true if we could know all the conditions present in the Infinite Mind upon which the prayer was first answered, and could reproduce all those conditions when the prayer was subsequently offered; but the impossibility of knowing the motives which actuate God must forever render the expectation of receiving an invariable answer to any prayer absurd in the extreme. The very fact that our prayers are sometimes answered and sometimes denied, and that the answers when granted are

sometimes modified and often delayed, is itself proof that we are dealing with a great intelligence, whose acts are governed only by his own will and purposes. The result is precisely what ought to have been expected, and what the theist would have predicted from the beginning. So far, therefore, as experience goes, the inference which leads to God is quite as strongly supported by facts as that which establishes a material universe. Science may *feel* greater certainty because it deals with matters of sense, but it has no ground of belief which religion does not equally possess. Both rest upon the same basis, and both are supported by the same amount of evidence.

Mr. Herbert Spencer claims to have made a discovery by which he at once and forever blots out all knowledge of God, and proves all religion, except a know-nothing one, to be idle and empty as a dream. He undertakes to show that it is absolutely impossible for us to form a conception of the first cause of things. He tells us that the only truth in all religion is that there is something which needs explanation. That something is from its nature, he tells us, "unknowable." How he came to find that much out about a thing of which we can know absolutely nothing does not appear. This great unknowable something is the infinite background out of which all that is knowable emerges, and into which, in the last analysis, every thing resolves itself. Of course, science can know no more of the "unknowable" than can religion, but both can know that there is an inscrutable something back of all phenomena. According to this author, the only province of religion is to keep before the world the fact that we don't know and cannot know any thing about God. Our only knowledge is a knowledge of our total ignorance. Since the "unknowable" is the great first Cause of the physical, as well as of the moral world, it is not easy to see how the physicist can build up a system of knowledge upon a foundation of total ignorance any better than the religionist. What then becomes of scientific knowledge? To save this from annihilation in common with religion, we are told that all true knowledge is *relative*, and that whatever is conditioned and limited we can know. The universe of phenomena, being limited and conditioned by relations, thus becomes a field in which thought may reap a harvest of substantial knowledge. But the great Infinite Cause

out of which the finite sprang—being, as separate from phenomena—must forever be robed in impenetrable darkness. Let us stop and examine this *relativity of knowledge* carefully, for a blade which cuts so smoothly one Gordian knot may also cut another. The meaning of this phrase is that we can only know the relations which subsist between things, not the things themselves. Well, the relation between two things is the aspect which the one presents to the other, and how it is possible to know that relation or aspect without knowing any thing of the two objects thus related is inconceivable. The moment I perceive the relation, I know that much of the things related, and am no longer in total ignorance of them. My knowledge may be very imperfect, but it is genuine knowledge so far as it goes. If it be meant that we cannot know all the relations of ultimate being, and that our knowledge of such being must, therefore, be one-sided and imperfect, I suppose no one could be found to dispute the statement. Precisely this religion has always taught, but the more relations I discover, the more I know of the things related, and were it possible for me to discover all the relations of any existence, my knowledge of that thing would be well-nigh complete.

It is not claimed that man can comprehend God, but it is claimed that he can apprehend him. Because we cannot take in the whole of the infinite is no reason why we cannot know a part of it. I can look through an auger-hole and see a stone wall beyond, but I cannot see it all. I do not know how high it is, nor how long it is, nor how deep down it goes, nor how thick it is, nor how nor when it was built, nor for what purpose it is used; but I do know that it is a stone wall, and that it is larger than the auger-hole through which I am looking. Could I change my position, and look at it in a similar way from another point of view, I should see another aspect of it. When I had looked at it from a thousand different points, I should know a thousand times as much as when I first beheld it. Do you tell me that all my knowledge thus far is only a knowledge of relations, and that I have not yet penetrated into *being* at all? Be it so. All I want to know of the great, eternal, infinite Cause of things, for the purposes of religion, are the various relations which he sustains to me, and the corresponding ones in which I stand to him. The same kind of

knowledge which will build up science will also construct a substantial religion.

As if to invalidate this conclusion, Mr. Spencer interposes the cosmos of phenomena between man and the great "Unknowable," and limits scientific knowledge to the relations of phenomena. He builds a wall around the field of knowledge, and shuts God entirely out of it, simply telling us that beyond the boundary the great Cause of all things resides, but that we can know nothing more of him. If it were true that we could only know the relations of phenomena to each other, then it would follow that we might have a science, but no religion. But it so happens that phenomena have more than two sides—they sustain relations not only to each other, but also to the unfathomable something back of and beyond them. The only way by which Mr. Spencer arrives at a knowledge of the existence of the "Unknowable" is by tracing phenomena back until they vanish into the shapeless and invisible raw material out of which they were evolved. He is forced, therefore, to admit that they sustain an important relation to the "Unknowable"—that of effect to cause. Nor does he hesitate to affirm that he has arrived logically at a clear apprehension of that relation. He says, "We know nothing more of existence than a continual manifestation."* A short distance further on he makes this passage the basis of a lengthy argument. He says, "Setting out from the conclusion lately reached that all things known to us are manifestations of the "Unknowable," etc.† According to this statement, the *existence* of the "Unknowable" not only becomes known, but also the relation which he sustains to the whole realm of phenomena. The world which we can know is only a *manifestation* of Him whom we cannot know. How we can know the universe of matter and of mind as a manifestation of an infinite cause, while that cause remains absolutely unknowable, appears to us not only incomprehensible but contradictory. A manifestation is a revelation. An effect is a partial disclosure of the cause. By an irresistible law of thought we are compelled to believe that there resides in the cause something analogous to that which we discover in the effect. A book is a revelation of the mind of the author. Not that there is any

* "Principles of Philosophy," p. 142. † Ibid., p. 143.

thing in mind like paper and ink; not that there is any thing in mind like the shape of letters and the sound of words; but because through these visible symbols are discovered to us the thoughts and purposes and designs of the author. The visible becomes the mirror to its invisible cause. No man can look at a steam-engine without knowing something of the mind of the inventor. If he study it in all its parts carefully until he understands their various relations, he will know the inventor better; if he read its history from its first conception, through its crude stages, until it reached its present state of perfection, he will be tolerably well acquainted with the mind which gave it being; and yet no one dreams that there is anything in that mind like a steam-engine. There is a thought-analogy for every material form; and we cannot help, in studying an effect, inferring that there resides in its cause a corresponding something which bears some remote analogy to the effect.

Now, if I can know the world of phenomena, and know that it is an effect, in just so far am I made acquainted with its great, eternal Cause. The knowable becomes a revelation of its cause, which is no longer either unknowable or unknown. The world is an apocalyse of God. From the world of sense we can infer power, wisdom, design, purpose, in the Creator. From the world of thought we infer will, intelligence, goodness, justice, truth, and holiness in God. Call this all a knowledge of relations, if you like; it is the same kind of knowledge which the scientist has, and is amply sufficient for the purposes of religion. Our knowledge is very limited, it is true, and consequently very imperfect; but it is genuine, definite knowledge, so far as it goes. Could I ascertain all the relations or dispositions of God to man, I might write *Eureka* as the title of the volume which contained them; for the disclosure of these would be the full solution of the religious problem. So far from the world of phenomena being an insurmountable wall, separating between man and the "Unknowable," it becomes the stile over which thought climbs into the presence and knowledge of God. While science knows so little of the relations of things and thoughts, we, of course, must be limited in our knowledge of the relations which God sustains to us and we to him, in so far as the Divine character is inferred from what we know of phenomena.

But if God can make a "manifestation" of himself through a world, then he can also make a revelation of himself through a book. Did we know the whole of nature, it is probable we could read the mind and heart of God sufficiently without any other revelation. But as we do not and cannot compass all the relations of phenomena, we can only get partial, one-sided, insufficient views of the great I Am; and hence the necessity to religion of a more direct and clearer revelation. No antecedent impossibility or improbability can be urged against such a revelation as the Christian world claims to be in possession of. If God can discover himself to us through sensations, he can do it as well through inspirations. If he has manifested a part of his character through nature, and that part be insufficient for human guidance, there is strong probability that he would uncover his face to us in some other way. Whether the Bible contain such revelation or not, will still be an open question to be settled, like any other question of fact, by the evidences of Christianity. It is not the purpose of this article to enter upon a defense of the Scriptures, but simply to clear the way of antecedent difficulties for the discussion of Christianity.

We have thus far seen that, starting with the same basis in consciousness, we arrive by the same methods at a knowledge of the existence of God, by which the scientist reaches his knowledge of the existence of matter. From a comparison of relations, we infer the character of God in the same way and with as much certainty as the physicist learns the properties of matter. The relativity of all knowledge is no more a bar to religious knowledge than to scientific. Experiment verifies our conception of God as clearly, though in a different way, as it does our theories of matter; so that natural religion stands just where natural science stands, and walks as surefootedly. Finally, nature utters a prophecy of revelation. The partial disclosures of God through phenomena prove the possibility of his becoming known, and strongly suggest the probability of a clearer vision in some other way. The Christian claims that he has found that other way in the Bible, and asks that men shall patiently and carefully examine this book. And he who refuses to study the Scriptures is as false to science as to God.

Art. III.—THE RAMAH OF SAMUEL AND OF RACHEL'S LAMENT.

One of the difficult questions in biblical geography relates to the satisfactory identification of the site of the Ramah of Samuel, the great prophet and Judge of Israel. "Though the ablest students have exercised their ingenuity upon it," says J. L. Porter in Kitto's Cyclopædia, "it remains to this day without a satisfactory solution."

To the solution of this problematic question the effort of this present contribution to its literature will be given, with the hope that a careful consideration of its statements and conclusions may remove the necessity for a similar confession in the future, by giving an identification of the site of this most interesting city, at once satisfactory and fulfilling all the conditions found in the biblical references to its position and existence.

Samuel was born at Ramah. This seems clearly made out from the statement that the house of his father Elkanah was at Ramah. 1 Sam. ii, 11. This also identifies it to be the same place which, in 1 Sam. i, 1, is named "Ramathaim-zophim." His father Elkanah was a Levite of the family of the Kohathites. To the Kohathites had been allotted by Joshua, with other places, an inheritance in Mount Ephraim, (Josh. xxi, 21;) and from Mount Ephraim, Zuph, (named also Zophin in Chronicles,) an ancestor of Elkanah, had migrated, and seems to have taken up a residence in Ramah or its immediate neighborhood. Such changes of place seem to have been no uncommon event among the Levites. Especially does there seem to have been a frequency of interchange between "Mount Ephraim" and "Bethlehem-Judah." (Judges xvii, 7, 8; xix, 1.) The case of the Levite from that city who became settled as "chaplain," or priest, for Micah in Mount Ephraim is an instance of this. A farther illustration of the same interchange is found in the history of that Levite of Mount Ephraim who married a concubine at Bethlehem—whose tragic fate had well-nigh proved the cause of the extirpation of the tribe of Benjamin. For some reason it would appear that Zuph had acquired such distinction as to have

caused a certain region of country to be named "The land of Zuph," and the family to be called "Zuphites." Of this name Zuph it may be queried, with much greater plausibility than with respect to "Soba," whether a trace of it is not left us in the name of a village a little to the west of the road from Bethlehem to Jerusalem in Wady Ahmed, as noted by Robinson, (Bib. Res., i, 469,) and now called "Beit Sufafa." Be this as it may, there is no possible doubt but that the dual-plural expression, "Ramathaim-zophim," may be rendered the "Ramahs of the Zuphites," or, better perhaps, "The two Ramahs of the Zuphites." Thither also was the place of the return of Samuel from his "circuits," for at Ramah was his house—there he judged Israel, and there he built an altar. (1 Sam. vii, 17.)

With these preliminary statements, we proceed to elicit from the various notices of the place in the Bible all the information which may tend to fix its locality.

Our first effort may be directed to the identification of a city, of which mention is made on the occasion of Saul's search for his father's asses. (1 Sam. ix, 1, etc.) That search must have continued not fewer than three days, (v. 20,) perhaps for several days longer. It seems to have been undertaken with the expectation of its requiring a considerable time, and yet the provision made was about exhausted. Starting from Gibeah, north of Jerusalem, Saul seems to have directed his steps north-westwardly, striking the mountain range in the southern part of the allotment of Ephraim. Passing through Mount Ephraim, he journeyed on through the "land of Shalisha," conjectured to be the "three land," or the land west of Jilgillia traversed by the "three wadys" which terminate in and form the large wady of Kurawah. Thence he seems to have turned again south-eastwardly, passing through the territories marked in Robinson's (Kiepert's) map as the possession of the "Beni Salim"—through the land of Shaalim—thence south-westwardly through the territories of Benjamin, keeping to the eastward of Jerusalem, until, in the northern borders of Judah, he entered "the land of Zuph." When near a city in the land of Zuph Saul determined to return home, but yielded to the suggestion of his servant to consult "the man of God who was in that city;" had, indeed, his ordinary residence

there—for that is the plain and most natural meaning of the servant's expression. The home of Samuel must have been a matter of common notoriety; could hardly have been unknown to the servants, even, of such a family as that of Kish. But it is scarcely within the range of probability to suppose that this servant could have had any knowledge of a mere casual visit to the place. The idea of such casual visit, or the knowledge of it, is, moreover, wholly inconsistent with their after course of procedure. For if the servant knew that he was to be in the city, and on that day, why ask of the maidens whom they encountered "if the prophet were in the city." Moreover, if the prophet did not ordinarily reside there, how came they to ask, Where is "the prophet's house?" In the preceding seventeenth verse of the seventh chapter it is distinctly stated that at "Ramah was his house;" and the same word (בַּיִת) seems to be used in both places as signifying his home or abiding place. It is not necessarily in conflict with this statement that the maidens said that "he came to-day (הַיּוֹם) to the city;" for that may simply mean that he had just come home from some short journey after an absence evidently brief. Or, more probably, it may mean that he had that very day come out of his house into the city—in other words, that they had seen him in the city that day bestirring himself about the matters pertaining to the feast. For on a previous day ("יוֹם אֶחָד, one day") he had been informed that the Lord would on the morrow send "a man out of the land of Benjamin" to be anointed "captain over Israel." (Ver. 15.) In expectation of this event, as the whole of the narrative seems to show, the "feast" had been appointed, the guests had been invited; the part of the sacrificial or slain animal most valued, and used as a mark of honor, had been designated, and directed to be served. All this preparation and these distinctive arrangements are wholly inconsistent with the idea of Samuel's having been absent more than a few hours from the city where they had been made, but are perfectly in keeping with the statement that this was his home, that the feast was of his own appointment, and the guests or participants of his own invitation. So, too, the course of Saul, and the inquiries made by him and his servant, are perfectly natural on the hypothesis of Samuel's residence being there; but that he was frequently absent from his home, as

indeed from the office which he held, was necessarily the case. The tenor of the narrative, and the inference from its connection, indicate that Saul's servant knew this to be the ordinary residence of the prophet, and that he knew of nothing which at that time would cause his absence, but that yet such absence was a possibility. If we take up the narrative, as we advance we shall more clearly see the evidence that the feast had been provided because of the revelation made to Samuel on the previous day, and was intended specially to do honor to his expected illustrious guest. At the time of the servant's advice they seem to have been just at the foot of the hill on which the city stood. "And as they went up the hill to the city they found young maidens going out to draw water," by whom they were informed that the Seer was then in the city, having come to it that day, and that he was about to go up to the high place to a sacrificial feast. Just as they entered the city they lighted upon Samuel on his way to the high place. At their meeting Samuel was divinely informed that this was the man who had been sent to be anointed king, and he at once invites Saul to the feast, putting him in the "chiefest place" among the thirty or more invited guests. At the feast Samuel said to the cook, "Bring the portion which I gave thee, of which I said unto thee, Set it by thee;" and when it was set before Saul, he said, "Behold that which is left! (margin, 'reserved,') set it before thee and eat; for unto this time hath it been kept for thee since I said, *I have invited the people.*" Thus, then, it is seen, as before said, that the feast was one of Samuel's own ordering, and the guests of his own inviting, thus adding farther confirmation to the view that this was his own city Ramah, or Ramathaim-zophim, the Ramah of the Zuphites, where he had built an altar. One would utterly fail in the attempt to show the propriety of even a prophet inviting guests to a feast at any other place than his own house; and no good reason appears for his being anywhere else than at his own home. In the morning, from the house where they had passed the night, they went "down to the end of the city." There Saul was anointed. There he was told that while returning home he would meet two men near "Rachel's sepulcher in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah." Now Rachel's sepulcher, concerning the position of which there has never been any dispute, is

about a half hour's journey from Bethlehem, on the road to Jerusalem, which is distant from the tomb about one and a half hours' journey. The border of Benjamin ran a little south of Jerusalem, and, westward of the city, curved still farther southwardly with the summit of the hill-range, whose north-eastern side ran down to the deep valley of Hinnom, while the south-western side sloped off into the plain of Rephaim. Zelzah, therefore, if the name of a place at all, must have been situated about midway between Rachel's sepulcher and Jerusalem. It may, however, be well to state that there is reason to doubt whether Zelzah is the name of a place or not. Certain it is that the Septuagint version did not so render it, but translated by *αλλομενους*, "leaping violently."

It is needless to follow the remaining steps of Saul's journey homeward, since nothing farther can be gained or lost thereby with reference to our purpose. It may be suggested, however, as farther significant of the identity of the place of Saul's anointing with the "Ramah of Samuel," that this narrative occurs in immediate sequence and connection with the interview of the elders and Samuel at Ramah, in which they made their demand and plea for a king, and in connection with which importunate demand Samuel had there and then received a revelation from the Lord in which he was directed to grant this request. It is, moreover, in accordance with the tenor of the narrative to conclude that it was at that very time that the Lord had spoken in the ear of Samuel, saying, that "on to-morrow I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin" whom he was to anoint "captain over Israel." This was indeed the fitting PRIVATE sequel to his direction to "hearken unto their voice, and make them a king;" and might be sufficient ground for the Seer's cheering *public* proclamation unto the men of Israel gathered at Ramah, "Go ye every man unto his city." In any event, it is absolutely clear that the place of Saul's anointing was not within the territories of Benjamin, and could not therefore have been any of the various places within that territory to which conjecture has attached the name of Ramah. It is, farther, just as evident that the tomb of Rachel was between the borders of Benjamin and the city where the anointing took place—and that that city must have been beyond the sepulcher, as they journeyed from home or from Gibeah. It is

also clearly evident that the city was on a hill, and would not be inappropriately named Ramah. It is not, therefore, without reason that the weight of the authorities is given to the view which is herein set forth, and coincides with J. L. Porter (Kitto's Cyclop., *s. v.* "Ramathaim-zophim") and Canon Cook in what is denominated the "Speaker's Commentary," that there is no "valid reason for doubting that this was Ramah," Samuel's city. And as subsidiary to our final purpose, it may now be affirmed that, whatever the name of the city might otherwise be, its close proximity to Bethlehem, if not its absolute identity with it, is positively and incontrovertibly fixed.

We may now examine the incident narrated in 1 Sam. xvi, of the anointing of David. The close of the preceding chapter distinctly says that Samuel went to Ramah. At Ramah, then, Samuel received the command to go to Bethlehem to anoint a son of Jesse king. Samuel objected to going, lest Saul, hearing of the transaction, should kill him. To conceal as much as might be the purpose of his journey, he was instructed to "take a heifer" in his hand "and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord. And call Jesse to the sacrifice." "And Samuel did that which the Lord spake, and came to Bethlehem. And the elders of the town trembled at his coming, and said, Comest thou peaceably?" At the conclusion of the feast and of the anointing "Samuel rose up and went to Ramah." Of this passage it must be observed that it would seem that what is here named Bethlehem must have been but a short distance from Ramah. The taking of the heifer "in his hand," that is, leading it from one place to the other, would seem to indicate but a short distance, such as might be walked over by an old man, a centenarian, in a brief space, and yet leave sufficient time to offer sacrifice and perform the Levitical or priestly consecration to regal authority. There is no indication that he tarried over night. It is not so much as intimated that he had with him, and for his return, any beast of burden. Yet it must not be forgotten that Samuel was now very far advanced in life, and therefore naturally unfitted for a long or toilsome journey. Three years afterward all Israel lamented his death, and buried him in his own city—Ramah. This fact of his great age, and that he had retired from public life, and from all intermeddling with the affairs of the people and

nation, added to their knowledge of his alienation from Saul, combined with their knowledge of that monarch's suspicious and cruel nature, would be sufficient to account for the surprise and fear of the elders of the town, who must have seen that the emerging once more from the privacy of his own residence indicated no ordinary impulse or unimportant cause. For our purpose the circumstances connected with this incident sufficiently warrant the conclusion that, whatever in other respects may have been the relation which the two names had to each other, the distance between Ramah of Samuel and Bethlehem could not have been great—a conclusion which has already been reached in the incident of the anointing of Saul.

Another transaction narrated in 1 Sam. xix, invites attention. We are therein told that when Saul sought David's life he fled from his home, which seems to have been at Gibeah, "and came to Samuel at Ramah. And he and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth." Of Naioth it may be said that the word occurs nowhere save in this place, and in the history of this single transaction in Saul and David's adventures. Its literal translation would be "habitations, dwellings." Keil says, "it is here applied to the *cœnobium* of the pupils of the prophets who had assembled round Samuel in the neighborhood of Ramah, and that this *cœnobium* consisted of a considerable number of dwelling-places or houses connected together by a hedge or walls." But "Naioth" is said (vers. 19, 22, 23) to be *in* Ramah. The Targum of Jonathan, it is said, uniformly renders Naioth "the house of learning," which is the term applied by the later Hebrew writers to the schools of the rabbis. Hence it is almost certain that Naioth was the name of the collegiate residence of the prophets in or just outside (in the suburbs) of Ramah, founded probably by Samuel, and under his superintendence. To this college Samuel removed with David, doubtless because of its greater safety both by position and by reason of its sanctity. (See Keil and Speaker's Commentary, *in loc.*) After repeatedly sending messengers in vain to seize upon David, Saul determined to go himself to make the capture. On his way to Ramah it is said that he came to a "great well (בּוֹר, cistern) that is in Sechu." This "Sechu," as a place, is nowhere else mentioned, and no such place is now known. In fact, it is questioned whether it is the name of a

town, or of any thing of that sort. If derived from שָׂכָה, it would indicate a place of observation, and hence "watch-tower" has been suggested as an interpretation.

But this is suggestive of what may after all prove the true meaning and explanation, namely, that the well was within sight or view of those who were at the gate of the city, or on the watch-tower at the city gate. If this be allowed, then the steps of Saul's later progress agree very well with what is stated of Saul's former visit to Samuel when he was first anointed king, and which we have seen is almost certainly proved to have been Ramah. For it will be remembered that he then met maidens coming down out of the city gates to draw water. So that in both cases we have a well, (בּוֹר, rather, cistern,) which was a matter of such importance as to render it probable that it was under constant watch either by persons stationed upon an elevated tower near the well so as to be apprised of any approaching predatory band, and be prepared to protect it, or by the ordinary guard at the watch-tower at the city gates—this, perhaps, being the most probable hypothesis. At the cistern he was told that both Samuel and David were in "*Naioth in Ramah*," and away heat once hasted to "Naioth" —the college or schools and dwellings of the prophets, "where Samuel was standing as appointed over them"—in other words, he there found Samuel fulfilling the duties of a teacher appointed over them for that purpose.

We may examine a little farther this matter of the well or cistern, as it may afford important collateral assistance in fixing upon the true site of Ramah. It seems to have been a well-known—indeed, somewhat unusually famous cistern—a noted waymark and characteristic of the place. It was not a "well of living water," (בְּאֵר,) but was more probably a pit hewn in the rock, or bored in the solid earth and walled with masonry, and properly described by the word always used (בּוֹר) in designating it—a receptacle, perhaps, for the "early and latter rains." For this purpose its situation at the base of the hill eminently fitted it. We may now collate the mention made of it in the instances cited, with a reference made to a בּוֹר, or cistern, of a remarkable character, which is found in connection with an incident in David's after history. It is related almost in the same words in both 2 Sam. xxiii, 13–17, and in 1 Chron.

xi, 15–18. It tells us that "three of the thirty chief went down to David . . . unto the cave of Adullam: and the troop of the Philistines pitched in the valley of Rephaim, [or the giants.] And David was then in a hold, [not, it would seem, *in* the *cave* of Adullam, but near it,] and the garrison of the Philistines was then in Bethlehem. And David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate! And the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Bethlehem, that was by the gate." The position of the valley of Rephaim, or the giants, is sufficiently identified by the boundaries laid down in Josh. xv, 8, where it is said that the southern border of Judah "went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of giants (Rephaim) northward;" that is, "the border line mounted from the valley of Hinnom to the summit of the hills to the west of it, at the spot where the valley of Rephaim running up from the south reached the same ridge on its other side." (Speaker's Com. on Josh. xv, 8.) This valley (עֵמֶק, plain) is said by Josephus "to extend to Bethlehem." "On the west side of the valley of Hinnom rises a bare, rocky ridge, beyond which commences an upland plain, considerably lower than the ridge, but almost on a level with the city. It extends southward toward Bethlehem more than a mile. Declining gradually on the south-west, it contracts at length into a narrow and deep valley called Wady el Werd. The plain is flat and fertile, but is shut in on all sides by rocky hill-tops and ridges." (Kitto's Cyclop., *sub voc.*) "It extends far westward into that deep and narrow Wady el Werd, which, when joined with the Beit Hannina, extends as far as to Wady Sarar and Nahr Rubin, and offered to the Philistine armies the most direct and available approach to Jerusalem. On an eminence in the more southern part of this depression can be seen from the Mount of Olives, Mar Elyas; and in the rear the hill on which stands Bethlehem. Over this plain of Rephaim runs the aqueduct of Solomon and the road to Bethlehem." (Ritter's Pal., vol. iv, pp. 27, 28. See also Robinson's Bib. Res., vol. ii, p. 219.) The city of Adullam is named by Joshua as a place in the Shephala, along with Jarmuth, Socoh, and Azekah.

Eusebius makes it to be about eight miles from Beit Jibrin eastward. If, as is most likely, this were *north*-eastward, it would place the city of Adullam about seventeen miles south-west of Jerusalem. If in the Shephala, it could not have been eastward that distance from Beit Jibrin, since that city is itself situated among low hills at the head of a valley; while eight or ten miles directly eastward would throw it among the hills of Judah. Its true position seems to have been still farther north-eastward, perhaps not far from the entrance to the main wady, which pierces the limestone hills, to which there is a descent from the more lofty ranges of the hill country of Judah, and in which Robinson found innumerable caverns—one nearly one hundred feet long—sufficient indeed, as the Arabs said, "to hold all the forces of the Pasha." Thus it would be not far from Yarmuth and Beit Nettif. From the various notices of it the cave of Adullam could scarcely have been at a distance greater than eight or ten miles from Bethlehem, its city and hold or citadel perhaps a few miles farther; and the direct route would be, as at this day, down the Wady el Werd, and across the valley of Rephaim. "This hold or fortress of Adullam was probably a frontier fortress on the Philistine border, which from its strength and position, and the neighborhood of the caverns, was judged by David to be the best place of defense against the invasions of the Philistines." (Speaker's Com., 2 Sam. xxiii, 14.) The probabilities are that the Philistines had come north-eastward, through the openings in the limestone hills, until, striking the southern extremity of the valley of Rephaim, they spread themselves northward and eastward along its sides, penetrating so far east as to have captured the garrison at Bethlehem and established there a military post. Meantime David hasted along the borders of Hinnom westward until he had passed beyond Rephaim, and thence descended south-westwardly until, at Adullam, his force was strongly posted between the host of the Philistines and their own country; a perilous position indeed, but yet one which would enable him to make the best of a victory. If the incident now under discussion is connected with the invasion named in 2 Sam. v, 22–25, then it would seem that this posting himself at Adullam was part of his "fetching a compass behind them," as he was directed of the Lord, and which

resulted in a most complete victory and terrible destruction, since after their defeat they were unable to make their way directly westward to their own country, but were driven northward by way of Gibeon until the remnant reached the highway near to Gezer, on the borders of the great maritime plain of the Philistines, where the slaughter and pursuit was abandoned—wisely so, Gezer being a fortified place, and still in the possession of the aboriginal tribes.

We note, then, these three coincidences:—

1. When Saul came first to the city where Samuel first anointed him, namely, to Ramah, he met maidens descending the hill to draw water from the cistern (בּוֹר) outside the gate of the city. 2. When he came again in search of David he came to a well or great cistern (בּוֹר) outside the gate, where he found persons who told him that Saul and David were at Naioth in Ramah, the narrative impressing the mind at once with the singular fact of their very ready familiarity with David, a familiarity at that time in his history best accounted for by the fact that here was his home. 3. A great cistern (בּוֹר) is proved by the incident just now discussed to have been just outside the gate of Bethlehem. It does not matter for our purpose whether there is now found near the modern village Beit Lahm such a cistern or not. It is sufficient that such a one was there in the days of Saul, as now proved. Thus, then, there is similarity, if not identity, in the fact that there was a cistern near the gate, and on the way to both what is named Bethlehem and what is named Ramah. And there is also indicated this farther idea, that the way to Naioth *in* Ramah was by the road which passed by the great cistern "in Sechu," which, whatever be its meaning, marks a distinction between its position and "Naioth in Ramah," just such as might be expected to be noted if, as seems in every way most probable, they passed through the gates of Bethlehem in order to reach Ramah or Naioth, that is, the schools of the prophets in Ramah. At his first visit, it will be remembered that Saul is represented as going up the hill to the city, and then, passing through the city gate, he fell in with Samuel, who bid him and his servant pass on before him—evidently through the city into which the gate opened—to the high place. And so, also, on his return, they went on down to the end of the city

—the narrative having previously told us that "they came down from the high place into the city"—making a distinction between the high place from which they had come down, and the city to which the gate was the entrance.

Closer attention may now be invited to the fact already noted, that the name of the place of Elkanah's residence, namely, Ramathaim-zophim, signifies the "double hill of the Zuphites," Ramathaim being the dual form of Ramah. With this fact before us, and its connection with the foregoing statements, the conclusions which seem inevitably to be accepted may be presented: (1.) That the entire elevation—the continuous range—from the western ascent to the precipitous termination at the eastern end, had received the name of Ramathaim from the circumstance that it had *two elevated summits separated by a depression*, and as being in the territory settled or occupied by the Kohathite family of the Zuphites, or having been the residence of Zuph, perhaps the most influential man of his day, and the region was distinguished from other similar ridges by this addition, making the name of the whole, including both summits, Ramathaim-zophim. (2.) That the hill where the gate of entrance was situated was the lower elevation of the two, and that, after passing through the town situated upon it and crossing the depression, the way ascended to the higher summit. (3.) That on the first of these, the western summit, Bethlehem was situated, and on the more elevated eastern summit was the Ramah of Samuel, on the side of which he himself dwelt, and where, at an elevation of two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea—three hundred feet higher than "Jebus, which is Jerusalem"—he had erected an altar, consecrated a high place to Jehovah, which in process of time was surrounded with buildings and schools for the prophets who gathered to him for instruction. Thus at length it became Naioth in Ramah, occupying and consecrating the site where, thousands of years afterward, an illustrious woman, devout as Hannah, of a diverse race and people, the Empress Helena, built the magnificent church and basilica of the Nativity in memorial of the birth here of David's greater son.

We may now remark that these conclusions, and this position of the Ramah of Samuel, fulfill all the conditions required by the mention made of it in the sacred writings.

It will readily be seen that it accords well with the description given of Samuel's judicial circuits. In the north, accessible to the tribes who dwelt in Galilee and Samaria, he presided at Bethel; thence he went south-eastwardly to Gilgal beyond Jericho, near the fords of the Jordan; thence in a south-westwardly direction to Mizpeh, as near as perhaps safety would allow to the Canaanites, who still dwelt in the hills about Jerusalem, and accessible to a numerous population; thence southwardly to what was in his day perhaps the most noted and accessible of the towns south of Jebus, and in the midst of a thriving and numerous people, to his own city, Ramah, where also he judged Israel, on the ridge Ramathaim-zophim. It will thus also be seen that only on this theory can it be shown that Samuel exercised the functions of judge at all in the country south of Jebus or Jerusalem.

Nor is the distance too great to meet the requirements of Samuel's hasty visit to Gilgal at the close of the war with Amalek. (1 Sam. xv, 12, etc.) Twenty miles "as the crow flies" would cover the distance from Bethlehem to Gilgal, as the site is now fixed on the maps, and a man of hot zeal, who rose early in the morning, would ride over that space in such a time as to be early enough in the day to relate a vision of the previous night, (by our mode of speaking, but "this night" when the day was considered as beginning with sunset,) and also "to hew Agag to pieces;" and it accounts for the statement at the close of the entire transaction, indicating that each departed by a different way—"Samuel went (וַיֵּלֶךְ) to Ramah, and Saul went up (וַיַּעַל) to his house to Gibeah of Saul," namely, from Gilgal Samuel returned southwestward, while Saul went north-westward to Gibeah. Had Samuel gone to Ramah beyond Gibeah, or to Neby-Samuel, or to any of his hitherto supposed homes, the route of the king and the prophet would have been the same, and Samuel would only have separated from Saul when the latter had journeyed some considerable distance on the way to his home, from thence journeying alone to the so-called Ramah. Even to er-Ram, part of the route would have been the same to each; but the whole tenor of the narrative indicates that the two separated at Gilgal.

This site of Ramah also fully accounts for its being made a place of refuge by David when fleeing from Saul. To have gone

to er-Ram, or to any point in the immediate neighborhood of Saul's own residence, Gibeah or Gibeon, would have been to put himself into the hands of Saul's immediate relations and retainers; while the going down to Ramah in the Zuphite hills was the most natural thing in the world to be done, since he was there in the midst of his own people, in the country familiar to his boyhood, the place of all others where he would be most likely to find places of refuge. Moreover, it accounts for his so readily passing, at one time westward to Gath, and at another time north-eastwardly to Moab, without in any case, as would be necessary on the former supposition, passing through the immediate vicinity of Saul's residence, or even of his tribal possessions, save at their extreme eastern limit.

And in relation to Rachel's lament, it furnishes a reasonable and natural ground for the application made of it in Matthew's Gospel. To this passage we may now direct our attention; and all the more closely since it is because of its relation to the early or preliminary stage of the Gospel history that it becomes especially important to discover the true site of the ancient Ramah. Turning, then, to the original passage, (Jer. xxxi, 15,) it is found that the words occur in connection with prophetic declarations as to the restoration of Israel, and are followed by the declaration that they should return again from the land of their enemy to their own border. It is usually presumed that this has reference to an event which had already taken place, namely, to the departure of the captive Israelites to Babylon by way of Ramah, in the north of Benjamin. It is indeed assumed that this Ramah had been a sort of rallying point and rendezvous for the captives taken by the generals of the Babylonish king, and that the reference is to their sad wailing as they took up their line of march to the Euphrates. But the evidence for such a rendezvous at Ramah is but slight, if any at all exists, and the tenor of the narrative is rather that it was noted simply because it was the place on their route where Nebuzar-aden dismissed or set free Jeremiah, and permitted him to go whithersoever he would. But, as said before, the words occur in immediate connection with a prophecy, and may be considered as a part of it. They may possibly have some reference in the mind of the prophet to scenes which he may have witnessed at the northern Ramah; but we may readily un-

derstand that the "mind of the Spirit" may have been, and it is most reasonable to suppose that it was, concerned with the events yet to occur. For notwithstanding that a great multitude of the Israelitish people were carried by way of Ramah of Benjamin to Babylon, a numerous population still remained, and their number was rapidly increased by those, who had fled to Moab and the neighboring countries, returning as soon as they learned of the departure of the Chaldeans. But the death of Gedaliah by the hands of Ishmael, and the ascendency of Johanan, was followed by the gathering of the confused and terrified remnant of the people to his standard; after which Jeremiah tells us that "then took Johanan, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, all the remnant of the people whom he had recovered from Ishmael from Mizpeh, even mighty men of war, and the women, and the eunuchs, whom he had brought again from Gibeon; and they departed and dwelt in the habitation (גֵּרוּת, *a shelter*, properly, *an inn* or *caravanserai*—Fuerst's *Heb. Lex.*) *of Chimham, which is by Bethlehem*, to go to enter Egypt, because of the Chaldeans, for they were afraid of them, because Ishmael had slain Gedaliah, whom the king of Babylon made governor in the land." Against the advice of Jeremiah and his revelation of the Lord's anger at their projected course, Johanan and the captains of the forces dragged away from their rendezvous at the kahn Chimham all the remnant of Judah, men, women, and children, the king's daughters and Jeremiah and Baruch exiling themselves by their flight into Egypt, with their unwilling people, but a small number of whom were ever to return to their own land. (Jer. xxxi, 15; xl, 1; xli, 15–18; xliii, 5–7; xliv, 28.)

It may now be suggested that the inn or kahn of Chimham may probably have been on the eastern summit of the hill Ramah. It will perhaps be remembered that Chimham was the son of Barzillai the Gileadite of Manasseh, who came with David, and to whom David seems to have given an allotment in his own patrimony, or, as is most likely, had given to him a possession in the Naioth, which after the time of Samuel are no more named as in the possession of the prophets. In that case it would have been inhabited by Rachel's own descendants; and there is much more ground

for the representation of this mother lamenting a departure which included among the exiles her own children—going to certain destruction—especially as they were going against the expostulation of a prophet from one of her own cities, Anathoth in Benjamin, and were dragged, not by heathen enemies, but by their own wicked fear, away from their country. The final fulfillment of this prediction of suffering is in that case fairly made out, for a remnant returned both from Babylon and Egypt, and a Jewish population again filled the habitations of this city up to the time of the coming of Messiah the Prince. And there is nothing forbidding the assertion that this kahn of Chimham may have been identical with the inn where Joseph and Mary sought entertainment, and thus have been in a certain sense the starting-point of that sad journey to Egypt, which by reason of the madness of Herod they were compelled to take, though they had first toilsomely made their way back to Nazareth, the scenes enacted at Ramah being the primary cause of their exile. But in Ramah, when the cruel order of Herod was executed, and "in all the coasts thereof," including therefore the territory contiguous to the tomb of Rachel, the wailing voice of each mother of a son "two years old and under" would be heard, "lamentation and weeping," as "Rachel weeping for her children and would not be comforted because they are not," cut off by their self-exile in the olden time, and now destroyed by the mandate of the enraged Idumean. It remains to be said, that to this view the objection would be of no force if it were said that therefore Jesus was not born in Bethlehem, for there can be no shadow of doubt that the name Bethlehem came to be applied to the whole of the long street traversing the entire length of the Ramathaimzophim, while yet a trace of the ancient distinction was maintained in the application of ancient fact and prophecy.

The process of induction from the facts and considerations above presented had long led the writer to the conclusions herein stated, but confirmation from actual topographical description was lacking until at length the following passage, found in Ritter's Palestine, vol. iii, p. 340, was read: "The city of Bethlehem lies east of the road leading from Hebron, UPON TWO MODERATELY SIZED HILLS, one at the east and the other at the west. These hills are separated by a narrow pass. The

western of the two hills on which Bethlehem stands is called Kilkel. In the pass between the two hills the larger part of the (modern, not ancient) village lies. East of this on the slope, and moreover on the top of a prominent and bold mass of Jura limestone, stands the Church of the Nativity—picturesquely, and in the manner of a fortress, surrounded by the three convents, the Latin and Greek ones on the north, and the Armenian on the south." The entrance to the town is by the northern slope of the western hill; while at the farthest extremity of the eastern hill, and overlooking the precipitous north-east face, stands the Latin convent, closely connected with the Church of the Nativity and the sister convents. There is "no spring or well of living water in or near the town," says Dr. Robinson; but we have seen that a cistern, not a "well of living water," is what the descriptions demand. Robinson describes the well, to which tradition has given the name of "David's well," as "a deep and wide cistern or cavern, now dry, with three or four narrow openings cut in the rock—situated about a quarter of an hour's walk to the north-east of Bethlehem," which would correspond very closely with what one would expect from the biblical descriptions, especially in the case of Saul. But Ritter describes it as "deep, with clear, cool water, into which there are three openings from above," and says it "is built with peculiar beauty, from seventeen to twenty-one feet deep." Robinson also found one, not far from the gate, connected with the aqueduct to the south. Thus, then, the topographical conditions and descriptions, as given by actual observers on the spot, seem to be in agreement with the conclusions deduced from the previously stated facts and considerations; and we may close this paper by the simple expression of the hope that, with this solution suggested, future explorations will add abundant confirmation to the statement herein perhaps first suggested or asserted, that the eastern hill, which lifts its bold mass three hundred feet above El Kuds, the Holy, and around which cluster the hallowed memories of Christianity's glad Christmas, is indeed as well the birthplace of the great prophet and judge of Israel, whose honored hands anointed both the first and the greatest of Israel's monarchs, as of the great High-Priest and King of the everlasting kingdom, Jesus the son of David; that here also will

be found the burial-place in which the body of Elkanah's son was laid amid the wailing of all Israel—that here, indeed, is Ramah of Samuel.

NOTE SUPPLEMENTARY TO "THE BAPTISM OF NAAMAN,"
JANUARY NUMBER, 1874.

The writer desires to supply a few words omitted in the *written copy*, and therefore (by no fault of the editor or compositor) not found in the printed article. In line 19, page 68, read thus: "When the action respects *things other than* clothes, *πλυνω* is mostly used."

It may be added that רָחַץ, as referring to clothing, seems not once to occur in the Hebrew Scriptures; and the same is consequently true as to *πλυνω*, *νιπτω*, and *λουω*, as the Septuagint renderings of רָחַץ. Πλυνω does indeed frequently occur with reference to the washing of clothes, but is then the representative, chiefly, if not wholly, of כָּבַס.

It is significant also that *λουω* is given in Tromm's Concordance as occurring once only as the representative of any Hebrew word other than רָחַץ, and that, appositely enough, is in the passage (Psa. vi, 6) where the Psalmist says: "All the night make I my bed to swim (שָׂחָה, *λουω*); I water (הָמַס, *βρεξω*) my couch with my tears;" rather, a copious *outpouring* or *shedding* of tears, but *no dip, no immersion.*

A correction of errors in the citations in Tromm's Concordance results in showing that of the seventy-two occurrences of רָחַץ, it is rendered in the Septuagint by *λουω* forty-one, instead of thirty-eight, times; six, instead of eight, times by *πλυνω*, and but once (Exod. xl, 30) the verse is wanting in the Septuagint.

These statements or alterations in nowise affect the final result intended to be attained in the discussion of the case of Naaman, but are needful as matters of fact and truth, which may have their use and bearing in other investigations.

ART. IV.—THE PRESIDING ELDERSHIP.

IN this paper we propose to discuss what has been for many years a *vexata questio*, and one that has threatened at times to disturb seriously the peace of the Church. Since the earliest organization of our Church this question has been much mooted, and every General Conference from 1792 to 1832, with one exception, had the presiding eldership under review. Since 1824 the "radical controversy," slavery, lay delegation, and other leading matters, have thrown the presiding eldership discussion into the background; but now it is again assuming proper shape and is coming to the front, and at our next General

Conference it will probably be, as in 1820, the principal question to be considered.

It is thought in some quarters, I will not say how correctly, that there is an inclination among some of our official men and official papers to keep from our people discussions looking toward a change in our Church polity. A former editor of the "National Magazine," himself a very conservative man, once very truthfully said:—

> It requires the Church to stand in a favorable attitude for improvements—leaning forward ever, backward never. She is not shackled by unalterable precedents. . . . A large liberty of discussion is, then, a necessity of our cause; the whole genius of our system presupposes it—its healthfulness depends upon it. And I have no vague meaning when I thus, from my loyalty to the common cause, demand open discussion of these subjects for it. I mean that its *official* organs should be open for such discussions. The inquiry, How can its practical system be made more and still more effective? is one of their most legitimate topics, and one that would subserve greatly the welfare of the Church. It would preserve the loyalty of many good but dissatisfied men, who, seeing the system habitually open to scrutiny and discussion, would feel assured that what they deem exceptionable in it must sooner or later be made right, or shown to be so already. It would take away the provocation for separate movements and separate papers, and keep such discussions under the control of the Church.

Wisely and truly spoken! and it would be well if such wisdom were heeded by all who have authority in these matters.

In this paper we propose to discuss the presiding eldership as fairly and as exhaustively as our limits will allow.

Admitting freely and fully the wisdom that originated this arm of service, and admitting as fully and freely that it has done and is doing much for the promotion of Methodism and scriptural holiness, and that we are in hearty sympathy with the *office*, we come to investigate its *modus operandi*, and to see if its workings may not be improved.

As a paper on a subject of such vital importance, and now so much canvassed by the laity, will probably be read by some who have not carefully considered the history of our Church organization, it may be well to begin *ab initio*, and review briefly this branch of our economy, and thus we may see whether it can be improved or not.

For over eighty years we have had the presiding eldership, and the first actual—but not so-called—General Conference was composed exclusively of bishops and presiding elders. Sherman's "History of the Discipline," page 27, says: "To obviate the difficulty (in securing unity) a 'council,' composed of the presiding elders and the bishops, was devised and introduced; but the concentration of such vast power in so few hands aroused suspicions, and elicited criticisms so severe that the plan fell dead at birth." Practically, but little change has been made; for from that date until now, for reasons to be given hereafter, presiding elders and bishops have controlled the legislation of our Church. Dr. Sherman says, (page 28:) "The elders now (1792) took the name of presiding elders, to be appointed by the bishops, with defined duties, and dependent on the people for support, the tenure of office being restricted to four years." In a foot-note Dr. Sherman says: "This restriction (of tenure of office) was suggested by the troubles with O'Kelly, who had remained in the same section ever since the Church had been organized, and who was thus able to use his influence to distract the Church." From that date until now the continuance in this office of any man for longer than four years consecutively has caused more or less trouble, and is theoretically and practically wrong.

Having noted the date of the origin of this office, we may consider the cause that originated it. We are told that "the withdrawal of the English clergy of this country during our Revolution having deprived the people of the sacraments in the Middle and Western States, Wesley provided for the exigency by the ordination of Coke, and thence came the episcopacy. A few men were ordained by the new bishops to traverse sections of the Church for the purpose of administering the omitted sacraments. These were found useful in other administrative matters, and thence came the *Presiding Eldership.*"

Just where the conditions that then existed continue to exist in whole or in part, there, in the same degree, the same economy is needed, and will prove a success. With but one bishop to superintend the vast interests of a vast territory, it was utterly impossible to manage the affairs of so widely scattered a Church without assistance. The shrewdness of Asbury saw this, and

so he called to his aid such men as Jesse Lee and others, who were nearly his equals in the office and work of the ministry.

The origin and cause of this office having been briefly considered, we may now examine its present *modus operandi*, and set forth some current objections.

In the beginning, as now, the bishops were authorized to "appoint" (*select?*) the presiding elders, and from the very beginning until now there has been earnest opposition to this plan of appointment. At the General Conference of 1800 a motion was introduced to authorize the Annual Conferences to elect their own presiding elders; but then, as ever since, the bishops (naturally) were opposed to such a course, and the motion was defeated. In 1804 an effort was made at the General Conference either to make the presiding eldership elective, or to abolish it. So for eight years longer the discussion went on, until at the General Conference of 1820, under the powerful guidance and influence of Hedding, Emory, Griffith, Bangs, Waugh, and others of like ability and renown, (*manus nobilis fratrum!*) the following resolutions were passed by a majority of two thirds:—

"*Resolved*, 1. That whenever, in any Annual Conference, there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in consequence of his period of service of *four years* (italics ours) having expired, or the bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the bishop or president of the conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the conference shall elect by ballot, without debate, the number wanted; provided, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected; provided, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference, the bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.

Resolved, 2. That the presiding elders be and hereby are made the advisory council of the bishops or president of the conference in stationing the preachers."

It is safe to say that such resolutions indicate that there were fewer presiding elders than usual in that General Conference. Dr. Sherman's account (pp. 36, 37) of the General Conference

of 1820 is quite interesting in its allusions to the presiding eldership. He briefly says, "Joshua Soule was elected to the episcopal office, but refused to be ordained because they had voted to elect presiding elders. . . . The conference ordered the election of presiding elders, and then at a later date suspended the rule in deference to Joshua Soule." That Joshua Soule should be unwilling to accept an office without plenary powers is not to be wondered at; but that episcopal timber was so scarce in those days is astonishing. This unparalleled yielding to the views of one man is the more wonderful in the light of the fact that afterward three of the advocates of an elective presiding eldership became bishops, namely, Hedding, Emory, and Waugh.

Having now traced this question down to the time it was lost sight of in the storms that arose about other matters, let us state, as fairly as possible, the reasons assigned for the continuance of the present system of presiding eldership. It is claimed, 1. That presiding elders are necessary in the cabinet for the proper enlightenment of the bishop. 2. That unordained men need aid. 3. That weak places need special attention. 4. That a general supervision of the work by presiding elders is necessary. 5. That the plan has worked well thus far, *ergo*, etc.

It will be at once and by all admitted, that in the making of the appointments the bishop needs the counsel of some who have personal acquaintance with the preachers and the people. But is it necessary to have a distinct office and distinct officers for such a work as this? Might not a pastor, stationed in or near the center of a given district, keep himself in contact or communication with both preachers and people, by letter or by occasional visits, so that he could have an intelligent idea of the work and its wants? The chairman or presiding elder of such a district could send aid to the needy, and could do the work needed to be done in all cases. The plea that we should "let well enough alone" is not worth considering, for that has always been used to oppose every reform in Church or State.

But cannot all of the points indicated above be fully covered by the modifications proposed? Let us consider them: 1. An elective presiding eldership. 2. A *minimum* number of presiding elders. 3. The best material.

1. The law now gives the appointing power to the bishop, and technically he appoints; but really the presiding elders select, and the bishop's work is only nominal. If this be doubted, let some brave bishop override the wishes of his cabinet, and fail to appoint their selected men, and at once there will be trouble in the camp. It is urged that the present plan is unsatisfactory, for many reasons. Out of personal friendship or obligation a bishop may appoint an incompetent man to the office, or he may find, when too late, that he has acted upon *ex parte* or insufficient information. If, before going to the conference, he should confer by letter with prominent ministers, or during the conference should seek information outside of the cabinet, his constitutional advisers would consider him popish and disrespectful to them. He, then, is shut up to the information given him by the presiding elders, and very naturally the majority of the members of any cabinet would nominate and recommend a man known to be in sympathy with them on local and general questions, and in this way the cabinet not infrequently becomes a "ring," in fact as well as in name. Wherever this state of affairs exists the presiding elders, either by exchange of districts, or by aiding each other, perpetuate themselves in office, and thus obtain an influence that can be used to the detriment of others and to the injury of the Church. If by any means there is a vacancy, only such a man is nominated as will be in accord with the present incumbents, and but few bishops are bold enough to take the responsibility of appointing a man not selected by the cabinet. The result of this well-known state of affairs is, that, in too many cases, the presiding elders, feeling that their tenure of office does not depend upon the good-will of the brethren, nor really upon efficiency, wax bold, and woe betide the man who opposes their plans or wishes.

But if each year, or quadrennially at the utmost, the question should be asked, "Who shall be the presiding elders?" and this question should be settled by ballot, there certainly would be more sympathy between the presiding elders and the pastors, and much less domineering and dissatisfaction in our conferences.

If it be said that such a course would produce "log-rolling," caucusing, and strife, it is answered that such need not be the

case. There would be an annual canvassing of merit and efficiency, but only good would result from that. In this way only can there be an interdependence between pastors and presiding elders, and without this there is and must be more or less offensive exercise of power. In many cases men continue themselves in the presiding eldership nearly a life-time, and live comfortably in the same house for years, while other *traveling* preachers annually, or triennially at the furthest, try new charges and new homes.

By a little shrewdness these presiding elders can so arrange with their colleagues in office as to make the proper exchanges and accommodations, and thus the conference will be for years under the rule of a very few men.

There is a growing demand on the part of both preachers and laity for an elective presiding eldership, and never till then can we have our best men for this office. Years ago Dr. Abel Stevens said, that if we would keep the presiding eldership intact "we must man it with our best talents; and to make it elective would, I believe, help it."

2. There is another modification demanded, not only in the West but also farther East, as was recently seen in the action of the Philadelphia and Central Pennsylvania Conferences, and it would have been had but for the opposition of the presiding elders and bishops. We refer to the size and number of the presiding elder districts.

In a majority of western conferences the presiding elder's district embraces from thirteen to twenty appointments, and hardly in any case does this plan give satisfaction. If there be but thirteen appointments the presiding elder can be present on Saturday and Sunday, and can preach four times (in the country—city charges do not want Saturday services.) The average salary of the presiding elder must be at least thirteen hundred dollars. As it is almost utterly out of the question to find any thirteen circuits or stations, adjacent to each other, that are able or willing to pay each one hundred dollars for sermons no better than they have already paid their pastors for preaching, this plan is nearly out of date.

Take the next and more usual method, that of placing sixteen or more charges in one district. From such a district the presiding elder usually desires about sixteen hundred dol-

lars, or, as a rule, one hundred dollars on the average from a charge, be the district larger or smaller. This plan does not please the people either, for as no man can be ubiquitous, no presiding elder can attend all of his quarterly meetings in person, and so he sends a local preacher, or deprives some station of its regular pastor and sends him as a substitute. But this plan does not work well, for the substitute may not be acceptable to the people, or the charge that has had to lend their pastor for the occasion may complain, having paid their share for the support of the presiding elder already. Conference after conference has asked for an enlargement of the districts, but usually in vain. If the request be granted, the districts are (seemingly on purpose) so arranged as to make the change offensive, and thus the object is defeated. We out West are slow to learn how the eastern conferences compel the granting of their wishes. The most of the New England conferences have but three presiding elders each, having about forty charges in each district.

The presiding elder is not expected to do the preaching that the pastor is paid to do, but he is a counselor, and presides at all of the Quarterly Conferences. Or, instead of holding Quarterly Conferences, he can hold semi-annual conferences, and these are sufficient. But if it is thought necessary to have the presiding elder present four times each year, let him hold the Quarterly Conferences of two contiguous charges together, or let him use several week nights, and in eight weeks out of the twelve he can hold every Quarterly Conference. Why a presiding elder should have nothing to do from Tuesday morning until Saturday is not understood, while a pastor must give all of his days and evenings to the work of the Church. By this arrangement of the work the presiding elders can use the Sabbaths in administering the sacrament where the pastors are not ordained, and in preaching where the congregations are weak, or are but seldom visited by the pastor. In some of our conferences we have to spare from the pastorate from six to ten of our best preachers, and they spend their time in looking after matters and doing work that men of less preaching ability and greater executive skill could do better.

We now come to another point of great importance, and one that will be stoutly questioned, but that can readily be estab-

lished, namely: *The salaries of the presiding elders come largely out of the pockets of the pastors.* Take any ordinary charge, and it will be found that the stewards present the matter in about this way: We can raise, say, a thousand dollars this year for the support of the Gospel, but as we must pay our presiding elder one hundred dollars, we can allow our pastor only nine hundred dollars.

This is no fancy sketch, but such as the writer and many others have seen again and again. If the pastors who do not need the services of a presiding elder, or need them only in the cabinet, must assist in supporting a man who may be a benefit to others or to the work at large, let them have the burden distributed among from forty to sixty pastors, rather than among sixteen or twenty. In most places the Church assumes at the beginning of the year all it is willing to carry, and then divides that amount among the various claimants. The fewer the claimants, the larger the amount for each; and if there be any one claimant that is of but little use, that one should be dispensed with, or be paid according to his value in general or particular.

But there is another point of view while looking at the question of finances. The average cost of supporting a presiding elder is not less than fifteen hundred dollars. As we have nearly eighty conferences in the United States, and as at least sixty of these have a surplus of presiding elders, we might save nearly three hundred efficient men for the pastorate, and at least three hundred thousand dollars for the better support of the pastors and for the benevolent enterprises of the Church, for we insist that the people would raise this amount extra as salaries for pastors, each charge paying for its own pastor. This question of finances cannot be laughed down or put aside, for in several conferences the laity are on the point of open rebellion, and such a rebellion would greatly damage Methodism. It were wise to meet the difficulty now and properly. The next General Conference can do it. But it is urged by some in favor of small districts and a large number of presiding elders, that where there are but few these few will have more power, and the preachers will have fewer proper representatives in the cabinet; in other words, the smaller the ring the worse for the cause. This position is not well taken, for

as it now is the presiding elders choose their own colleagues, and they generally select only such as they can use or influence, and thus the "ring" is enlarged and strengthened. An elective presiding eldership alone can cure this evil.

But how can we have an elective presiding eldership until we reduce the number of presiding elders? for the fewer the districts the fewer will be the presiding elders in the General Conference to oppose the elective movement. But it may be said that there is no reason why any conference should send chiefly its presiding elders as delegates to the General Conference. This may do for those who do not read their Bible, or keep their eyes open; but since the time the Lord's debtor made out reduced bills in order to have a home for himself after he should be dismissed the service, men have made use of their position and power to aggrandize themselves. If it be said that such language intimates that preachers are designing men, and are willing to prostitute their high and holy office to base purposes, it is emphatically denied. There are peculiar influences surrounding the presiding elder's office that, *nolens volens*, affects those who are officially related to the incumbent of the office. The pastors and places in any given district are virtually under the control of the presiding elder, and, as a rule, he admits a man to his district or sends him from it. He also by his representations affects the standing of the men in his district, and can open doors elsewhere or shut them, and poor human nature sometimes gets the better of grace, and prejudices or personal preferences will sometimes be felt in the giving of the appointments. Such being the case, how naturally the pastors incline to treat their official chief with courtesy and marked attention; and if instead of the presiding elder one of the pastors is sent to the General Conference, it is generally thought that something must be wrong with the head of that district. By kindness, by good promises, by four annual visits, by giving good appointments, a presiding elder *can* (we would not say that any *does*) easily and naturally obtain the votes of his preachers, and the result is seen in the delegations that go to our quadrennial assembly, and is seen in the legislation of that body. The first question to be settled by any Annual Conference with reference to proposed modifications or reform is, Will the presiding elders

favor it? If so, it will succeed; if not, it is doubtful. The bread-and-butter question, the character of our appointments and our general standing, depend so largely upon those who represent us in the cabinet, that we naturally incline to curry favor with those who have in their hands the interests of ourselves and our dependent families. This view of the question is not from theory, not from what ought to be or might be, but from what *is*. We are dealing with facts, whereof proof can be given in abundance. Is it not right, therefore, that the pastors should have a voice in the selection of their direct overseers? An elective presiding eldership will meet the case, and nothing else will.

3. There remains one other ground of opposition to the present *status* of the office that must be briefly noticed, and this is the tenderest point, as it touches the incumbents of the office, and becomes a personal matter. It is so true—sometimes ludicrously so—that the "outs" have so poor an opinion of the office or its mode of working, that it becomes necessary to place them among the "ins," in order to have them act for the defense of both men and measures. Lest the present writer should bring about his ears the whole swarm of disturbed presiding elders, he will not venture to say that any feeble or unworthy or incompetent men have ever been appointed to districts, but Dr. Abel Stevens shall speak, and then all will listen. In an open letter to Bishop Simpson, in 1855, after detailing the work of a presiding elder, he says:—

> This is the *office*, but where is the *officer?* There's the rub. No man in his senses can deny the potential capacity of the office, but its very capacity exposes it to unfortunate criticism by the incapability of the incumbent. Our wretched policy in the appointment of presiding elders has nearly despoiled the office of its importance in some of the Atlantic States, and the appointing power, whether in the episcopacy or the cabinet, may hold itself responsible for much of the "radicalism" which prevails among us respecting it. . . . One of two things seems to be inevitable respecting the presiding eldership in the Atlantic States—either the appointment to it of our most commanding talent, or a very thorough modification of it.

Brave words to speak to a bishop, but no braver than true. If the reader will insert the word "United" in the place of "Atlantic," he will find the prediction and the assertion as true to-day as twenty years ago. What was true of the East

then is peculiarly true of the West now, and nothing more need be said on this point. When we are allowed to elect our presiding elders, then, and not till then, will we always have officers who will dignify and magnify the office.

And just here we have some words from the Canada "Christian Guardian" that cover the entire case so completely, and that come from such a source, that they must compel attention and respect. Nothing could be more conclusive or *apropos*:—

> As to the election of presiding elders, or whoever else may station the preachers, *is it really too much to allow the poor itinerants who put the interests of themselves and their families in somebody's hands* to have the privilege of sending to the stationing committee those men whom they believe to be the most impartial and reliable? As the bishops can possibly only make visits, like those of the angels, "few and far between," the chief pastoral and administrative authority must be exercised by the presiding elders. As they are liable to the ordinary infirmities of humanity, an elder may be inefficient, partial, or injudicious; but neither the preachers of the district which he governs, nor of the conference to which he belongs, have any voice in his appointment nor any control over him. He is responsible only to the bishop. . . . We have sometimes thought it rather singular that in the United States, where the people are so strongly opposed to MONARCHY, and where popular representation is carried so far that even the judges are elected by popular vote, the prevailing type of Methodism should be far less DEMOCRATIC, and give far less prominence to the elective and representative principle, than in Canadian and English Methodism. Our Annual Conferences elect not only their presidents, but also the chairman of districts, who are responsible to the conference appointing them for the discharge of their duties. . . . And in England they are even more liberal than this; for they elect only one representative to the stationing committee from each district, and they elect whoever they deem best, whether he be the chairman of the district or some one else. We confess this reference to an imaginary destruction of the itinerancy by the election of presiding elders looks to us very much like a false alarm; because, from practical experience, we know that the change recommended by the New York "Advocate" has no tendency to weaken the itinerancy. But it has a tendency to strengthen it, for preachers are likely to accept their appointments more cheerfully when they have had a voice in constituting the court that makes these appointments. . . . Is not the itinerancy as firmly established and as faithfully maintained in England, Canada, and Australia, as in the United States? Yet in all these countries the presiding elders are elected by their brethren. . . . We have no doubt that both the bishops and presiding elders of the United States are the excellent of the earth—noble, godly men. Still, *any sys-*

tem, political or ecclesiastical, that practically leaves the people depending upon the infallible wisdom and goodness of men over whom they have no controlling power, as a system, is seriously defective and needs amendment.

The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is this: The people and preachers demand fewer presiding elders, and these to be selected for their peculiar fitness for a peculiar office, and these to be selected in the Annual Conferences by ballot. These modifications are demanded on the ground of utility, economy, fairness, and the general principles of Methodism. Let us have fair, plain, and sweet-spirited discussion, until the whole machinery of the Church shall be in the best possible working order.

ART. VI.—THE NEGRO.

International Review, September and October, 1874. Article I. The Negroes in the Gulf States. By E. T. WINKLER, D.D. Georgia.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine, January, February, and September, 1874. Article The New South. By EDWARD DE LEON.

"BANQUO'S Ghost," says Dr. Curry, "has done much service in metaphors, and his serviceableness remains." The negro, in turn "slave, "contraband," and "freedman," is the American Banquo. He will not down. Without being in any way responsible for it himself, his *status*, capabilities, and prospects are being brought constantly under the public eye. He has been patronized, flattered, cajoled, slandered, and at last has reached the dignity of being arraigned and indicted before the world. The public attorney, who in this case has volunteered to frame the bill and rhetorically prosecute it, is a Baptist doctor of divinity in Georgia. This brave knight, now tilting against a freedom eternal as the granite hills, in December, 1871, being then a South Carolinian, published in the "New York Examiner and Chronicle" an apology for Ku-kluxism, as remarkable for its misstatement of facts as for the rancor of its spirit. In this defense he charges the United States forces with "midnight intrusion into chambers inhabited by trembling women," "Sabbath investment of churches," "the capture of youths in their teens and of old men far advanced in decrepitude," and with "sweeping the *best and purest men into jails.*"

The italics are our own. And in this apology, widely copied and favorably commented on throughout the country, though admitting the terrible doings of the Ku-klux Klan, he says, in extenuation, that "their victims ought to have been punished," and affirms that he "cannot see how any Christian can be true to his people, or his country, or his God, when he encourages these so-called Ku-klux prosecutions," meaning the prosecution of the Ku-klux murderers in the United States Courts.

And now the men who, under slavery, robbed the Negro of all his human rights, seek to deprive him of his dearly-bought political and social franchises. The plea on which it is sought to justify this spoliation is the Negro's alleged incapacity, and the crimes he is charged with committing and occasioning.

We propose, as far as the limited space at our disposal will permit, to analyze and traverse the indictment already alluded to, giving *excerpta* which, we think, will be found sufficient to discover its solecisms, its sophistries, and its contradictions in figures and facts, on which are based its most absurd and startling charges. The only liberty taken with the text will be to italicize the more important passages.

THE INDICTMENT.

The Negro is "the *lowest* of the human race," in whose behalf "a new political system has been established at the South; a system at variance with the opinions and customs of both races; a system framed by a remote legislature, and enforced by the penal sentences of exotic judges and the martial power of conquerors."*

He has failed, through "want of knowledge and discretion," to satisfy, in "political affinities *and services*," *the expectations of his benefactors.* He has been "deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." He is "credulous." He has been limited in his choice for office to the "scalawag," the "carpet-bagger," or the "inexperienced Negro." He has reduced bribery to a system, transferred the official desk into "a booth in a market-place, where an *aye* or a *no* may be sold as innocently as a fish or a pancake." He has "swept away

* "International Review," p. 578.

every safeguard of property," and instituted "a new reign of terror," the "victim of which is the taxpayer," and the drain one "of money instead of blood." He has increased the public debt in Texas from two to fourteen millions, in Mississippi from nothing to one and one half millions, that of Alabama from eight to forty-two millions, and caused a like increase in other States. He has depleted the public resources, deprived the "tax-payers of the means to respond to the demands of their States and of the General Government." He has "*paralyzed trade* between the sections, and *commerce* with foreign nations. There is no merchant who deals with the South, in New York or Liverpool, whom the Negro legislature have not mulcted." The "system," unless arrested, "will cost the country more than would be required for the transfer of the whole race to Africa."

His "conduct has been dictated neither by gratitude . . . nor malice; . . . for the mercurial and shiftless temper of the African retains neither of these sentiments." "Of allegiance, as a principle and a sentiment, he knows as little as he knew when the emancipation proclamation was published." "The colored juror is a failure. He knows but little of the principles of justice and the system of law, and cares less." He has been the cause of an "enormous increase of crime." Theft, perjury, and adultery are minor, if not venal, offenses. . . . Perjury, for example, is so general that the solicitors themselves pass it by. The colored witness has no sense of the sanctity of an oath." "The Negroes here, as in Africa, are *adepts in stealing*." Corn-cribs and meat-houses are broken open, and stock is destroyed to such an extent that meat has to be imported from abroad. "Jails cannot hold the convicts."

"There is *little regard for personal purity*, and little conception of the life-long union of mutual hearts." "*Feticide*, heretofore a crime scarcely known among the Negroes, *has become common*." "They believe that certain charlatans among them are able, by the use of drugs, dried lizards, fetishes of rags and hair, to produce and heal diseases, plant living creatures on the body, and inflict death." "The thin varnish of civilization and sentiment cannot conceal the barbarism of the race." "They are even retrograding morally." Their chil-

dren "are growing up in idleness and shiftlessness." "Like all the savage races who have been brought into sudden contact with civilization, they merely imitate the manners, and copy and transcend the vices, of the superior race."

"The older Negroes perform about *three quarters* as much work as they did *formerly*." "Scarcely ever can a spinning-wheel or a loom be found in their retreats of contented, if not elegant, leisure." "On the one hand, this people travesty the family life of civilized societies; and, on the other, display the indestructible instincts of the tribal state." "They will not engage in any service unless compelled by urgent necessity, and when employed are neglectful and resentful to a degree."

"The *enthusiasm* for *education* has surprisingly *decreased*." "Where there are few or no blacks, the people are enjoying a higher prosperity than they ever had before." "Where negroes abound, the lands can scarcely find a purchaser."

Their labor "is shiftless, and even capricious." "The Negroes will not push the furrows, . . . they decline to ditch the lands; . . . they refuse to plow thoroughly; they object that 'dere is no use in dese con(in)ventions;' . . . they will not put forth any unusual exertions to save the crop from destruction; . . . the crops dwindle; labor has decreased fully *one half*." "Every community where Negroes congregate is embarrassed, if not crushed, by the burden." "Stock-raising is impracticable."

"No legislation can induce the whites to send their sons and daughters to school where they must mingle in daily and familiar intercourse with Negroes." "The races are separating. . . . Nowhere are they coming together." "To themselves, (the Negroes,) not less than to the Republic, their transfer to a separate colony would prove of the greatest advantage." "To-day, Mexico fronts these wandering tribes as the land of promise and seat of power." "The Negro would meet, among the sparse population of that vast and fertile domain, such unquestioning hospitalities as our country and our civilization cannot give."

Such is the terrible indictment presented to the civilized world by a Christian minister, against five millions of the American people. It could not have been made more sweep-

ing or bitter. If this is the "charming" with which the Christian ministry of the South has sought to charm the Negro, who can be surprised that he has persistently refused to enter its churches, or to give himself up to its teaching and control. However degraded the Negro may be, he is not so stultified and imbecile as to voluntarily place political or ecclesiastical power in the hands of those who would reason and legislate him even out of life itself.

This indictment was evidently never framed for the mind of the North. That mind in the general is too vigorous, too healthy, too discriminating and fair, to be misled by such an obvious misstatement of the moral and social *status* of this great factor in the problem of the nation's future. There may be a few bitter, disloyal minds at the North, as there were all through the great antislavery struggle, to whom it will be a sweet and highly-relished political pabulum. It will nauseate the great and generous mind of the North. It will harden the hearts of those who heretofore would have treated the men of the old South with tenderness. It is obvious, however, that the indictment, as framed by this "accuser of the brethren," this representative of the "rule or ruin" class, is intended for transatlantic, and especially for home, that is, Southern, consumption.

The first-class editors of the North understood, as by instinct, the animus of this article. "The doctor," says the astute editor of "Harper's Weekly," "undertakes to supply the philosophy and statistics for the white man's party conventions and platforms." A systematic and persistent onset, to which even the "International" has bowed its head, has been made upon Northern journalism, by arts known only to politicians and agents of the "Associated Press." Those having control of leading newspapers and reviews have been insidiously approached, and, in too many cases, unwittingly debauched. It became a fashion, for a time, even for Republican journals to vilify and abuse indiscriminately all of their own party that happened to be in power at the South. The condemnation was sweeping, indiscriminate, and in some instances very unjust. The old slaveocracy was jubilant. They thought they saw, in the abuse of the men intrusted with the offices they longed to fill, a sign of the speedy overthrow of "scalawags,"

and a presage of their own triumphant return to power. "The white people of the North," says the "Mobile Register," gloating over the success of these conspirators, "have awakened from their nightmare. The Negro is no longer the fashion. The North have come to their senses. The Negro has disgraced and ruined the party which pushed him forward, and the oscillating pendulum of public opinion is now swinging over to the side of the Southern white man. The North have found they could not make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and have cast Sambo overboard."

When facile pens, like that of the writer in the "International," drop their sugar-coated venom, the deceptively-labeled virus is eagerly absorbed by every toadying sycophant, and by fulsome admiration they spread the contamination through all the lower strata of society. In the general ferment that such utterances occasion, Tax Unions, Rifle and Saber Clubs, Knights of the White Camelia, and White Leagues, (all of which are in spirit, and some in actual aim, identical with the old Ku-klux organizations of 1871–'72,) are suggested and evolved. The abuse, the insults, the degrading personal chastisements to which school-teachers, and the ministers of our own and other Northern Churches, have, in numberless instances, been subjected; the murder of Bewley, of Randolph, of Sandy Peebles, of Robert Banks, of B. H. Nelson, of Captain W. B. Billings, of Simon Edwards, of Julia Hayden, (a young lady whose only offense was teaching a few of the outcast class;) of Thomas L. Ivey, (for daring to take charge of the United States Mail,) and of the Gessner family; the massacres at Coushattee, at Shreveport, La., at Trenton, Tenn., in Coffee County, Ala.; of Vicksburgh, and the establishment of Lynch law in Edgefield County, S. C., and at New Orleans; as well as all the atrocities of the disguised midnight prowlers sent out by the "Grand Cyclops" of the "Devil's Den;"* all

* The Hon. Charles Hayes, member of Congress, formerly the largest slaveholder in the State of Alabama, and a soldier in the Confederate army through the war, in a letter to Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, dated September 7, 1874, after describing several blood-curdling atrocities that had occurred in his State alone during the preceding thirty days, says: "The half cannot be told. To-day many victims of hellish murder are sleeping in unknown spots and secluded places, from which they will never be wakened until the final judgment day."

these, we say, are directly chargeable to the teachings of such men as the Georgia doctor of divinity.

We find it impossible, in the space usually allotted to a Review article, to consider and refute all the counts in so voluminous and minute an indictment. We boldly, however, and with our hand uplifted in the sight of the whole civilized world, and in the sight of a sin-avenging God, say NOT GUILTY! to every charge. We put in the plea not on our own account, for we are not on trial. We record it in the stead of the voiceless millions we feel it our duty to defend.

The Negro is *not* "the lowest of human races." The Digger Indian, the Camanche and the Modoc, the woolly-haired, prognathous Papuan, the savage Australian, the cannibal South-Sea Islander, and several other races, are incomparably lower. The boldness of this assumption takes us back to the good old *ante-bellum* days, when we heard so much of the Negro's compressed *os frontis*, his curious shin, his protuberant heel, and, we blush to name it, his incipient tail. To handle the *débris* of so old a controversy is like stirring the ashes of a forsaken forest fire. If, however, the wasted embers yield but the smallest nugget of gold purified, we shall be justified, if not applauded, for disturbing them. Said Huxley on a great public occasion, (and Huxley is an oracle of no mean fame in these days:)—

> I hold in my hand an address to a scientific body. In this address it is affirmed that "the skeleton of the Negro can never be placed upright. There is always a slight angle in the leg, a greater in the thigh bones, and still more in the body, until, in some instances, it curves backward. The blood is vastly dissimilar. The molecular movement within the discs differs in every respect, and, when tried with a solution of potassa, the protrusions from the cell-walls take every immediate form, reverting with great rapidity to the normal condition. The hair is very peculiar, three hairs springing from different orifices will unite into one," etc.

"I take this opportunity," said the great incipient evolutionist, "to affix to this statement the stigma of public condemnation." The African is not the lowest race physiologically. Barrow tells us that he saw a young Kaffir, about twenty years of age, who was six feet ten inches high. "He was," says he, "one of the finest figures that was, perhaps, ever created. He was a perfect Hercules; and a cast from his body

would not have disgraced the pedestal of that deity in the Farnese palace." Of other Kaffirs he says: "Their features showed them at once to be equally unconscious of fear, suspicion, and treachery. There is, perhaps, no nation on earth that can produce so fine a race of men as the Kaffirs." Haven tells us that

A distinguished naturalist of Baltimore has been heard to say of the African, that he is far superior to the white in all manly qualities. He is not the lowest race, taking the testimony of ancient history: "Ethiopia swayed the world from Memphis. Ham ruled all mankind from Nineveh, and Phenicia, and Carthage. The loves of the Shemite (Æneas) and the Hamite (Dido) were celebrated by Virgil, the daintiest scholar of imperial Rome. Black Ethiopia held generalships in Roman armies, professorships in Greek schools, and bishopricks in Christian Churches." *

As a producer he has been and is far in advance of all but the acknowledged leading nations of the earth. A writer in "Fraser's Magazine" for 1851 says:—

There are African races who yield to no people in the construction of objects of local convenience and luxury. They are known to surpass others in certain fabrics which no European nation has yet succeeded in imitating. The Turkish cap, or fez, the best of which are made in Tunis, is an example. The temper given to steel, especially among the Tuaric tribes of the Sahara, is believed in those countries to rival that for which Damascus was so famed. Woolen garments of certain peculiar texture would at least bear comparison with the best of their kind manufactured by other people. In the manufacture of perfumes they also excel; and they extract an attar from what they call the true yasmin, or jasmine, but what we call the Arabian jessamine, which is far more precious and more powerful than the attar of roses. The soap of Susa is highly and deservedly esteemed in the Levant. It is made with olive oil and "trona"—evidently natron, or soda—from the lakes of Agadez, a district about twenty degrees south and by west of Merzouk in Fezzan, from which district also comes the best senna. The tobacco of the Yawan, behind Susa in Frikia, or Africa proper, and that of the Matamala, or Mountains of Gaba, is in great repute. This herb is not only used as an artificial luxury for man, but as a sovereign specific in the diseases of cattle. Wools, admitted to be of the finest merino textures, are brought from Cafsa, Tozar, Nafta, and the country of the Mezzab, south of the main altars of Algiers. It is used by the Persians, and other manufacturers, in their finest shawls and other fabrics. The carpets or bed coverings, called battonias, are of extraordinary dimensions as well as beautiful texture, and are highly prized by the Asiat-

* "Haven's Sermons," p. 129.

ics. The fabrics for the female toilet only a special commissioner from Howell and James would know how to appreciate or even enumerate.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has published a little tract, in which it is said of certain African colonists:—

The progress of this colored settlement during the last forty years has hardly been surpassed by any thing recorded in the history of civilization; and it may, therefore, be said with truth, that the Negro has given the lie to the assertion of the ethnological sociologists, who, presuming on his alleged natural inferiority, declared him incapable of taking care of himself. He *has* taken care of himself—has provided by acts of courage and self-denial for the growth of his prosperity, for the education of his children, and for his instruction in the truths of Christianity, and in so doing has forever solved and settled the question as to his capacity for self-government.

To the charge that he has "*paralyzed trade between the sections, and commerce with foreign nations,*" the only answer needed is the facts as we have epitomized them from the lucid and reliable articles on the "New South," by De Leon. Preliminary to the epitome, we venture the statement that the production of cotton is still more than adequate to the wants of the whole civilized world, reaching in some of the years since the war to five millions of bales, worth not less than two hundred millions of dollars. And the cotton has been raised in the main by negroes.

"The consumption of cotton in Southern cotton mills," says the authority already referred to, "has increased from 36,547,795 pounds in 1870, to 60,572,120 pounds in 1873." Next in importance is the lumber business. In eight only of the extreme Southern States twenty millions of dollars have been realized from this branch of industry. "In this labor," says De Leon again, "the Negro is freely and profitably employed." "In 1872, in ten of the Southern States, thirteen hundred miles of railway were constructed, and probably as many in 1873 and 1874." All the heavy labor of this construction fell upon the negro. "Mines of coal and iron, unopened before the war, are now being worked with success. Forges, rolling-mills, and founderies are springing up." The exhausting toil demanded by these enterprises the Negro alone can supply. The only trade that has decreased is that depend-

ent upon the production of sugar. We have not space for the statistics of Southern rice plantations, producing fifty-nine million bushels in 1871, and cultivated exclusively by Negroes; nor of the constantly increasing tar and turpentine orchards, the labor on which is mostly black; of tobacco and corn fields; nor of the fisheries, and phosphate beds, and manufactories of commercial fertilizers; nor of the oyster beds—one bay alone supplying ten millions of bushels annually—a branch of industry which is being developed with singular rapidity; nor of the truck farms, growing to immense importance, supplying all the great cities of the North with early vegetables—all the result of Negro labor.

De Leon says: "Direct commerce with Europe and more distant parts of the world is springing up where it had no foothold before." The great seaport cities are putting themselves in immediate communication with the great commercial *entrepôts* of the old world. "In 1870 her [Southern] shipments to foreign ports amounted to $208,567,240, to which may be added $500,000,000 of domestic exports."

With facts like these, and they are far from being exhausted, where stands the charge that the Negro has destroyed trade and paralyzed commerce? He has changed the channels and character of commerce, and the change will enrich the world. The millions freed by the war demand, and are constantly acquiring, furniture, implements, books, pictures, and all the "notions" for which New England is the great manufactory. Before the war a limited and special trade was done in Negro hats and shoes and hoes. A few costly books, with plate and jewelry, were bought by the favored few. The great bulk of the money earned by slaves was spent maintaining a few thousands in elegant indolence, or in defraying their expenses at the fashionable resorts of Europe and the North. Now, a nation of consumers have come into the market, and the more equally diffused benefits resulting from their purchases are reaped by foreign importers, by city jobbers, by wholesale dealers of every class, and by every mill and factory hand from one end of the land to the other.

The colored man is purchasing largely of land and cattle. His accumulated savings in money may be counted by millions. He has become the owner of sailing craft, mills, stores, slaugh-

ter-houses, brick-yards, and public stables. In short, if we except the German, it is doubtful whether there is a laboring class among us whose accumulations, during the last decade, any thing like equal his. And yet we are told that "the system," that is, freedom, "unless arrested, will cost the country more than would be required for the transfer of the whole race to Africa." So long as we keep them here, we are sure of their market; deport them, and Germany, France, and Britain will share, or entirely absorb the trade. Surely the writer in the "International" is a poor political economist, or imagines that all others are.

If it has been true that "*the Negro has been the cause of an enormous increase of crime*," it would not have been a difficult matter to collect and publish the statistics necessary to demonstrate the fact. Nothing of the kind is forthcoming, nor, indeed, can there be. Some minor crimes against the person may have increased, but there are others that have ceased altogether. There are no "niggers" now burnt for brave rebellion, or whipped to death for defending wives from brutal outrage, or for secreting daughters when demanded by a ravening and insatiable lust. But, perhaps, it is intended to hold the negro responsible for Ku-klux outrages, and all their associated crimes. If this is the meaning of what is above alleged, then we are forced to admit that he has been the cause of an "*enormous* increase." The lamb has riled the brook. The wolf chooses to drink below, that he may have a chance to devour.

We brand, as a base, a mean, and a gratuitous slander, the assertion that "the Negroes have little regard for personal purity." Suppose that they had even less than they are alleged to have, does it become any Southern white man to wonder? For nearly two hundred years the superior race has been trying to eliminate and blanch all decency out of them. It would be no difficult matter to prove, that where one child is born out of wedlock now, fifty were so born under the "higher civilization." It is almost diabolical to charge this people, as they are, with a crime that should be nameless among Christian men. Whatever may be the depths of infamous and unnatural crime the white population of the South have fathomed, and they have become familiar with some utterly unknown elsewhere, into *that* loathsome depth we doubt

if the Negro has even looked. To be sure, the lips blanched as they uttered this infamy, for they muttered as they uttered it, "We have no means of verifying or testing this statement." Then, why publish it to the world? "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

Nor have we any evidence to sustain the allegation, that "*the enthusiasm for education has surprisingly decreased*" among this basely-libeled race. Such may be the case in States where every impediment is thrown in the way of a colored man who ventures to aspire to knowledge. But the opposite is most strikingly true of Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and the other States where fair facilities are afforded him.

Stealing, we are afraid, is a common infirmity, an offense limited to no one race or nation. The Negro, certainly, claims no exemption. But, then, the English steal; pocket-picking is a British invention. Sheep-stealing is a kind of national pastime, supplying Saxon literature with many and very striking proverbs. The Chinese steal; Ah Sin both fills and empties his capacious sleeve by

"Ways that are dark, and tricks that are vain."

Even the obscure and seldom-seen Welshman is tainted with the gentle vice. What says the old saw?

"Taffy was a Welshman; Taffy was a thief."

Yes, like all the rest, "*The Negroes here, as in Africa, are adepts in stealing.*" Adepts; that is, they are skilled, well versed in the art. No wonder, after the training they had under the benignant, patriarchal system of olden times. The Negro then had his own philosophy of stealing; his casuistry was ingenious, if not sublime: "If chicken eat corn, only turn massa corn into massa chicken; he no teaf. If hog root through potato rows, he no teaf; only turn massa potato into massa hog. If nigger eat corn, and chicken, and hog, he no teaf; all massa's yet." The idea that colored servants are given to pilfering beyond all other help is a monstrous wrong to a defenseless race. The writer of this article, though compelled by removals to have five sets of house-servants in as many years, has not lost the value of a dime. He has compared his experience with that of many others, and the testi-

mony is uniform. In fact, one of the great luxuries mitigating the ills of a Southern residence, is the respectful, efficient, devoted, honest help. There are fewer burglaries in the Southern States than elsewhere. Serious crimes against property are almost unknown; and when they are committed, it is generally by white men, or professional thieves from distant States. There are entire classes of crimes which, at the North, fill jails and penitentiaries to overflowing, of which we have never known a Negro to be convicted. If anywhere at the South "jails cannot hold the convicts," it is because they are now used for the punishment of offenses that were in olden time expiated by brandings, and the discipline of stocks and whipping-posts.

If "labor has decreased fully one-half," or if "the older Negroes only perform about three quarters as much as formerly," how comes it to pass that products are not diminished in a like ratio?

It is notorious that all the real work of the South is done by colored hands. Has the soil become more fertile, or have labor-saving machines been largely introduced? Neither! In the opinion of some, the Negro has always been an idler and a loafer. In the good old times we were advised that the stimulus of the lash was needed to enable him to hoe his row! As an answer to all the silly nonsense uttered, printed, and believed on this subject, we ask again: By whom is the labor of the Southern States performed? Certainly not by the whites; they are the capitalists, the traders, the teachers, the doctors, the lawyers, and the ministers. The only class that works—that works always and every-where—is the Negro, assisted to a very limited extent, it may be, by the poorer whites. If there was any wide-spread shiftlessness, any epidemic of indolence, it would soon tell its own story in diminished products and lessened exports. It would proclaim itself in general poverty, if not in famine, squalor, and death.

We have now traversed the leading charges brought against the Negro. The minor or incidental allegations we must summarize and treat in a general way. We must not lose sight of one great fact vital to this controversy. It is not the Negro on whom the assault is really made, and on whom it is proposed we visit the ills of attempted expatriation. Men of pure

Negro blood are extremely rare at the South. Even those who are regarded as such are, many of them, of mixed blood. In the veins of the blackest flows an ill-disguised rill of that well-defined current which gives life to Arab, Turk, and Jew. From the shores of the Mediterranean to about the latitude of 20° N., the population of Africa consists largely of tribes not originally native to the soil.*

There are thousands of colored persons, scattered all over the once slaveholding States, who not only bear the names, but carry the features and animate the blood of the so-called patrician race. The old Kaffir, Congo, Guinea blood has been mixed beyond all distinction and separation with that of every other nation that has had a foothold upon their shores. The people whom the baser sort of Southrons would consign to extermination, but whom the more highly educated piously say, expatriate, are not Negroes. They are hardly of African descent. It is the people of color that are aimed at. This includes our fellow-citizen of every shade, from the voluptuous octoroon with red cheeks and straight hair, down through all gradations of yellow and brown to charcoal black. It is not the Negro, but the whole colored population of the United States upon whom this assault is made. Of this portion of our great nation there is much to be said that should be gratifying to the Christian patriot. That the colored people have their own class vices, and peculiar infirmities and follies, is admitted. But they part with them more readily than any other race. "To say that a Negro is incapable of improvement," says Speke, "is a mere absurdity." In religion they have grown up into an earnestness verging on the fanatical. Before their devotion and fervor, the so-called piety of those about them falls into a formal sham.

It is not true that they always fail when aspiring to the higher steeps of intellectual achievement and learning. Their opportunities in this regard have hitherto been but limited. In almost every case, where they have had a fair chance, they have acquitted themselves with credit, if not *éclat*. Captain Burton, in his "Wit and Wisdom from Western Africa," gives us over two thousand of the black man's proverbs. One of them is, "When a slave becomes free he drinks rain-water;"

* "Encyclopedia Britannica," vol. ii, p. 221.

that is, he does not go a mile to fetch it from a river. Does that prove him unfit for freedom? Georgia doctors think it does. Slavery came well-nigh obliterating the Negro's native wit and genius. Thank God! the fire of genius is inextinguishable.

We have the testimony of Theodore Parker, that when Anthony Burns was first taken to Ohio to be educated he was a dull clog of stupidity. But the change that came over him was the most wonderful thing the Oberlin teachers had ever seen. When it fairly dawned upon him that he could learn to read, his zeal to improve was unbounded. He was at his books the whole time, and his capacity for learning developed more and more. The whole manner of the man was altered, and the *expression of his countenance* changed so much, that in less than a year nobody would have recognized him as the half-stultified wretch for whose re-enslavement the enlightened city of Boston raised a chivalrous army. It is hardly fair to exclude a class from all the advantages of higher learning, and then charge them with incapacity to reap its fruits. In spite of all disabilities, some have attained no unenviable eminence. The very first clock, of which all the parts were made in America, was made by Benjamin Banneker, a Negro of unmixed blood, who lived on the banks of the Patapsco, and who was so much of an astronomer that he made corrections in the tables of Ferguson and Leadbetter. His first almanac was published in 1792.* Of the few who have been permitted to enter and continue in our higher seats of learning, there has not been one who has failed to plant the banner of his race's capacity as high as that carried by the more favored castes. Richard T. Greener, now the Professor of Mental Science in the State University of South Carolina, stood in flattering proximity to his highest compeers when graduating at Harvard. Yale gave honors last year to a colored graduate. In journalism, statesmanship, oratory, we have Douglas, Elliott, Layston, Pennington,† Lynch, and Crummel.‡

As a race, the colored people are naturally attractive orators. Without culture, their wit, pathos, and sublimity is not excelled by the more favored races. We must instance Placido, poet and martyr, Doctors Pennington and Gannett, Charles

* "Atlantic Monthly," March, 1863.

† D. D., from Heidelberg.

‡ M. A., Cambridge, England.

T. Renaud, and Sojourner Truth. In music they have taken captive the world. To say nothing of such an extraordinary genius as Blind Tom, the Tennessee and Hampton singers have received the applause of cultivated crowds and royal courts. In courtesy, patience, fidelity, integrity, heroic self-sacrifices, they can take, without any questioning, the highest rank.

In the University already referred to, where, notwithstanding the "International's" affirmation that "no legislation can induce the whites to send their sons and daughters to schools where they must mingle in daily and familiar intercourse with Negroes," the students are nearly half and half, the colored student does not fall below his more highly-favored white associate in the higher departments of mathematics or languages. In fact, the first, probably, that will graduate with honors under the new *régime* is a Negro "black as the ace of spades." These are the people we are asked to exterminate or, at least, cast out.

To the Southern heart two great objects have become exceedingly dear. Springing out of the war, they are cherished and nursed into stronger life every day. To the propagandizing of one of these objects, pen and press and pulpit are committed with all the zeal of a controlling infatuation. The first is the payment, by the United States, for all slaves freed and all property lost in the great Rebellion, and, if practicable, the assumption of the Confederate bonds in the hands of *innocent holders*, who took them in good faith! * The second is the elimination of the Negro out of the body politic, or his "respectful subordination." The meaning of the latter phrase is, his deprivation of all the rights he has acquired by the war, and his relegation to the condition of "hewer of wood and drawer of water" to the prouder race.

It needs no argument to convince the American people, or any people, that the latter object is conceived in meanness, and is impolitic, unpatriotic, and anti-Christian in the extreme. The past cannot be destroyed. Cicero attempted it when he carried away by stealth from the Capitol the plates of brass on which was inscribed the law that proscribed him.

* Mr. Bayard has already seriously proposed that the United States issue $500,000,000, bearing 4 per cent. interest, with twenty-five years to run, for this very purpose.

"A caste," says Napoleon, "not renewed by foreign elements, is condemned to disappear." As it is impossible to relegate the negro to his former condition of servitude; as it is physically impossible to recolonize him in Africa, it is proposed by the politically purblind, in the enactment of oppressive and discriminating local laws, in withholding from him the common courtesies of travel and good neighborhood, in excluding him from schools of medicine and law—in refusing to employ him even for menial duties, where a white man or a foreigner can be substituted in his stead—to crowd him, after the fashion of the Indian on his log, into the territory of some foreign power. Mexico, we are told, will give him such unquestioning hospitalities as our own country and civilization cannot give." Why deport the negro only? Is it because he is the laborer *par excellence?* There is not an argument employed to justify and urge his expatriation that would not apply with accumulated force to every other laboring race. It is inclusive of Northern "mud-sills." Carried to their legitimate conclusions, the Georgia arguments would depopulate and lay waste the land. They would deprive us of the Irish, whom, we suppose, would be crowded into Canada; the Germans would be pushed into the sea; and the Chinese, as there would be no place left for them, would, in the slang of the day, go "up in a balloon." We say of the arguments used by these political madmen, as the "Springfield Republican" has said of those used to justify the formation of White Leagues: "Any thing more ill-timed, more short-sighted, more criminally stupid, could not well be conceived. Language fails to do it justice. Setting morals entirely aside, it is the politics of *delirium tremens.*"

Why is Mexico now chosen as the national dumping-ground? A few years ago it was Liberia. Is it because it is supposed they would form a kind of ethnological high wall, against which the Southern tending wave of American civilization might beat in vain for ever? If the ex-slaveholder will so far modify this pet project of his as to accompany the receding wave, he may, perhaps, get the American people to consider it. Stripped of any such mitigating feature, the nation will have none of it. The American people halts the exodus. The United States needs, and can make good use of, every race that has taken refuge under its wide-spread and safely-sheltering wings.

Its Christian philosophers have reached the conviction, that on this great continent humanity's greatest problems are to be peacefully and successfully solved, and that, within the encircling arm of our great Government, is to be demonstrated the great physiological, social, and biblical truth, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The country cannot part with one unit of its great aggregate. It needs the Frenchman, with his vivacity and educating polish; it needs the Italian, with his high art; the German, with his economics and jovialities; the Scandinavian, with his endurance; it needs the English and the Chinese; it has a place for the Russian, the Esquimaux, and the Turk. But it especially needs the Negro. He is exempt from many of the faults of the other races. He has virtues, capacities, and an aptness peculiarly his own; he can work in a climate fatal to all other races; he is willing and forward in doing what others decline or shrink from doing; he is an element essential to the nation's life. Without him the top-stone of our national greatness will not be lifted to its predestined lofty altitude for centuries yet to come. Expatriate the Negro, and our cotton-fields whiten no more; our turpentine orchards become silent as the grave; our rice-fields grow up into canebrakes, sheltering the alligator and wild boar. Expel the Negro! The folly is beyond all characterization. It is national *felo-de-se*. The cotton-mills, soon to be built by hundreds, and on the banks of every Southern river from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, will need him; manufacturers of hoes and implements of husbandry will want him; he will be needed as mason, cabinet-maker, and painter; he is needed now in the cotton-row and corn-field, in kitchen, restaurant, and hotel, in printing-office and school-room, in the pulpit and at the bar, in the dissecting room, in the chemical laboratory, and in the professor's chair.

It is violent, anti-Christian caste prejudice that seeks to depress and eliminate out of American society a long-suffering and a pre-eminently useful race. The incursion of the colored man into unwonted scenes and circles is distasteful to pharisaism, and all reactionary elements passionately resist it. The protest as uttered by the "International" is a mistake; it is worse; it is an impertinence, and an insult to the whole American nation.

"The patent of nobility," said Mr. Wigfall, of Texas, some years ago, "is the color of the skin." "I move," said Mr. Sumner, standing up in the Supreme Court of the United States, "that John R. Rock be admitted to practice as a member of this court." The nod of Chief-Justice Chase, as he answered the motion, destroyed that patent of nobility forever. In admitting John R. Rock, a colored man, to the high functions of an attorney in the Supreme Court of the United States, that high assize tore the seal from the patent and rent the parchment into shreds. Those who would, after all the chastisements of the past, and with all the plain and significant voices of the present and future sounding in their ears, fatuously endeavor to restore that patent, or worship its shreds as a fetish, would even endeavor to sweep back the sea with a broom.

ART. VI.—PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER.

The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Being an Examination of the First Principles of his System. By B. P. Bowne, A.B. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

This volume, which is a beautifully printed duodecimo of some two hundred and eighty pages, from the press of Messrs. Nelson & Phillips, is an attempt to deal with the main problems of our latest philosophy, and to place a critical estimate upon the claims of Herbert Spencer as the head, if not the founder, of a new school. Much of it has seen the light before, in the form of a series of articles published during the year 1872 in the "New Englander," and which then attracted very general attention, as evincing an uncommon power of dealing with the problems of abstract metaphysics, combined with a remarkable vigor in the presentation of such reasonings. They have now been rewritten and arranged in a more systematic and permanent form—a form in which many of the former readers will be glad to possess them, and in which they will be better adapted for general study and appreciation.

To those who were before acquainted with these essays, little need be said to recommend them. The author possesses a keen insight into the misty realm of the abstract, and a

remarkable power of giving distinctness of outline to the shadowy forms of thought which there present themselves to our view. He has also a wide acquaintance with philosophical speculations, and an evident fondness for them, which place him at his ease in a region where few general reasoners feel at all at home. Deeply impressed with the importance of the questions involved, and with the philosophical authority now conceded by a large class of readers to Mr. Spencer as the representative and teacher of a novel and imposing system, and familiarly acquainted with his various works, he has entered into an examination of the principles which compose that scheme, and presents in this volume the results of his survey. No one who reads the book will question that the examination is conducted with great earnestness and ability, nor deny that the author has presented distinctions which shed light on some of the obscurest parts of the subject; while to many, the refutation of Spencer's views will seem quite conclusive. Indeed, with most readers, the only doubt will be whether a philosopher so eminent as Mr. Spencer, can possibly have laid himself open to the many keen thrusts of argument which he has here received, and which the ample and distinct quotations from his works seem abundantly to justify. We must try to give our readers some brief account of the method and the execution of the book.

Assuming Mr. Spencer to be the author of the modern theory of evolution in its wide and universal application, Mr. Bowne first enters upon the inquiry, "What is evolution?" and proceeds to state the scope of the doctrine. He shows that it means not simply that one phenomenon or event is evolved genetically from some preceding fact; this were perfectly compatible with a theistic view of nature, for God may work by intervention of second causes as well as directly, and through long periods as well as by instantaneous efforts. But the evolution which Spencer teaches is of a different type. It bases itself upon the doctrine of the correlation of the forces, and holds not only that all physical forces are mutually convertible, but that they are correlated with the vital, and these again, through the nervous system, with the mental forces, so that all spiritual and all moral phenomena are ultimately only transformations of material force. Thought is merely a neces-

sary result of the structure of the brain, and this is strictly an effect of physical causes. Our moral nature, with all its aims of duty and devotion—our spiritual nature, with all its ideals of dignity and nobleness—are simply transformed sensations, which again are themselves but combinations, at a long remove, of material particles that chanced to exist in the original fire mist, out of which the solid globe has condensed into its present form.

The important feature of this scheme is, that it aims to dispense with all agency of a personal God. All the changes through which the universe has advanced, from the diffused and homogeneous mist in which it originated, to the present varied and multiform structures of vegetal, animal, and human life, are results of a single process, the same in all its features at the beginning and at the end of the scale. "All," says Mr. Spencer, "are consequent upon certain simple laws of force;" and they indicate, of course, no intelligence, no will, and no moral aim, in the purely physical cause from which all sprang.

This unintelligent and aimless evolution of the present from the past, Mr. Spencer, however, denies to be atheistic or materialistic. He admits a "fundamental verity," to which all the phenomena of nature are to be referred; and, by the recognition of such an ultimate reality, he expects to escape the charge of atheism. This "ultimate," however, of his system, is simply the "one substance" which, under another name, has been familiar to the world since the days of Spinosa. It is the Infinite, and, as such, our minds cannot grasp it. It is the Absolute, and, as such, cannot be thought under relation, and so cannot be conceived by the human mind, which thinks only by bringing things under relation. For various reasons of this kind, the Fundamental Reality, out of which all phenomena arise, is declared to be not cognizable by the mind of man. The Infinite is forever unknowable.

This is the outcome and end of all Mr. Spencer's elaborate psychology. We are incapable of knowing the Infinite. Such a thing indeed exists, and is the author and ground of the universe; but whether it has intelligence, or is only a blind energy of nature; whether the Infinite has the distinct self-consciousness of the human mind, or the dim and unreflecting

consciousness of a brute; whether it has a true personality, with all which that implies of sentiment and impulse and affection; whether it is moral, and conceives holiness as beautiful and adorable, and brands sin as base and mean; about these questions we know nothing, and can know nothing. No conception that we can form of the infinite gives any true idea of it. We must leave it forever in this shapeless and irreducible condition. The poet tells us of the orderly system of the creation, that it was "won from the void and formless infinite." This infinite, however, of Mr. Spencer's is something less amenable to the orderly processes of thought. It is an infinite from which nothing can ever be won, but which must forever remain beyond the outmost limits of intelligence. Yet this lawless and boundless and inconceivable thing is to be held up to the world as the basis of religion; and the system which maintains it is not to be regarded as atheistic, or even as irreligious, seeing that it recognizes the existence of an infinite ground and source of the universe; of which, however, nothing more than its real existence can ever come within the scope of knowledge, ever enter among the verities of our faith, or even find a place among the distinctions of defined thought.

Into the scheme which thus maintains that God, as the Infinite and the Absolute, is forever unknowable, Mr. Bowne enters upon a searching examination, in the course of which the various arguments of its author are made to pass under review. His general aim is to show, that upon the ground which Mr. Spencer has chosen there is no real possibility of standing. It is impossible to affirm the reality of the infinite which Spencer maintains, and at the same time to deny the knowableness of it. Either the infinite must be allowed some standing in the human consciousness, or its reality cannot be defended.

The general truth of Mr. Bowne's position is, we think, unquestionable. We must, he maintains, be able to know something about the infinite before we can pronounce it a reality. We must, for example, make a clear distinction, as in our knowledge of every thing else, between it and its opposite, in order to affirm the reality of the fundamental ground of phenomena; but if we make this distinction clearly, it at

once becomes absurd to say that the thing thus clearly distinguished is unknowable. Hence, the infinite must either come within the sphere of knowledge, or go out of the sphere of reality. It cannot be realized, and at the same time be unknowable.

Mr. Spencer has classed his reasonings under two principal heads, of which Part I embraces the "Laws of the Unknowable," and Part II the "Laws of the Knowable." Both of these are critically surveyed by Mr. Bowne in their order. In regard to the Laws of the Unknowable, he criticises both the general method and many of the particular applications of Spencer's reasoning. The modern doctrine of nescience began with Kant, who, distinguishing between the matter and the form of our knowledge, made the latter entirely subjective. "We think things in the relation of cause and effect, of substance and attribute, etc.; but these relations are only forms of our thought, and correspond to no reality in the thing." Thought, therefore, in Kant's view, was forever unable to present a true knowledge of things, as they are in themselves, to the human mind.

This general doctrine, in the form of the relativity of knowledge, has been brought forward by Hamilton and Mansel, from whom it is now adopted by Spencer to be made the basis of his scheme. The "Antinomies" which Kant described, and which Hamilton, and especially Mansell, enlarged and urged with so much earnestness upon religious thinkers, were alleged by them to be inherent contradictions arising necessarily from the attempt to grasp the infinite with our limited and finite reasoning powers. By those writers, this essential contradictoriness of thought was alleged as the only solid ground of a religious philosophy. It taught us to expect contradictions between our intellectual and moral natures, and not to be frightened at any number, or any magnitude, of philosophical objections against our religious belief. Contradictions, they said, are inherent in the very nature of the attempt to grasp the infinite, and bring it under those relations which constitute the defining elements of thought. Why, then, should they disturb us?

This cheap and ready cover for all difficulties found, naturally enough, a cordial welcome among a large class of our

theological writers. Those who had been embarrassed to defend against the universal judgments of the human consciousness some traditional doctrine of theology, which had been growing less and less capable of vindication with every advance of knowledge, eagerly seized upon a weapon so convenient. All knowledge, they soon learned to say, is full of such inconsistencies. What is there, then, to offend a rightly governed reason in the existence of inconsistencies here? For such minds, every new contradiction which could be framed between the conclusions of our seeming knowledge was a new instrument of defense. Much ingenuity was expended in drawing up forcible statements of the parodoxes of thought. We cannot conceive space as absolutely limited so that there shall be no space beyond, nor yet can we distinctly conceive the absence of all limit. Each is impossible to us, yet one or other of these impossibilities, said Hamilton, is, and must be, the truth. So, too, is it with time; we cannot conceive an absolute beginning of it, nor yet can we imagine an endless non-beginning. Both are alike inconceivable; yet one or the other of these inconceivables is necessarily the truth.

Mr. Spencer's adoption, and especially his unsparing applications, of this unfortunate religious philosophy, will probably open the eyes of many readers to its true significance. This method of philosophizing does not differ, either in aim or in result, from the skepticism of Hume. That ingenious puzzler of philosophers, as he has been called, pursued substantially the same plan in his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion." He introduced one speaker, advocating strongly the religious and sound side of a question; and another, supporting the opposite view; a third reasoner reviewed and pronounced upon both. The first view was declared to be rational, and to all appearance true; the objections to it, however, were found to be decisive, and the argument against it irresistible; and the only admissible conclusion was, that we are incapable of knowing any thing whatever about the great realities of our being and our condition. This is precisely Mr. Spencer's conclusion; and the somewhat varied mode in which the conclusion is arrived at involves no essential improvement upon the philosophical process, and certainly no advantage in the value of the result. The fact that this philosophy of nescience, as Mr.

Bowne calls it, was originally put forth by Hamilton and Mansell in the interests of religion, may explain to us the possibility of its adoption by so many religious reasoners; but the use to which it has with so much facility been turned, must demonstrate to all to whom the highest truths are dear, its fallacious and dangerous character. Those who were disposed to welcome the contradictions of philosophy by Mansell as a contribution to religious thought, will see the propriety of thinking twice before they accept the aid of an ally so dangerous.

Our author aims to show that the only ground of these seeming repugnancies of thought is found in the difference between the faculty of abstract ideas and that of the picturing imagination, and his effort seems entirely successful. We cannot, indeed, form a mental picture of a space that shall be unlimited, because the fancy, which performs the office of picturing, is wont to deal with the elements of form and size, and to shape its pictures by means of them. Hence, we cannot give distinct outline to the idea of unlimited space. It does not follow, however, that we cannot with perfect distinctness form a conception of unlimited space. The conception may be perfectly distinct and clear, though it does not come within the scope of the representative faculty. The process is, in this respect, in no wise different from the commonest working of the thinking faculty. Whenever we generalize, and form, say, the idea of a horse, the same contradiction arises to view. We cannot picture a horse without its being of a specific height and color; but the generalized concept of a horse has no relation to color or size. Hence it might be said, with equal reason, that the same antinomy exists in every case of a general concept, we cannot think the thing to exist *without* specific and individual qualities, but we cannot abstractly think it *with* individual qualities. Yet who ever dreamed of pronouncing common objects unknowable on the ground of the repugnance of these two modes of thinking them? Nothing is more familiar than this difference between the imagination, or the memory, which pictures the individual object with all its peculiar details, and the abstract thought of an object which omits all the details of form, size, color, etc., and groups only the general elements of

the thing into a concept for the formation of a class. "It requires," says Locke, "some pains and skill to form the idea of a triangle, for it must be neither oblique nor rectangle, neither equilateral, equicrural, nor scalenon; *but all*, and *none*, of these at once." Here we have the inconsistency in its fullest form—"an exquisite contradiction," as the old writers called it. The concept must be all of these, and yet none of these, at the same time. The hand cannot draw, the eye cannot perceive, the picturing fancy cannot imagine, an individual triangle which shall not be in some one of these special forms, to the exclusion of the others. But the mind which affirms that one side of a triangle is less than the sum of the other two, takes no account of these details of form, but dwells simply upon that general concept of a triangle which ignores them all. The simple truth is, that there are two distinct modes of knowledge: one of these, pictures the individual, and of course pictures it *as* an individual, and with individual peculiarities; the other, instead of picturing the individual, conceives the universal, and takes note only of those general characteristics and resemblances in which many individuals agree. It knows not individuals, but classes; and the individual only as a member of a class. Between these two modes of knowing there are essential differences; but a writer must be far below the philosophy of his age to see any repugnance between them. Instead of being in contradiction with each other, they are essential elements of the harmony of knowledge. Each supplements the other; each supplies that which the other lacks. The one gives form and size, and that endless detail of phenomena, which distinguishes individuals from one another; the other gives breadth and reach of thought, and embraces the detail of innumerable particulars under the general principles of philosophic thought or of scientific knowledge.

All this now, in its ordinary application to objects around us, is so entirely simple and familiar that we almost feel bound to beg pardon for dwelling upon it. These diverse modes of consciousness are seen clearly enough to involve no antinomies in their application to the familiar phenomena of our experience. But when they are translated out of this familiar realm into the remoter and profounder regions of thought, the inconsistency, which before seemed so harmless, assumes a very dif-

ferent aspect. Amid the misty heights of speculation, the image of our daily life and movement becomes, like the gigantic specter of the Brocken, magnified and distorted into something monstrous and formidable; it assumes startling proportions, and terrifies by threatening gestures, till the appalled observer shrinks from the cloudy phantom, which is, after all, only an image of his familiar and commonplace self. When we reason about men, or about triangles, the solution of the difficulty is so simple as to be among the very elements of philosophy; but when applied to endless duration, to infinite space, or to abstract causation, the vaster scale of our reasonings overawes and imposes upon us; and these familiar distinctions, which belong really to the harmonies of thought, are represented as irreconcilable repugnancies, which must forever defy all conciliation.

Mr. Spencer has made no very important addition to the array of contradictions drawn out by Kant and Mansell. Indeed, the industry and ingenuity of the last-named writer have left little ground unexplored which could furnish material for this argument. Some of the forms, however, of Mr. Spencer's reasonings are tested by our author, and their unsoundness clearly shown. One of Mr. Spencer's most important conclusions, for example, is that self-existence cannot be conceived. He declares that "the atheistic, pantheistic, and theistic hypotheses contain the same ultimate element. It is impossible to avoid making the assumption of self-existence somewhere, and whether that assumption be made nakedly, or under complicated disguises, it is equally vicious, equally unthinkable."

In support of this position, Mr. Spencer maintains, that "even supposing that the genesis of the universe could really be represented in thought as the result of an external agency, the mystery would be as great as ever; for there would arise the question, How came there to be an external agency?"

To this we have Mr. Bowne's ready reply, that the law of causation demands an account, not of every thing which exists, but only of the changes that take place. Mr. Spencer claims, indeed, that "did there exist nothing but an unmeasurable void, explanation would be needed as much as now." This Mr. Bowne is content to pronounce a mistake, as it evidently

is. He shows that while we always feel impelled to seek an explanation of whatever changes occur around us, we do not require explanation of that which is permanent and unchanging.

It must be evident, we think, to all, that this vital assertion has been offered with little consideration, and in obedience to the logical exigencies of Mr. Spencer's position in the controversy, rather than to any well-grounded conviction of truth. He tells us that if that alone existed which, to both sensation and imagination, is pure nothing, this absolute vacuity would call for explanation as imperatively as the grandest construction of power or the noblest work of wisdom. And it is in mere random assertions like this that he lays the foundation of the philosophy of the unknowable, which is forever to bury God from human sight! It was hardly worth his while to roll so small a stone to the door of the sepulcher.

The amusing part of the matter is, that Mr. Spencer fully believes in the existence of a "fundamental ground" of all the phenomena of nature; and he actually assigns this fundamental reality as the basis of all phenomena, and the substantial truth of every system of philosophy and of religion. Yet—as his critic incontestibly shows, however Mr. Spencer may fail to see it—his own scheme is embarrassed with the very difficulty which he pronounces so decisive against the doctrine of his opponents. For if this fundamental verity is caused by any thing else, then plainly it is no longer fundamental, no longer the one primary reality. Yet if original and uncreated, it is of necessity self-existent. But self-existence is declared to be "unthinkable," and whatever implies it is "logically vicious;" and yet the fundamental reality of all Mr. Spencer's reasonings is inevitably self-existent!

Mr. Spencer argues with much earnestness and ingenuity, from the nature of knowledge itself, to prove that we cannot know the ultimate reality of things. We know a thing, he maintains, only when we are able to refer it to its class, to group it with other things under some head of thought more comprehensive than itself. But his process can go on only for a time; it must come to an end. When we reach an object of knowledge which is ultimate and all-comprehensive, all possibility of knowing it ceases by the very nature of the process

of knowing. It cannot be included in any thing wider or larger than itself; for, by the nature of the case, there is nothing wider to which to refer it. It follows that a knowledge of the ultimate is forever impossible. Otherwise stated, reasoning, according to Mr. Spencer, stands thus: All cognition implies recognition. We know a thing only so far as we cognize it, as like other objects of our previous knowledge. Hence Mr. Spencer declares, that "during the first stage of incipient intelligence, before the feelings produced by intercourse with the world have been put in order, there are no cognitions, strictly so-called."

To this Mr. Bowne replies, that if a cognition is attainable only through an accompanying recognition, all cognition is impossible; and further, since recognition—re-cognition—necessarily implies a previous cognition, recognition also is impossible. All knowledge is forever impossible, since neither of its two essential elements can exist without a pre-existence of the other. Mr. Spencer's reply to this decisive objection is disposed of very neatly, as follows:—

> But Mr. Spencer escapes from this dilemma by teaching that cognition proper arises gradually in childhood, and thus we get the raw material for future cognitions. But if cognition proper arises gradually in childhood, why may it not arise gradually in manhood as well? Mr. Spencer's answer to the objection is a good specimen of a favorite method with the associational psychologists. Whenever one of their fundamental assumptions is contradicted by the experience of manhood, it is easy to say that in infancy—a period of which any thing may be affirmed, since nothing can be remembered—it was strictly true. This is certainly making the most of the early years. The small child is put into the associational mill, and after a little brisk grinding is brought out with a complete set of mental furniture. When the critic reaches the spot he is blandly told that the work is done, and the machinery put away. He is further warned that any search on his part would be entirely useless, as the traces of the manufacture have been entirely obliterated. Plainly, we can only give the *rationale* of classifiable facts, for explanation is only classification; but the facts must be known as facts before they can be classified. A thing in which we detect no likeness to other things is not an unknowable, but an unclassified thing.—P. 44.

The doctrine of the relativity of knowledge Mr. Bowne criticises as "not well defined," and the discrimination which he makes between the various meanings in which the phrase is

employed, is one of the most interesting and most important points of the volume. He shows that in one of these ambiguous applications the phrase means only the commonest truism, while in another the meaning intended is wholly fallacious.

Sometimes, for instance, it means that "we can know things only as related to ourselves." This he pronounces "axiomatic," but it amounts simply to saying that "we can have only such knowledge as our faculties are capable of receiving—a very harmless truism, that need not disturb our faith in the reality of that knowledge as far as it reaches.

At other times it means that we cannot know pure being—that is, being without attributes—but only the attributes of being. This, however, he maintains, is not quite exact. What we know is not the attribute alone, but being, with its attributes. But even if we let the doctrine stand as it is, it yields no support to Mr. Spencer's view:—

> We cannot know pure being, for the sufficient reason that there is no such thing to know. All this talk about pure being arises from a habit into which thinkers fall, of thinking that whatever can be separated in thought can also be separated in fact. A beam has an upper and lower side, either of which can be thought of separately, but no beam can exist without both sides. Being without attributes is as impossible as a stick without two ends; and to argue about pure being, is as absurd as to talk of pure "upper-sideness," or pure "one-endness." . . . But if any one still believes that pure being is not pure nonsense, and is grieved at his inability to know it, far be it from me to disturb, or speak lightly of, so great a sorrow. For myself, however, if the relationist will allow me to know, not being in itself, but the powers, the properties of being, I am content.

Mr. Bowne maintains, however, that the real meaning of Spencer's argument is, that our faculties do not give us the actual truth of things, but impose upon us certain laws, or tendencies of the mind itself, as objective realities. This form of the doctrine he next proceeds to examine, tracing it to its source, and identifying it with the mental forms of Kant. He maintains, against Spencer and Mill, that we do have a knowledge of reality, which, though limited, is valid and trustworthy as far as it extends. The doctrine bears in a large proportion of its applications against science as truly as against religion. There may be truths which our faculties are not capable of ap-

preciating, but this fact gives us no reason to doubt the correctness of our logical conclusions, or of our mental affirmations, in matters which have definite relation to our capacities of knowing. The truths which we know in the sphere of numbers are valid not only for us, but for all beings who have the faculty of conceiving of number. If beings should exist without that faculty, the truth of our knowledge would not be invalidated by their incapacity to receive it.

But the impossibility of a knowledge of God is still further maintained by Spencer on the ground of an extended quotation from Mansel, which affirms a necessary incompatibility between the forms of this conception. God, if known at all, must be known as the First Cause, the Infinite, and the Absolute; and these conceptions are mutually incompatible with each other. If God is conceived as a cause, this implies a relation to an effect; and this knowledge of God in relation is inconsistent with the idea of him as the Absolute, which implies an existence out of relation. Moreover, if God becomes a cause by creating, this cannot be reconciled to the idea of the Infinite, for the Infinite can never become more than it was.

This reasoning, which implies that the necessary forms under which God is conceived are essentially contradictory to one another, Mr. Spencer adopts with great satisfaction, and upholds as logically conclusive, of the impossibility of any true knowledge of God.

His critic disposes of the argument by a very brief exposition of the fallacies which it implies. Mr. Mansel declares that co-existence is itself a relation:—

> "From this the conclusion is irresistible," says Mr. Bowne, "that there is now no absolute in existence, and never will be till God has cast all created being back into nothingness. For we exist; God co-exists, and hence is not absolute but relative. But if this thing, which can only exist alone, be the true absolute, Mr. Spencer is very right in saying that we cannot know it. For it is plain that the absolute cannot be this absolute till we have become non-existent; and then there would be grave obstacles to *our* pursuit of knowledge."

The argument by which Mr. Spencer would prove the inherent impossibility of a knowledge of the infinite is then examined in all its forms and with great ingenuity. Its fallacies

and inconsistencies are pointed out with a keenness of penetration which goes at once to the heart of the matter, and proves most clearly that the whole force of the reasoning is due to a vague and careless use of the very abstract terms employed, and a substitution of one for another of the various senses in which the terms "infinite" and "absolute" are used. These comprehensive and ill-defined words are shown to be shifting and loose in their application, and not to be carefully distinguished by the writers who seek, by means of them, to create this array of contradictions. We reach the infinite only through the idea of causation; and yet we are then told that the idea of the infinite is inconsistent with the idea of a first cause. The absolute, too, is the highest and most unquestionable of all realities; and yet it cannot co-exist with any thing else, for then it would exist in relation to that other thing, and so cease to be the absolute, and become only a relative!

Mr. Bowne's conclusion is, that there is no such infinite or absolute in existence as this style or argument postulates; and of course the question whether we can know it, is not worth answering, nor indeed worth asking. The conception is simply a metaphysician's abstraction, which has no relation to the world of reality, in which we can and do co-exist with the infinite, whatever that infinite may be. This infinite of the real universe is one who comes necessarily within the province of human knowledge; for however unable we may be to reach him, He, as infinite, is certainly able to manifest himself to us. If not thus able, he must exist under a limitation, and of course would cease to be infinite.

The weakness of the sounding pretensions of this theory is finely shown by Mr. Bowne in the following passage, which we quote as a fair specimen of the dignity and beauty with which his reasonings are often clothed. Mr. Spencer has said that "it is obvious that the infinite cannot be distinguished as such from the finite by the absence of any quality which the finite possesses, for such absence would be a limitation."—P. 77. Mr. Bowne says:—

> On reading this I took heart. The infinite is all that the finite is, and more. It is their living, conscious intelligence. It is a free mind, like our own. In it abide all thoughts of beauty, and all love of good. One phase of the infinite lies over against our

finite nature, and runs parallel with it, and through that phase the finite and the infinite can commune. All these beliefs I based upon Mr. Spencer's declaration. But my satisfaction was short-lived. On p. 111, the claim that "the universe is the manifestation and abode of a free mind like our own," is given as an illustration of "the impiety of the pious." Is it possible? Why, have we not just learned that the infinite must have all that the finite has? Is this the "severe logic" of the "modern Aristotle?" I wonder what the ancient Aristotle would have said to this. The infinite must be every thing; yet to say that it is living, conscious intelligence, is the vilest fetichism. It must possess all power and transcend all law, yet has not the power of revelation. Able to sow space with suns and systems, to scatter beauty broadcast like the light, to maintain the whole in everlasting rhythm, but utterly unable to reach the human soul! Mr. Spencer has much to say about contradictions; let the reader judge whose is the contradiction here. By his own reasoning he is involved in the most perfect dilemma possible. If God be infinite, he can reach us; if not infinite, we can reach him. In either case communion is possible."—P. 71.

These specimens may serve to indicate with how much of keen and ingenious criticism the examination of Spencer's theories is conducted. We have not the space to follow Mr. Bowne through the whole extent of his strictures, but this is needless. Our readers will see for themselves that it is by no inferior or incompetent hand that the discussion is carried on; and that each new phase of the subject reveals some additional new evidence of weakness in the vast body of philosophy which he has undertaken to probe.

Part II of Mr. Spencer's scheme is next approached by the critic, and the same searching inquiry instituted into the strength of its positions, with the same result. He shows that a degree of inconsistency, similar to that which he has before pointed out, characterizes also the treatment of the "Laws of the Knowable." Indeed, the inconsistency of the second part even surpasses that of the first. In the former instances it relates more to the several parts of the subject, and to individual arguments; while in the latter it relates to the fundamental method of reasoning.

As the result of his discussion of the Laws of the Unknowable, Mr. Spencer has emancipated his philosophy from the domain and the control of God. Henceforth there is to be no aid and no hindrance to philosophy, from that source. No creative power is to originate the material, and no designing

intelligence is to frame the laws, of the universe. The infinite, on which it all depends, is forever unknowable. The system of nature is to be constructed, then, upon a new basis. Matter is now to be regarded as uncreated and independent—unoriginated therefore; and it is to be permanent also, incapable of annihilation. Accordingly Mr. Spencer formally proves not only that these things are so, but that it is impossible for them to be otherwise. We are unable to think matter as capable of either an origin or of an end; its unbegun existence, therefore, and its indestructibility, are to be regarded as "*à priori* truths of the highest order." *

It may indeed be objected to this profound determination, that men not only can conceive, but have very generally conceived, that matter has actually been created and will be annihilated. Mr. Spencer, however, is prepared with a ready reply to any hostile suggestion of this nature. That men have thus thought the unthinkable, cannot be denied. He declares, however, in regard to it, that most men do not really think—they only think that they think. "And if this obliges us to reject a large part of human thinking as not thinking at all, but only *pseudo*-thinking, there is no help for it."

This contemptuous allusion to the universal judgment of mankind, when it stands in the way of his theory, may be estimated at its true value in the light of our author's criticism upon the doctrine. He observes that if matter is unoriginated, it must have existed through infinite past time; and if indestructible, it must continue to exist through infinite future time; and Mr. Spencer has told us that such infinites are "unthinkable." When there is a question of believing in God, the conception of existence through the infinite past and the endless future is unthinkable, and the belief is pronounced, for that reason, among others, impossible; but when the question is of the existence of unoriginated and indestructible matter, no similar difficulty occurs to this profound organizer of the laws of knowledge; and, in his utter unconsciousness of the weakness of his

* Our readers may perhaps here recall the opinions of the early philosophers upon the cosmogony, or creation of the world—of Sanchoniatho, of Manetho, of Berosus, and especially of Ocellus Lucanus, who, according to that eminent scholar, Mr. Ephraim Jenkinson, has these words: "*Anarchon ara kai ateleutaion to Pan;* which imply that all things have neither beginning nor end."

position, he ventures to stigmatize the general expression of human thought through all the ages of civilization as not thinking, only "pseudo-thinking!" One might be tempted to reprove this hybrid barbarism as an innovation as needless as it is irregular, did not this combination of weakness and arrogance in Mr. Spencer's own reasoning strongly suggest the need of some such term to characterize it aright. We fear that we shall have to accept the novelty; nor need we apprehend that there will be any difficulty in knowing what "pseudo-thinking" is, so long as his works remain extant to illustrate it.

Such argument as we have thus exposed Mr. Bowne pursues with keen discrimination and just criticism through all the realm of "the knowable," and points out at each new phase of the subject its lawless and inharmonious character. He shows that the attempt to account for mental manifestations by any correlation of forces purely material involves endless contradiction and confusion. The doctrine of the convertibility of the forces, which reduces them all to mere manifestations of one, constrains us to conceive of that one force as spiritual. We know force only as connected with our own mental manifestations; and if we admit or affirm it all, we must acknowledge it as a spiritual agency capable of controlling matter—of organizing it into systems of order and harmony, and of shaping it to purposes of usefulness and beauty. In regard to these necessities of thought Mr. Bowne shows that Mr. Spencer's system is profoundly inconsistent. In Part I he refuses to admit that they furnish to his opponent any adequate grounds for believing; while in Part II he proceeds to base his own system on these necessities of thought as the only ground needful for the support of the scheme. In the system which he opposes, a necessity of thought is no proof for a necessity of fact; in his own it is all-sufficient.

The incoherency of the scheme thus generated, both with itself and with the laws of human reason, comes to view with such distinctness, that no one can read these criticisms without becoming sensible of it at many points, and feeling that Mr. Spencer is fatally open to attack. Not only are his philosophical opinions shown to be weak and ill adjusted to each other, but the gross character of these defects is so abundantly exposed that it will be impossible for Mr. Spencer's friends not to

feel the logical force of this assault. Still more, the fact that Mr. Spencer has allowed himself to fall into fallacies so glaring and contradictions so undeniable must seriously impair their respect for him as a philosophical thinker. Whatever may be thought of his scientific views, or of his sociological investigations, to these psychological reasonings it is impossible to attribute any weight. No careful thinker will deem Mr. Spencer's statements in this department capable of standing alone, or of adding any real authority to any opinions in behalf of which they may be quoted. The whole fabric bears the marks of negligence, and want of consideration.

We have no time to follow Mr. Bowne through his exhaustive discussion of the remaining portions of the system. Quietly, but forcibly, and even gracefully, he pursues his way through those intricacies of the argument which have concealed its defects from general view; now correcting some philosophical assumption, now introducing some needful discrimination; now showing that, in his argument against his opponents, Mr. Spencer smites down his own scheme; and then, that one part of the scheme is incompatible with another. In the conclusion of the examination the critic sums up his reasonings in a few weighty statements of the line of argument pursued, and the results reached, which constitute an impeachment of Mr. Spencer's philosophical authority so decisive as to make any substantial reply simply hopeless. Mr. Bowne has done his work thoroughly and well. Not only has he done much to settle the just claims of Mr. Spencer as a philosopher, but his volume forms a contribution of great value and importance to a right estimate of the philosophy of nescience.

Some additional remarks upon Mr. Spencer's great doctrine of the Unknowable we had designed to append to our review of Mr. Bowne's work; but our discussion has run to some length, and we must reserve them for a future number.

ART. VII. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, October, 1874. (Church Press: Hartford, Conn.)—1. Nature and Proof of Inspiration. 2. Shakspearian Criticism. 3. Scripture Revision. 4. Infant Salvation. 5. The Anglican Church during the Present Century. 6. The Inquisition. 7. Sacerdotalism. 8. Genuineness of 1 John v, 7.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, October, 1874. (Andover.)—1. The Testimony of Organic Life. 2. The Union of the Divine and Human in Jesus Christ. 3. Admissions of Philosophical Skepticism. 4. The "General Philosophy" of Herbert Spencer. 5. The Connection between the Mosaic and Pagan Sacrifices. 6. Richard Rothe's Years of Authorship.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1874. (Cincinnati.)—1. Forward or Backward—Which? 2. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit. 3. Republican Government and the Suffrage of Women. 4. Sacrifice and Atonement. 5. The Other Side of a Great Subject.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, October, 1874. (Boston.)—1. Samuel Austin Hitchcock. 2. The Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth. 3. Speaking or Babbling. 4. Hymns and Hymn Singing. 5. Congregational Necrology.

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, October, 1874. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Joshua Winslow Peirce. 2. Hampton Falls, N. H., Tax-Payers in 1709. 3. More Passengers to New England, 1679. 4. The Traditionary Story of the Attack upon Hadley and Appearance of General Goffe, September 1, 1675: Has it any Foundation in Fact? 5. The Hornet's Shipping List, 1813. 6. Genealogy of the Descendants of John Lee. 7. A New System of Denoting Relationship. 8. Captain Francis Champernowne, (*continued.*) 9. Materials for the History of Wiscasset, Maine. 10. Massachusetts Soldiers at Halifax in 1759. 11. Greenland, N. H.—Early Ministerial Records. 12. Transfer of Erin. 13. Nantucket in the Revolution. 14. Portraits of New Hampshire Governors, Judges, Senators, etc. 15. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 16. Pepperrell Papers, with Sketches of Lieutenant-General the Honorable James St. Clair, and Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, Bart.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1874. (Boston.)—1. The Modern Type of Oppression. 2. Exact Science in America. 3. Retrogressive English. 4. Lombard and Wall Streets. 5. An Episode in Municipal Government.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1874. (New York.)—1. William Carstares. 2. Tischendorf on the New Testament. 3. Pith in Exposition. 4. Christ Preaching to the Spirits in Prison. 5. Suggestive Readings from the Syriac. 6. Rhetorical Science. 7. Recent Spiritualist Philosophy in France. 8. The Future of Philology. 9. American College Libraries.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, October, 1874. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Lutheran Doctrine of Baptism. 2. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Ministry. 3. Should Clergymen Study Natural Science? 4. The Order of Public Worship.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, A CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY. October, 1874. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Ecclesiology, (*continued.*) 2. Justification by Faith. 3. The Necessity of Christ's Death. 4. Evangelical Alliance. 5. What is the True Doctrine of Christ's Second Coming? 6. Thoughts on the Reformation. 7. Robert Hall.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1874. (Boston.)—1. Matthew xxv, 46.—Christ's Coming to Judgment, and its Consequences. 2. Unfulfilled and Baffled Lives Proof of Immortality. 3. Some Misconstrued Texts. 4. The True Site of the Holy Sepulcher. 5. Reward and Penalty in Religion. 6. Of Sin. 7. Wasawartti, the Buddhistic Devil.

NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1874. New Haven.—1. Review of the Autobiography of John Stuart Mill. 2. Review of Prof. Ulrici's "Got und die Natur." 3. Eschatology of the Old Testament. 4. Natural Law and Spiritual Agency. 5. Of Self-Consciousness. 6. "Is Schism a Necessity?" 7. Mr. Darwin and the Theory of Natural Selection. 8. Christian Missions and some of their Obstacles.

The "New Englander" for this quarter presents a splendid series of articles.

The name of ULRICI, whose philosophy is expounded by Mr. Borie, is, we believe, destined to be nobly conspicuous during the next decade in America and England.

Mr. Street's article on the "Eschatology of the Old Testament" is very suggestive. It furnishes an apparent solution of one of the deepest problems of the Old Covenant: the dimness, if not non-existence, of the doctrine of a future life. His exposition of terms and phrases in the Hebrew, if tenable, would indicate that the doctrine of future retribution is abundantly taught, but obscured by defective lexicography and exposition. We give some passages on

SHEOL, OR THE UNDERWORLD.

That the Scriptures agree with the uniform habit of the ancient world in locating Sheol in a vast subterranean space comparable to that of the open heavens above, there can be no doubt. "High as heaven, what canst thou know? deeper than Sheol, what canst thou do?" Job xi, 8. "A fire is kindled in mine anger that shall burn to the lowest Sheol." Deut. xxxii, 22. "Though they dig into Sheol, thence shall my hand take them: though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down." Amos ix, 2.

The same divine wisdom that did not contend with the prevailing notions of mankind in regard to the rising and setting of the sun, left undisturbed the universal idea as to the location of Sheol. The one is phenomenal—the suggestion of external nature through the senses. The other, though ideal, is not the less the suggestion of our inner nature and its inevitable expression. In obedience to the one, even philosophers, and men of the highest intelligence, will continue, as long as time shall last, to speak of the sun as rising and setting. And, in obedience to the other, language and art will represent hope and faith and joy in God, as looking upward; and grief, misery, fear, guilt, shame, and despair as looking downward; and something stronger than caprice will constrain human thought and human language to the old forms; and mankind will continue to say and to write "up to heaven," and "down to hell."

Modern astronomy has brought an end to the belief in a literal underworld: but all the "frightful spaces of the universe" remain, and our ignorance of the locality of Sheol abates nothing from its

terrors. It rather throws us back into the mental state indicated by the most obvious etymology of the name; a condition of irrepressible, ever starting, but never answered inquiry. Its answer lies in the unfathomed purpose and infinite resources of the Almighty. One has but to read what the best Christian writers of our age have written on this subject, to feel that the question which was too hard for Job (chap. xxxviii, 17) has not yet become irrelevant. Sheol has not yet yielded up its secrets, its gloom, or its terrors; "the bottomless pit" has not been sounded; the light of human knowledge has not penetrated "the blackness of darkness for ever."

Assuming that, with this idea of locality, the Hebrew Scriptures make Sheol the death-realm of the wicked, we should naturally look for some figurative uses of the word, and some examples, in which, with an obvious recognition of its primary meaning, it would yet include but a part of that meaning. An illustration occurs in the first name that is applied to God, Elohim. Its most familiar and constant use is as the name of the only living and true God. Yet we find it used to denote the idols worshiped by the heathen and applied to princes who receive a qualified worship from their fellow-men.

It is easy to trace the process of thought by which the word passed to these inferior uses—dropping out, in the first instance, every thing that belongs to God, except the worship rendered; and in the second instance dropping out even from the worship that which is properly divine.

So we find Sheol used commonly with the complete and most inclusive meaning of *the underworld to which the wicked are consigned at death;* secondly, dropping every thing but the locality, as we sometimes speak of a country without including its inhabitants; and thirdly, with the license of poetry, dropping every thing that is properly characteristic of Sheol except its darkness and silence as contrasted with the feverish activity and turmoil of the present life; and so very nearly the equivalent of death in its lowest or physical sense. With these distinctions in mind, we shall find the subject cleared of many of its difficulties, and the way opened to an easy solution of the rest.—Pp. 661, 662.

Sheol not the Abode of the Righteous.

This is implied in those passages that present Sheol as the lot of the wicked, for example, "The wicked shall be turned into Sheol, and all the nations that forget God." Psa. ix, 17. "Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into Sheol: for wickedness is in their dwellings, and among them." Psa. lv, 15. "Her feet go down to death; her steps take hold on Sheol." Prov. v, 5. "Her house is the way to Sheol." Prov. vii, 27.

That which is so distinctly implied in these Scriptures is distinctly declared in others; for example, "The way of life is upward to the wise, that he may depart from Sheol beneath." Prov.

xv, 24. "Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from Sheol." Prov. xxiii, 14. "Let me not be ashamed, O Lord, for I have called upon thee; let the wicked be ashamed, and let him be silent in Sheol." Psa. xxxi, 17.

More striking still is that remarkable passage in the forty-ninth Psalm, so effectually obscured in our English translation.

Speaking of those who are so absorbed in their worldly honors and their wealth that their inward thought is that "their houses shall continue forever, and their dwelling-places to all generations," the sacred writer declares, "Like a flock to Sheol shall they gather; death shall be their shepherd; the righteous shall have dominion over them in the morning; and their form (visible presence) shall Sheol cause to vanish from the dwelling which was theirs. But God will redeem my soul from the hand of Sheol; for he will receive me." Here is Sheol under the shepherding of death for the one, and deliverance from Sheol for the other. Mark also the expression, "for he will receive me." Compare Psa. lxxiii, 24, "Thou wilt guide me by thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory." Also John xiv, 3, "I will come again and receive you to myself;" *λήψομαι*, the same verb by which the Septuagint translates רקח in the above two quotations from the Psalms. —Pp. 666, 667.

On Psalm xvi, quoted by Peter, (Acts ii, 27,) Mr. Street says:

It should be noticed that the force of the preposition ל in לשאול, which is fully recognized by the Septuagint and the New Testament and by all scholars of our day, is overlooked in our translation. Gesenius says, "to, toward, unto, Gr. *εἰς, πρός*." Hengstenberg, after Michaelis, says "*Sheol* is here personified and represented as an insatiable animal." The idea of "*in Sheol*" is not here. Neither is it in Acts ii, 27, where the passage is quoted by Peter from the Septuagint. There is nothing to show, then, that David entered into *Sheol;* still less the Messiah. "Thou wilt not abandon me to the rapacious *Sheol*," certainly does not mean "thou wilt cast me into the jaws of *Sheol*," whether for three days, or any other period of time. Interpreted by the obvious sense of the words and the usage of the Psalms, it means, "Thou wilt not leave my soul to become the prey of Sheol, but wilt receive me to glory." Sheol was no fit place for David, still less for the Son of God.

With these various denials, direct and indirect, that the righteous were to go to Sheol, in mind, let us approach the difficulty that presents itself in the case of certain good men who spoke of themselves as going to Sheol. In the case of Jacob, who spoke of himself as going Sheol-ward, (שאולה,) we may recall the distinction already made, in which it was shown that Sheol is occasionally used in a sense very nearly equivalent to that of death. In the original sense, as we have seen, death unmitigated by the covenant of mercy was the passage to Sheol. This entered into

human thought as the law. Deliverance from Sheol was the exception introduced by Divine grace. Hence to die, to depart out of life, was to go Sheol-ward; to start on the way; to travel the first stage of the journey; leaving the next undeclared. We must not make the mistake of attributing to divine inspiration that which was the inspiration of an unjustifiable and unhealthy mood of mind.—Pp. 667–9.

On the case of Samuel, Mr. Street's difficulties would be better removed by adopting Mr. Terry's exposition on the passage in his notes published at our Book Rooms. Some results of his views Mr. Street thus states:—

We find ourselves thus happily relieved from all necessity of maintaining the dogma of *a divided Sheol* as a doctrine taught in the Old Testament. We find no trace there of a *limbus patrum*, or a *limbus infantum*. We find a contradiction, instead of an affirmation, of the thesis that our Lord "descended into hell." We do not find Sheol [or Hades] so enlarging herself as to take in the third heaven, where Paul found the paradise into which he was "caught up;" and we are able to vindicate our Lord's declaration to the crucified thief, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise," without supposing that Sheol contained a paradise, or was equivalent to "the world of departed spirits without discrimination of character." We are held to the declaration of Augustine that Sheol is never used in a good sense. We find as sharp a discrimination at its gates as that which is given us in the divine oracles between the characters of men.—P. 673.

Bishop Coxe (Art. VI) replies in a very fraternal tone to Dr. Bacon on the question "Is schism a necessity?" To this question our reply would be a brief one: Schism is never a necessity; for when it is a necessity it is not schism.

Assuming Episcopacy to be the true antiquity of the "Historic Church," and that all can rightfully gather under its form, as such a concession would violate no conscience, the Bishop believes that such a reconstruction in affiliation with the great Episcopal Churches of Europe and Asia would present such a front as to conquer the world to Christianity. "It would give them [the sects] organic unity, not with us only, but with the eighty millions of Orientals whom we long to reanimate and to launch as evangelists upon the hordes of Asia; it would give them the key to millions of estranged hearts, and convert their missions into friendly embassages, which the East would welcome to its bosom." Hence the sincere zeal of the Church to win the sects to unity with itself. "Those whom you would

classify as 'High-Churchmen' are not a whit behind their brethren in this respect. They have often recognized, in words and efforts, the principle to which you give another turn, namely, that a 'High-Church' position must carry with it a responsibility 'toward those without' which is not involved in that of professed 'Low-Churchmen;' and I bear them record, that on many occasions, when in council together, and surveying the fields and the want of laborers, in America, their language and their prayers have been full of self-abnegation—full of the spirit which would even consent to die, would God only raise up others, in the Primitive way, to go in and possess the land, and fill it with the institutions and the blessings of the Primitive Gospel!"

To all this we should reply, deeply appreciating the Christian spirit in which it is expressed, that in our view the *jure divino* successional Episcopacy, universally accepted, cannot fail to be spiritual despotism. It creates an order of men with a distinct interest of its own, and with the means of ever successfully maintaining that interest, and so progressively attaining an absolute supremacy. It does not require a Pope to produce the height of ecclesiastical despotism. Monarchy is no more despotic than oligarchy, and very likely to be less so. Against despotism, Episcopacy, even an American Episcopacy, denies the last resort allowable against secular despotism, *the right of revolution.* Bishop Cummings has just been trying that resort; and with what result? Denunciation for perjury, deprivation of order, disowning of his Church. So that, unless the episcopal oligarchy be obeyed in all its towering innovations, schism and sect are the consequence; and schism and sect are then no longer schism and sect, but the true liberty of Christ against an antichrist "sitting in the temple of God."

Our Methodist Episcopacy, formed and maintained by the free-will of the Church, is the most legitimate Episcopacy extant in Christendom. It is co-existent with our existence as a Church, a Bishop being the earliest officer, chronologically, of our Churchly organization. Our Episcopacy is based upon our very foundations as a Church. None of its essential attributes can be rightfully changed but by a constitutional change. Thus firmly founded, *our great blessing is that it sets up, and can set up, no jure divino claims.* Our Episcopalian friends

have an ineradicable notion that we Methodists feel the aching want of something which we have not and they have, namely, a *jure divino* ordained line of Bishops. But from that nightmare our prayer is, "*Good Lord, deliver us.*" Our Episcopacy will stand no longer than the Church is convinced of its value. The great success of our history is thus far its ample vindication.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, October, 1874. (St. Louis.)—1. The Idea of God. 2. Physiological Aspects of Human Nature. 3. Of Action and Passion. 4. The Opposition under George III. 5. Home Life in Germany. 6. The Principle of Revolutions Inherent in Governments. 7. The Missionary Prince. 8. The Song of the Swallow. 9. Chopin. 10. Professor Tyndall.

The "Southern Review" still appears under the "auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." It seems less devoted to its mission of preserving the political faith of that Church true to the doctrines of ultra-Calhounism. Whether its mission has ceased by the completion of its success, or whether a dim perception has dawned, in the minds of the parties concerned, of the striking contradiction of a political organ, advocating the extremest disunion Radicalism, going forth under the "auspices of" a non-political Church—a Church claiming non-politicalism to be its unique distinction—we do not presume to say. Its present position we understand to be this. A committee, appointed by the General Conference, supervises its theological department, while the political department is left to the control of the editor. The learned editor receives a *carte blanche* to publish what he pleases. Its political articles, therefore, will still go forth "under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." The preachers are called upon to give it their support. And "under" those "auspices" the editor is at liberty to superintend the politics of the Church, a liberty conceded by express understanding with the ecclesiastical authorities. Still, however, if by some rare turn the learned editor should publish a eulogy on Mr. Lincoln, or refute the right of State secession, he might find his liberty sharply questioned. In our view this action finally fixes the responsibilities for the editor's political expressions upon the Church; a responsibility not at all vacated by a few sentences of disclaimer.

To the ministers of that Church we would concede the credit of supporting it with, what appears to us, a heroic liberality.

It is a handsome Quarterly of two hundred and fifty pages. Its price is five dollars a year; four to preachers, in advance. Its manifesto is: "If every preacher will agree to send us two new subscribers between this and the first day of January, we shall feel that the success of the Review is beyond a shadow of doubt." We earnestly wish that this result may be accomplished, severely as it might reflect upon the inferiority of our own ministry in sublime effort for their Quarterly.

The intellectual powers of the editor or his contributors, or both, are mainly directed at the present time to the discussion of the high questions now pressing upon the public mind in philosophy and theology. They are welcome laborers in that field.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1874. Philadelphia.—1. Elements Essential to a True Theory of the Atonement. 2. The Diversities of the Apostles. 3. The Catechumenate. 4. The Kingdom of the God of Heaven. 5. A Biographical and Bibliographical Account of Dr. H. A. W. Meyer. 6. The Mutual Relation of Baptist Churches. 7. The Higher Education of the State.

The excellent article on Meyer furnishes us with the estimate set by the greatest of New Testament exegetes on Renan's performances:—

To show how far Meyer was from being a rationalist, in the worst sense of the word, I will subjoin a passage in which he gives us his estimate of Renan, and men of that type. Meyer regarded "the fact, that in Christ the veritable divine life and the veritable divine redemption have miraculously visited humanity," as the focus of the whole New Testament. "Unless the divine human totality in the manifestation, development, and perfection of the Lord and his work is justified by Scripture, we labor in vain to construct a life of Jesus out of the New Testament. We gain one-sided abstractions, arbitrary combinations, with an emptying of the history and an obliteration of the great, active, objective truth. Thus especially Renan's book bears in its title the antiphrasis of its content. With the light geniality of his daring romancing it runs so completely counter to the rules of scientific exegesis that it is neither fit nor worthy to be noticed, to be criticized, to be refuted, inasmuch as it has emancipated itself from the fundamental intuitions of the Bible, and from the clear sense of the historical sources."—Pp. 453, 454.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1874. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. The Mystics of the Fourteenth Century and their Connection with the Reformation. 2. The Lesser Light. 3. Our Naval Requirements. 4. Mr. Motley's New Historical Work. 5. The Sources of the Water Supply of London. 6. The Abolition of Patronage and the Scotch Churches. 7. The Established Church and its Defenders. 8. Edwin Landseer.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1874. (London.)—1. The Egyptian Book of the Dead. 2. The Plays of George Chapman. 3. Sweden, Past and Present. 4. The Transit of the Planet Venus in 1874. 5. Rome in the Time of the Antonines. 6. The Study of Philosophy. 7. The Old Catholic Church.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1874. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. The Revolt of the Residuum. 2. The Character of Achilles. 3. Principles of Political Economy. 4. The Origin of Language. 5. Charles and Mary Lamb: their Editors and Biographers. 6. Indian Public Works. 7. American Women: their Health and Education. 8. The Best Food for Man.

The article on the Health of American women gives some striking extracts showing a degenerating female *physique* in our country; denies, under what seems to be conclusive proof, that it results from putting our girls into a course of collegiate education, and attempts to assign the true causes. We give a few extracts.

DELICACY OF AMERICAN GIRLS.

The reviewer thus quotes our American Dr. Clarke:—

The delicate bloom, early but rapidly fading beauty, and singular pallor of American girls and women, have almost passed into a proverb. The first observation of a European that lands upon our shores is that our women are a feeble race; and if he is a physiological observer, he is sure to add, They will give birth to a feeble race, not of women only, but of men as well. "I never saw before so many pretty girls together," said Lady Amberley to the writer after a visit to the public schools of Boston; and then added, "They all looked sick." Circumstances have repeatedly carried me to Europe, where I am always surprised by the red blood that fills and colors the faces of ladies and peasant girls, reminding one of the canvas of Rubens and Murillo; and am always equally surprised on my return by crowds of pale, bloodless female faces, that suggest consumption, scrofula, anæmia, and neuralgia, (p. 22.) And in part 3, "Chiefly Clinical," he says: "Girls of bloodless skins and intelligent faces may be seen any day, by those who desire the spectacle, among the scholars of our higher and normal schools,—faces that crown, and skins that cover, curving spines, which should be straight, and neuralgic nerves that should know no pain. Later on, when marriage and maternity overtake these girls, and they live 'laborious days' in a sense not intended by Milton's line, they

bend and break beneath the labor, like loaded grain before a storm, and bear little fruit again."—P. 216.

ALARMING CESSATION OF CHILD-BIRTH.

It is stated by Dr. Toner, of Washington, whom Dr. Clarke quotes, "that the proportion between the number of American children under fifteen years of age, and the number of American women between the child-bearing ages of fifteen and fifty, is steadily declining. In 1830 there were to every 1,000 marriageable women 1,952 children under fifteen years of age. Ten years later there were 1,863, or 89 less children to every 1,000 women than in 1830. In 1850 this number had declined to 1,720; in 1860 to 1,666; and in 1870 to 1,568. The total decline in the forty years was 384, or about 20 per cent. of the whole proportional number in 1830, a generation ago." Alluding to the supposed causes of the physical degeneracy in question, Dr. Clarke says: "If these causes should continue for the next half century, and increase in the same ratio as they have for the last fifty years, it requires no prophet to foretell that the wives who are to be mothers in our republic must be drawn from transatlantic homes. The sons of the New World will have to re-act, on a magnificent scale, the old story of unwived Rome and the Sabines."—P. 217.

THE MOST POTENT CAUSE OF FEMALE DEGENERACY.

The most general, probably the most potent, and certainly the most persistently operative cause of the physical deterioration of American women is the American climate. But of course the influence of this cause is not restricted to the women; it extends to the men also. Nearly thirty years ago, when Sir Charles Lyell visited the United States for the second time, he was struck with the "careworn expression in the countenances of the New Englanders." One of them, referring to the poverty of the English and Irish lower classes, said to him, "We ought to *be* happier than the English, although we do not *look* so." Sir Charles remarks: "An Englishman is usually recognized at once in a party by a more robust look, and greater clearness and ruddiness of complexion; *and it is surprising how distinguishable he is even from persons born of English parents in the United States.*" These words, which we have put in italics, imply that the modifying influence on the human constitution of the atmospheric conditions of the United States is both very powerful and very rapid in its action. "I suspect," says Sir Charles, "that the principal cause of the different aspect of the Anglo-Saxon race in England is the climate. During both our tours through the United States my wife and I enjoyed excellent health, and were delighted with the clearness of the atmosphere, the bright sun, and the great number of cloudless days; *but we were told that if we stayed a second year we should feel less vigorous.* Many who have been born in America, of families who have settled there for several generations, find their health improved by a visit to

England, just as if they had returned to their native air; and it may require several centuries before a race becomes thoroughly acclimatized. The great difference of the species of indigenous animals and plants in North America, those of the Middle and Southern States being almost all distinct from the European, points to a wide diversity of climate, the atmosphere being drier, and there being a much greater annual range of the thermometer than in corresponding latitudes on the eastern side of the Atlantic. Even so cosmopolite a being as man may demand more than two centuries and a quarter before he can accommodate his constitution to such altered circumstances, and before the successive generations of parents can acquire themselves, and transmit to their offspring, the new and requisite physiological peculiarities."—P. 228.

MALE DEGENERACY, AS WELL AS FEMALE.

It seems to us that the constitutional modification which is taking place in the American white man is essentially the same as that which is taking place in the American white woman—a modification which is probably in the direction of an approximation to the physical type of the North American Indian. Certain it is that the typical characteristics of John Bull and of his brother Jonathan are now widely divergent, and that the divergence has been effected almost wholly, if not exclusively, by changes wrought in the physical and psychical nature of Jonathan alone. History gives no appreciable indication of constitutional change in the essential characteristics of the English people during recent centuries; but within the comparatively short period which has elapsed since white men first made themselves a home on the western side of the Atlantic, a new national physiognomy has been developed, and the descendants of Englishmen, Dutchmen, and Germans, to whom the epithet "burly" is almost alike applicable as a national designation, have become transformed into the slim, wiry "American," whose skin is often seemingly corrugated for lack of that full supply of adipose cellular tissue which fills up the interstices and rounds off the form of the typical John Bull.—P. 228.

SEVERE CLIMATE, CLOSE ROOMS, AND HOT STOVES.

The air of the American Continent is, according to the general testimony of residents in the United States, peculiarly dry, exhilarating, and exciting; and as the nervous system of women is, as a rule, more impressionable and excitable than that of men, American girls, who have already acquired, by hereditary transmission, the characteristics just mentioned, are brought so much nearer than men are to the border-land between health and disease by the exciting influence in question, and very easily pass over that region, and find themselves where diseases of the nervous system prevail. Again, in the Northern States there is not only great cold in winter, and great heat in summer, but the

alternations of heat and cold are often extreme. The more delicate the organizations are which are subject to these climatic conditions, the more injurious will be their effects, and hence the girls and women suffer from them most. Moreover, the climate of the Northern States being so severe as it is, the people of those States find it almost, if not wholly, impossible to maintain the temperature of their houses sufficiently high to be comfortable in winter without resorting to the use of closed furnaces, by means of which the air of the apartments throughout the houses is generally kept at a higher temperature than is wholesome—often at 80 degrees Fahrenheit, and often also at the expense of notably defective ventilation. The women of the Northern States of America restrict themselves to these hot and close rooms much more generally and continuously than the men do; and when they go out visiting, or to balls, soirées, theaters, the opera, etc., they expose themselves suddenly to a very low temperature, and thus incur greater risks than men do of inducing, not only pulmonary, but other physical disorders.—P. 229.

WILL THE AMERICAN RACE DIE OUT?

Sir Charles Lyell seems to think that when in the course of time the Anglo-Saxon has acquired the "physiological peculiarities" requisite to adapt him to the climate of the United States, all will be well with him in physiological and hygienical respects; we are sorry to say, however, that we are unable to concur in this opinion. We fear that the process of acclimatization is a process of physical deterioration. It is believed by competent observers that Englishmen can scarcely continue two, and certainly not three, generations in India, unless the children spend several years in the mother country; and though, as we know, the conditions of living on the western side of the Atlantic, which are imposed on the Anglo-Saxon, are not so hard as these, we believe them to be, physiologically speaking, very hard. And, of course, in accordance with the rule that the weakest suffer most, the American climate tells even more injuriously on the women than on the men.—P. 229.

UNHEALTHY EXCITEMENT OF AMERICAN SOCIETY.

The exuberant wealth, and the peculiar social life, in large measure a consequence of it, which are notable in American cities, must also operate unfavorably on the physical and mental health of their inhabitants. "I believe," says the lady just quoted, "that in no country, in any age, was life ever so reckless, and so carelessly dissipated, as it is in America to-day. In Sybaris itself, in Corinth, and in Paris, only a few wealthy people could indulge in the irregular lives which the unexampled prosperity of this country opens to the great bulk of the population." The influence on growing hyper-sensitive girls of living in a social atmosphere of this kind is not likely to be a healthy one; and there are influences of a similar nature, but worse in kind, which

many American girls are exposed to, and the results of which assume, not infrequently, a constitutional form. "From fathers, fevered with restless mercantile speculation, or tossed between 'bulls and bears' in Wall-street, or who allow themselves to indulge in practices which their daughters are supposed never to know, girls inherit an 'abnormal development of the nervous system,' and every fiber in their bodies feels the 'twist in the nerves.'" In short, American society seems to be especially distinguished by an absence of mental repose, by a spirit of unrest, which dominates alike both sexes and all classes. "In Massachusetts the mortality from diseases of the brain and nervous system is eleven per cent. In Nova Scotia it is only eight per cent." The causes productive of these results exert their baneful influences most potently, of course, on those whose nervous systems are already most impressionable, and therefore most injuriously of all on young women, whose nervous systems, becoming more or less disordered, quickly tell of the morbid effects wrought upon them by producing diseases in the body generally, and, more especially, by originating functional derangements of the newly-developed reproductive system.—Pp. 229, 230.

PREMATURE GIRL DEVELOPMENT.

Moreover, the dress displayed by juvenile America at its very interesting *soirées* and *conversazioni* is, we understand, of the most elaborate and *recherché* character, very far surpassing anything of the same kind ever attempted in England. Referring to the comparative health of German and American girls, a German lady, resident in New York, says: "One cause of the German girl being better able to work with impunity than her American sister during the years of development, which in South Germany begin at the age of fourteen, may be found in the simpler and much more sensible way in which she is brought up while still in early childhood. A German mother does not bedeck her little daughter of four or eight years with flounces and sashes half as heavy as herself, and then show her off in a parlor full of admiring friends; nor send her to a children's ball, where, with a young prodigy of the other sex, she imitates her elders in flirtation. Instead of coaxing the willful darling into obedience by the promise of candy, utterly disregardful of future dyspepsia, she brings her to reason by more efficient, if less agreeable expedients. The child is encouraged to play with her dolls, and to find pleasure in flowers and childlike amusements as long as possible. Thus she grows up with simple tastes, although a little awkward and shy."—P. 230.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1874. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. Scharnhorst. 2. The Book of Carlaverock. 3. English Fugitive Songs and Lyrics. 4. Census of France in 1872. 5. Comets and Meteors. 6. Convocation, Parliament, and the Prayer-Book. 7. The Grenadier Guards. 8. Renan's Antichrist. 9. The Journal of Mr. Charles Greville. 10. The Session and the Ministry.

Renan in his "Antichrist" identifies that personage with the "beast" of the Apocalypse, and both with the Emperor Nero.

Important biblical consequences follow that identification. Among them are the falsehood of the predictions of the Apocalypse. For the beast—that is, Nero—was to be destroyed at Christ's advent, and the downfall of Rome and the introduction of the millennium were to occur at the same time. The author of Article VIII indorses all these conclusions. The following are his proofs:—

Now the truth of this modern theory about the Apocalypse almost wholly hinges upon the truth of its assigned date. And the arguments which support the assignment of A. D. 68 as the date of its composition appear to us to be absolutely irresistible. In the first place, there can be no question that some terrible and bloody persecution had lately happened, for chapter vii, 14, mentions "a great multitude, which no man could number, with palms in their hands, . . . which came out of *great tribulation*, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb;" and chapter xvii, 6, says, "I saw the woman drunken with the *blood of the saints*, and with the *blood of the martyrs* of Jesus;" and chapter xx, 4, speaks of "them that were *beheaded* for the witness of Jesus." But the first persecution on any large scale took place under Nero, in A. D. 64. Again, there can be little doubt that Jerusalem was still standing when the author wrote, although it seems to be already seriously threatened by the Gentile armies. "There was given unto me," says he, "a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and they shall tread it under foot forty and two months." But Jerusalem was taken by the Gentiles, and the temple (not merely the outer precincts) was utterly destroyed in A. D. 70. Within the six years, therefore, that intervened between A. D. 64 and A. D. 10 the Apocalypse must certainly have been written.

But even this narrow margin can, on further investigation, be reduced within still narrower limits. For one passage in this curious book—this "open secret," which seems to whisper to us, (as St. Matthew also does,) "let him that readeth understand," is evidently meant to give the precise chronological clue which we are in search of. *It furnishes St. John's own information as to the exact time at which he was writing.* The passage in question occurs in chapter xvii, where the vision of the scarlet woman riding on the beast with seven heads and ten horns is thus quite intelligibly explained: "Upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great. . . . And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: . . . And the angel said unto me, . . . I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, . . . the beast that was, and is not, and yet is. And here is the mind which

hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth unto perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: . . . And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

We have transcribed this curious passage in full because of the singular certainty with which its riddles can be deciphered, and because of the remarkable interest and importance of its contents. The "woman" is clearly the great imperial city of Rome. Five of the emperors have already fallen, namely, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero. *The sixth, Galba, "now is;" and under his nine months' reign, therefore, the author was writing his book:* (May 1, A. D. 28–January 15, A. D. 69.) But Galba was an old man, and the world was full of bloodshed and revolt. A successor was soon to be looked for, whether Otho or Vitellius or some other, whom military violence would be sure to set up. And when he came, he, too, would "continue but a short space." And then, O horror! the BEAST, the hateful, blood-stained persecutor, would come back again and occupy his godless throne once more. He would come up from the sea. He would land from some foreign parts—no doubt from the East. Ten would-be kings, (whether Parthian chieftains or upstart generals,) in full revolt and burning hatred against the Roman senate, would support the revival of this long-vanished claimant's title to his abandoned throne. Yes; the rumor of his death was, no doubt, a mere invention. He would establish himself once more. He would rank as the "eighth" emperor. And then would come the apparent triumph of all evil, the temporary victory of Antichrist, and of all that was most opposite to the pure and heavenly Christ; a victory, however, to be quickly followed by the return of Christ himself in power and glory, and by the final "putting of all things—even of death itself—under his feet."

And what then is the *name* of this returning Antichrist? Chapter xiii, 18, shall answer this question for us: "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six." In other words, his name is NERO. For this name, when written down as it was well known by sight to all the provincials on their coins and standards and inscriptions—Νέρων Καῖσαρ, or נרון קסר, if each Hebrew letter is given its proper numerical value, amounts precisely to 666.

And now add to all these remarkable coincidences the circumstance recorded for us by Tacitus and other heathen historians,

namely, that Nero's disappearance was in fact so sudden, and his death witnessed by so few persons, that vague rumors very soon got abroad that he was not dead at all, but that he had slipped away from his enemies, had conveyed himself secretly to the East, and was preparing for a speedy return, at the head of terrible Parthian auxiliaries and disaffected Roman generals, to reconquer Rome, and to inaugurate afresh the horrible tragi-comedy of his former reign. Naturally there were not wanting impostors in abundance to take advantage of this delusion. Pretenders and Perkin Warbecks soon sprang up in all directions, especially in the credulous East, who gave themselves out as "Nero redivivus." We hear of them even so late as twenty years further on, in the reign of Domitian, when the empire had been thoroughly re-established under the Flavian dynasty. But, of course, at an earlier time, when Nero's disappearance was a recent event, these mock-Neroes would be far more numerous, and would attract a much more serious and anxious attention. And accordingly Tacitus informs us that "about this time [that is, about the end of Galba's reign] Achaia and Asia were terrified by the false news that 'Nero was coming,' there being various rumors afloat concerning his death, and many people being of opinion (or pretending to be so) that he was still alive. The adventures and attempts of other impostors shall be described further on. But just at this time a slave from Pontus —or, as others said, a freedman from Italy—skillful in playing the lyre and in singing, (a skill which, added to some personal resemblance, made the imposture easier,) embarked with some deserters whom he found wandering about with empty pockets, and whom he drew to his side by enormous promises. Driven by violent tempests to the island of Cythnos, [an Ægean island directly opposite to Patmos,] he found some soldiers there on furlough from the East; and, cutting short all refusals with the sword, added them to his force. He then plundered the merchants and armed all the able-bodied slaves. At length, on attempting with various artifices to shake the fidelity of a certain Sisenna, a centurion on his way home with symbols of fraternization from the Syrian army to the Prætorian troops, [at Rome,] Sisenna, seized with panic and fearing for his life, escaped secretly from the island. And then terror spread far and wide—some being thrown into excitement by the celebrity of the name, [Nero,] others by hoping to fish in troubled waters, and others by sheer discontent with the present state of affairs. At last a happy accident brought all these daily-growing rumors to an end."—Pp. 252–5.

There are numerous difficulties in this view, among which are the following: 1. The earliest and best historic testimony places the publication of the Apocalypse in the reign of Domitian, some years after that of Galba. 2. The finding the 666 in Nero Cesar is a modern invention. Irenæus, the pupil of Polycarp, who was pupil of St. John, had never heard of it.

3. The beast of the Apocalypse was to have a *resurrection from the dead;* whereas Nero, according to Tacitus, was supposed *not to have been really slain*, but *concealed*, soon to be disclosed. 4. There is nothing in Nero answering to the *ten horns* of the beast. The "ten would-be kings" are a mere invention flung in by the reviewer, corresponding to no fact. 5. Nero restored to the throne would not be an "eighth emperor;" he would still remain the fifth, all during his concealment being spurious. 6. St. John's authorship of the book is too historically established to allow a fair doubt. To thence conclude that the book is an apostolic prophecy, and yet a falsified prophecy, is a very questionable result. 7. Düsterdiech very strongly argues that the name answering to 666 must be in Greek, and not Hebrew, letters; so that Nero would not answer.

It is to be regretted that Lange's volume on Revelation, claiming to be a Thesaurus, gives us only a few sentences of mis-placed contempt upon the Nero hypothesis.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) Fourth Number, 1874.—1. Dr. PIPER, The Christian Museum of the University of Berlin. 2. BUDDENSIEG, Essay on Wiclif. 3. Dr. WISELER, Some Dates in the Life of Luther.

First Number, 1875.—1. BUDDENSIEG, Essay on Wiclif. 2. Dr. HARNACK, An Old Bulgarian Version of Hippolytus' work, *De Antichristo*. 3. ROSCH, The Itala of the Old Testament in the Writings of Cyprian.

The Museum of Christian Antiquities, which was founded, in connection with the University of Berlin, on May 28, 1849, celebrated in 1874 its twenty-fifth anniversary. Its founder, Professor Piper, of Berlin, avails himself of this occasion to publish in the "Journal for Historical Theology" an interesting historical sketch. It treats, in six sections, of the foundation of the museum, of the locality, of its dotation, of its revenue and expenditure from 1849 to 1873, of its acquisitions, and, finally, of its use. From the last section we learn that the monuments of Christian art, which are contained in the museum, are regularly made use of in the lectures on theological encyclopedia, Church history, ecclesiastical antiquities, and history of Christian doctrines. Besides, Professor Piper has regularly, since 1856, conducted, in the rooms of the museum,

"archæological and patristic exercises," at first once a week, and, since 1866, twice a week. In a course of lectures, embracing three half years, he treats of the works of Christians as illustrating, 1, Church history; 2, the Bible; and, 3, the history of religion in general and of Christian doctrines.

Professor Wieseler, in his article on Luther, discusses, 1, the birth-year of Luther; 2, when Luther became a monk; 3, when Luther was in Rome. He reaches the conclusion that Luther was born on November 10, 1483, not, as some recent writers have endeavored to prove, in 1484; that he became a monk toward the close of the year 1505, not, as Knaake thinks, on July 16 of that year; and, finally, that he went to Rome in the latter part of the year 1510, not, as Dr. Kostlin maintains, in 1511.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Fourth Number, 1874.)—*Essays:* 1. BEYSCHLAG, The Johannean Question, (First Article.) 9. KAWERAN, (Pastor of Lang-Heinersdorff, near Zullichau,) Luther and the Conclusion of Marriage. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. BUDDE, (Licentiate of Theology at Bonn,) On Supposed Metrical Forms in Hebrew Poetry.

First Number, 1875.—*Essays:* 1. R. SCHMID, (Pastor of Friedrichshafen.) Darwin's Theory of Development in its Relation to Theology. 2. PIPER, (Professor of Thelogy at Berlin,) Two Inscriptions of Constantine the Great on his Triumphal Arch in Rome and in the Vatican Basilica. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. RIEHM, (Professor in Heidelberg,) Luther's Earliest Commentary on the Psalms. 2. KOSTLIN, (Professor in Göttingen,) Luther's Speech in Worms, April 18, 1521.

Professor Beyschlag, of the University of Halle, and now one of the associated editors of the *Studien und Kritiken*, opposes, in his article on the Johannean Question, the attacks of modern German theologians, and especially the Tübingen school, on the Gospel of John. In his introductory remarks he recalls the important fact, that liberal critics, like Ewald, Bleeck, Hase, and Reuss, among the older; and Weizsecker, Holzmann, and Wittichen, among more recent writers, do not agree with the Tübingen school, and then reviews at length the arguments against the authenticity brought forward by Baur, Strauss, Scholten, Keim, and others. He comes to the conclusion that the fourth Gospel bears the strongest evidence that it is a really historical narrative, and not a poetical transformation of facts, and that it was written by an eye-witness.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) August, 1874.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, The Living God of the Gospel. 2. CADENE, G. Gustave Flaubert. 3. ARBOUSSE BASTIDE, Materialism and the Modern Ideas. 4. BONIFAS, Roman History in the Tragedies of Corneille. 5. DOUMERGUE, Ecclesiastical Germany.

September.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Man, the Image of God. 2. DUPIN DE SAINT ANDRE, Art, Religion, and Nature in Italy, by Emilio Castelar. 3. ARBOUSSE BASTIDE, Materialism and the Modern Ideas. 4. DOUMERGUE, A Session of the Provincial Synod of Berlin.

October.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, The Fall. 2. FRANK PUAUX, Michel Angelo. 3. SABATIER, The Philosophy of Liberty and Christianism. 4. CHAVANNES, The Daughters of William the Silent.

After having preached for twenty-six years in the same pulpit at Paris, E. de Pressensé, the ablest representative of Protestant theology in France, desires to give, in a series of three articles, the titles of which are found above, a brief summary of those cardinal doctrines of Christianity which have been the basis of his preaching. Pressensé is, as pulpit orator, no less distinguished than as theological writer, and it is a remarkable tribute to his prominence as a public speaker that the city of Paris, which generally shows little appreciation of any thing that is outspokenly Christian, has repeatedly chosen him a member of the National Assembly. Like every thing that comes from the pen of the gifted author, these three discourses belong among the best productions of the recent theological literature of France.

Emilio Castelar, the former President of the Spanish Republic, is well-known in the United States as a statesman of pure character, of exalted ideas, and of great literary attainments. His reputation is of a comparatively recent date. In consequence of the political movements of 1866, sentenced to death, he could save his life only by fleeing from his country. The fall of Queen Isabella allowed him to return to his country, and several provinces elected him a member of the Cortes. He also resumed his chair at the University of Madrid, and at the same time became editor of a political paper called "La Democratia." In the Cortes he became, during the reign of King Amadeus, the chief of the liberal party, and his powerful eloquence, combined with his earnest republican convictions, made him the most formidable opponent of the conservative and reactionary parties. Many of his speeches, especially that

on liberty of conscience, attracted great attention throughout the civilized word and established for him the reputation of being one of the first orators of the age. After the proclamation of the Spanish Republic he became a member of the ministry, and after a time President of the Spanish Republic. His patriotism, his disinterestedness, his noble character were recognized by all parties without exception, and even by his political opponents. His authority having been overthrown by military conspirators, he has returned to his literary pursuits, and a work on art, religion, and nature in Italy is one of the earliest fruits. The book gives the impressions of a journey in Italy at the time when Pius IX. was still in possession of his temporal power. Castelar adds his testimony to that of nearly all tourists in Italy, who, as eye-witnesses, have testified that the Papal States were by far the worst governed States of Europe, and he expresses his conviction that the religious system of modern Rome, which, he says, is separated by a deep abyss from primitive Christianity, is chiefly responsible for it. He pays an eloquent tribute to the sublime religion of the first centuries of the Christian era; still he admits that he himself does not share the belief in the Christian revelation. He rejects atheism, materialism, positivism; but, like the *école spiritualiste* of French philosophers, whose chief spokesman at present is Paul Janet, he only believes in the existence of a God, in the immortality of the soul, and some, as yet undefined, religion of the future.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Old Catholics of Germany held, on September 6 and 7, their Third Annual Congress at Freiburg, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, the seat of a Roman Catholic archbishop and of a university. Baden has for more than a century been that portion of Germany where reformatory movements found the warmest sympathies among the Roman Catholic population. There, at the beginning of the present century, the learned and venerable Baron von Wessenberg, the last Bishop of Constance, struggled for the introduction of similar reforms as those now aimed at by the Old Catholics. In the city of Freiburg the Old Catholic congregation is very strong, and a number of the professors of the university take an active part in it. The concourse of people to attend the Congress was

very large, and more than three thousand persons attended the public meetings. The proceedings of the Congress did not materially differ from those of the former Congresses. Professor Schulte, of Bonn, was again elected President by acclamation; Counselor Petri, of Wiesbaden, and Professor Huber, were elected Vice-Presidents. Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, England, and the United States were represented by prominent men, who were anxious to express to the Old Catholics of Germany the sympathies of other countries and Churches. In the name of the German Protestants of all parties, these sympathies were expressed by Prof. Holtzmann, of Heidelberg. Bishop Reinkens and Prof. Schulte reported that the number of Old Catholics was steadily and rapidly increasing, especially in Baden and Prussia. A resolution was adopted, declaring that the Old Catholics maintain their claim to a fair proportion of the Church property, which, in their opinion, belongs to the Catholic congregations, and not to the bishops and the Pope, and demanding that the State Governments ascertain the strength of the two parties in the Catholic Church by a vote of the members on the doctrine of Papal infallibility. It was announced that, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the first Old Catholic Synod of Bonn, held in May, 1874, two committees had been appointed for establishing intercommunion with the Anglican and the Oriental Churches. The former consisted of Prof. Döllinger as chairman, and Professors Friedrich and Messmer as members; the latter of Prof. Langen, of Bonn, as president, and Professors Knoodt and Reusch as members. A similar committee will be formed for promoting intercommunion with the Protestant Churches.

One of the most important fruits of the Old Catholic movement is the convocation of a Union Conference of Old Catholics, Anglican, and Greek theologians, which was held at Bonn from Sept. 14 to Sept. 16, for the purpose of discussing the dogmatical differences of these Churches, and the means to bring on a closer union. The members had been invited by Dr. Döllinger, who was the leading spirit of the Conference. Among the prominent men who took part in the Conference were Bishop Reinkens, and Professors Knoodt, Langen, Reusch, and Lutterbeck, on the part of the Old Catholics of Germany; Professors Krafft and J. P. Lange, the author of "The Bible Work," on the part of the German Protestants; Abbé Michaud, from France; Provost Block, from Denmark; A. of Kireyev, Secretary of the Society of Ecclesiastical Enlightenment at St. Petersburg, and Yanyshev, Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg; Prof. Rhossis, of the University of Athens, Greece; Bishop Browne, of Winchester; J. S. Howson, Dean of Chester; H. P. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's, London; Prof. Mayor, of Cambridge; Bishop Kerfoot, of Pittsburgh, and W. Chancey Langdon, Rector of an English Church in Geneva, Switzerland. The negotiations between the Old Catholics and the Anglicans were mostly conducted in the English language, and were based on a series of dogmatical theses, which were proposed by Dr. Döllinger. It was acknowledged on both sides that an important difference of opinion on the points treated of in the theses did not exist.

The negotiations with the Orientals concerned chiefly the addition of the *Filioque* to the Nicene Creed, and were mostly conducted in the German language. After a long and lively debate, the theologians of the three denominations, on Sept. 15, agreed upon the following declaration: "We agree that the manner in which the words *filioque* were added to the Nicene Creed was illegal, and that, with a view to future peace and unity, it is very desirable that by the entire Church the question, whether the Creed can be restored to its original form without sacrificing a doctrine expressed in the present form of the Occidental Churches, can be settled." Both Dr. Döllinger and Bishop Reinkens expressed their belief in the validity of the episcopal ordinations of the Anglican Church. The discussions between the Old Catholics and the Orientals were based upon a list of the points of difference between the Eastern and Western Churches, which had been drawn up by the Petersburg Society of Friends of Ecclesiastical Enlightenment. The two main points, the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost and the Primateship, will remain the subject of further discussion of the Special Committee. Concerning all the other points, it was agreed that there was either no difference between the two Churches, or that a mutual understanding could be reached, and that a removal of the existing differences in the discipline and public worship was not necessary for ecclesiastical union. The following theses were adopted by a large majority: 1. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament are not canonical in the same sense as the books contained in the Hebrew Canon. 2. No translation of the Holy Writ can claim a higher authority than the original text. 3. The reading of the Holy Writ in the vernacular language should not be forbidden. 4. In general it is appropriate, and corresponding to the spirit of the Church, that divine service should be celebrated in a language understood by the people. 5. Faith, which is effective through love, not faith without love, is the means and the condition of the justification of man before God. 6. Salvation cannot be deserved by a "meritum a condigno," for there is no exact relation between the infinite value of the salvation promised by God and the finite value of human works. 7. The doctrines of the "opera supererogationis" and of a "thesaurus meritorum sanctorum," that is, the doctrine that superabundant merits of the saints can be transferred to others, either by the heads of the Church, or by the authors of the good works, is untenable. 8. (*a*) The number of sacraments was for the first time fixed at seven in the twelfth century, and was then received as a doctrine of the Church, not as a tradition received from the apostles, or earliest times, but as the result of theological speculation. (*b*) Catholic theologians, as Bellarmin, admit, and we with them, that baptism and the Eucharist are "principalia, præcipua, eximia salutis nostræ sacramenta." 9. While we recognize the Holy Writ as the primary rule of faith, we agree that the genuine tradition, that is, the uninterrupted partly oral, partly written transmission of the doctrine bequeathed to us by Christ and the apostles, is an authoritative source of doctrine for all following generations of Christians. This tradition is

partly known from the consensus of the great religious denominations, which are in historical continuity with the original Church; partly it is obtained in a scientific way from the written documents of all the centuries. 10. We reject the new Roman doctrine of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin as being at variance with the tradition of the first thirteen centuries, according to which Christ alone was conceived without sin. 11. The use of the confession of sins before the congregation or the priest, with the exercise of the power of the keys, has come to us from the original Church, and, if it is to be retained in the Church, be cleared from abuse and free from coercion. 12. Indulgences cano nly refer to penances which have really been imposed by the Church herself. 13. The use of the commemoration for deceased believers, that is, the imploration of a richer bestowal of the grace of Christ for them, has come to us from the original Church, and is to be retained in the Church. 14. The Eucharistic sacrifice in the Church is not a perpetual repetition or renewal of the atonement which Christ once for all offered on the cross, but its sacrificial character consists in being its permanent commemoration, and an exhibition and presentation upon earth of that one offering of Christ for the salvation of redeemed mankind which, according to Heb. ix, 11, 12, is perpetually offered by Christ in heaven. While this is the character of the Eucharist, as regards the sacrifice of Christ, it is at the same time a sacred sacrificial feast in which, according to 1 Cor. x, 17, the faithful who receive the body and the blood of the Lord hold communion with each other.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES.

A noticeable feature of the recent history of the Church of England is the increased tendency to substitute for its former isolated position a closer communion between all the branches of the Anglican Churches and an intercommunion with kindred Episcopal organizations. In the Convocation of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lichfield, in April, presented a number of petitions on the subject of a Second Pan-Anglican Council. He referred to addresses which had come from Canada, from the West Indian bishops, from the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and from the Church in Australia. In commenting upon the great number of these addresses, he regarded them as proofs of the widely-diffused wish that the Anglican Communion should have an acknowledged head, and he moved that a joint committee be appointed by the Convocation, which is to examine into the exact relation the Archbishop of Canterbury should hold with regard to the several branches of the Anglican Communion, and that the Archbishop be requested to convene a General Conference of the Anglican Communion in continuation of that of 1867. After the Archbishop, in speaking upon the motion, had very emphatically disavowed any claims of authority over other branches of the Anglican Communion, which were independent and voluntary communions, the motion of the Bishop of Lichfield was adopted, with the amendment that it be communicated for concurrent action to the Con-

vocation of York. The committee appointed by the House of Bishops recommended that the Second Pan-Anglican Council be called in 1876, and that the relation of the Archbishop of Canterbury to other bishops of the Anglican Communion be that of primate among archbishops, primates, metropolitans, and bishops.

The Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, on intercommunion with the Eastern Churches, presented a report in May, and the Convocation passed a resolution expressing gratitude for the directions issued by the Patriarch of Constantinople to his metropolitans, instructing their clergy to perform the rites of Christian burial for deceased members of the English Church. On the other hand, a resolution calling on the Archbishop of Canterbury to use his endeavors to secure intercommunion between the two Churches, and especially to enable members of the English Church residing within the jurisdiction of the Eastern Church to avail themselves of the rites and sacraments of that Church, was, after discussion, withdrawn. Two Eastern prelates, the Archbishop of Syra and the Bishop of Jerusalem, who visited England in 1874, received many marks of distinction and attention, and took part in the Church Congress of 1874 and other Church meetings. The interest formerly shown in strengthening the bonds of intercommunion with Eastern Churches has, however, of late suffered from the more profound interest which the Church of England takes in the Old Catholic movement. At the Church Congress of 1874, which began on October 6 at Brighton, in the diocese of Chichester, the Bishop of Chichester, who, as bishop of the diocese, presided, referred in his opening address to the Old Catholic movement as the most important religious movement on the continent. He characterized it as a phenomenon of the deepest interest to the English people, and as the beginning of a reformation in the Roman Catholic Church, the principles of which were not unlike those which had governed the reformation in the Church of England. The Bishop of Winchester gave a brief account of the history and character of the Old Catholic movement, and spoke favorably of the Union Conferences just held at Bonn, which he had attended. The Bishop of Melbourne, Dr. Littledale, and others, spoke of the movement in the same spirit. The remarkable pamphlet which the late Premier, Mr. Gladstone, published against the Vatican decrees, the discussions which it called forth in the English press, and the enthusiastic reception which it met with on the part of all classes of the English people, proved still more strongly that the interest taken in the Old Catholic movement is very profound and general among the clergy and the members of the Church of England.

The number of missionary dioceses of the Church of England was, in 1874, increased by the appointment of a Bishop of Madagascar on the part of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a measure which caused the Low Church "Church Missionary Society" to withdraw its missionaries from that country, in order that it might not be made a party to interference with the work of the London Missionary Society.

The entire separation of Church and State is advocated in an anony-

mous work published by a Protestant clergyman of Wurtemburg under the title "The Free Church," (Die Freie Kirche, Stuttgart, 1874.) The question of the normal relation between the State Government and the religious creeds is at present agitating the minds of all parties in Germany to a higher degree than at any time during the last three centuries. The bold claims against modern society which the Roman Catholic Church has again brought forward at the Vatican Council, and the exciting conflicts between the German Government and the Catholic bishops of that country, have awakened for the subject a universal interest. The idea of an entire separation between Church and State is undoubtedly losing ground among the liberal parties which, during the last twenty years, had in most countries of Europe given their adhesion to Cavour's principle of a free Church in a free State. The fear now begins to spread that an unlimited permission given to the religious denominations to regulate their Church affairs as they please would greatly strengthen the position of the Roman Catholic Church. There is now a general tendency to insist on the right of the State to exercise a strict supervision over the Churches, and use its influence for keeping down, as much as possible, doctrines and practices which would destroy the peaceful relations between members of different religious persuasions.

The complicated relations between Church and State have called forth in Germany a very extensive literature on ecclesiastical law, (Kirchenrecht.) All the students of Theology, as well as of Law, at the German universities have to attend courses of lectures on Church law; and as now every lawyer in Germany may expect that he may have to deal with legal questions concerning Church affairs, a great impulse has been given by the recent conflicts to the study of the Church law. Among the Protestant works of the Church law, that by the late Professor Ludwig Apemilius Richter, of Berlin, has long been recognized as the most prominent. A thoroughly revised edition of this work, which gives due consideration to the controversies of the last years, has just been published by Professor Dove, of Goettingen, one of the most gifted pupils of Richter. (Lerbuch des Kirchenrechtes, 7th edition. Leipzic, 1871-1874.) The new editor is a decided opponent of the separation between Church and State. "The separation," he says, "is as little the establishment of a normal relation between the two powers, as divorce is the normal aim of marriage. On the contrary, the State and the Christian Church have been called by God to an intimate connection, just as the individual man is both a religious and a political being."

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE number of new works which are published in Germany on the late David Friedrich Strauss, and his theological books, especially his last work, "The Old and New Creed," continues to be very large. Among them we find one from Bruno Bauer, a theological writer who about thirty years ago, when he was lecturer on theology at the University of Bonn, attracted some attention by the boldness of his attacks on the orthodox theology and the authenticity of the Bible. He went even further in his negative views than Strauss, and distinguished himself particularly by the violence of his language. Being deposed from his professorship, by the Government of Prussia, in 1842, he wrote in the following year a work, entitled "Unvailed Christianity," which was to appear in Zurich, Switzerland, but was seized by the police before its publication and destroyed. A "General Literary Gazette," (Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung, Charlottenburg, 1843,) which he began in the same year, was discontinued the next year. He then published a series of works on the political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a "History of the French Revolution until the Establishment of the Republic," (3 vols., Leipzig, 1847;) "History of Germany during the French Revolution and the Rule of Napoleon," (2 vols., Charlottenburg, 1846;) "History of the Politics, Civilization, and Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century," (4 vols., 1842–5,) and complete "History of the Party Struggles in Germany during the Years 1842 to 1846," (3 vols., 1847.) At the same time he continued his studies on the origin and the early history of the Christian Church, and published, among other works, "Critical Examination of the Gospels," (2 vols., 1850 to 1851,) the "Acts of the Apostles," (Berlin, 1850,) and a "Critical Examination of the Pauline Epistles," (Berlin, 1850.) From 1850 to 1873 he published but little, and, to the great astonishment of all who knew his past career, wrote for the newspapers and other publications of the ultra-conservative party of Prussia. He now, after a silence of more than twenty years, appears again as a theological writer by a work entitled "Philo, Strauss, and Renan and Primitive Christianity." (Philo, Strauss, and Renan und das Unchristenthum, Berlin, 1874.) He says in the introduction that he will now bring his literary labors to a close. He gives in this new work at first a treatise on what he calls "the Jewish prologue to Christianity," that is, "the outline of the nucleus of the Gospel history," which had been drawn up by the Jew Philo before it entered into effect, and the first draft of the fundamental ideas of the so-called Pauline Epistles and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as it is found in the writings of the Alexandrine master. Bruno Bauer is of opinion that Strauss and Renan are entirely mistaken in assuming that long before the appearance of Jesus in public there was in the consciousness of the Jewish people the ideal of a Messiah, the principal features of which the Christian Church transferred to

Jesus. In opposition to this view, he undertakes to show that Philo, and through him not only the Alexandrine Jewish school, but also the Greek philosophy from Heraclitus to the Stoics had a counteracting influence upon the origin of Christianity. He also announces that this work will soon be followe by another, entitled "Seneca and Paul," (Seneca and Paulus.) The work of Bauer is likely to give a new impulse to the investigation of the relation in which Philo stands to Christianity.

A biographical sketch of David Friedrich Strauss has been published by Wilhelm Lang, one of the leaders of the radical party in the Reformed State Churches of Switzerland. (David Friedrich Strauss, eine Charakteristik, Leipzig, 1874.) The author is one of the most prolific writers of the rationalistic school of German theology, and has published, among numerous other works, an "Outline of Christian Dogmatics for Thinking Christians." (Versuch einer Christ. Dogmatik. Berlin, 1858. 2d edit. 1868.) The "Christian Church," (Die Christliche Kirche, 1860.) "Martin Luther," (1870.) "Religious Addresses," (Religiöse Reden, Zurich, 1872.) "The Life of Jesus and the Church of the Future," (Das Leben Jesu und die Kirche der Zaukunft, 1872.) He also was from 1859 to 1871 editor of the leading periodical of his party, the "Zeitstimmen aus der Reformirten Kirche der Schweiz."

The work of Wilhelm Maurenbrecher, "Essays and Sketches on the Time of the Reformation," ("Studien und Skitzen zur Geschichte der Reformations zeit. Leipzig, 1874,) is a valuable contribution to the history of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The first three essays relate to the history of Spain, describing the rise and progress of the Reformation in that country, and the attempts made by the Spanish kings to reform the Spanish Catholic Church. The third essay is directed against the attempt of Bergenroth to prove that Queen Joanna was never insane. Gustav Bergenroth, a German historian, who for several years lived in California and in 1856 settled in England, had been commissioned by the Master of Rolls to report on the important discoveries in the archives of Simancas, and he pursued his task amid great difficulties at Simancas, and in London, Brussels, and Ireland. His account of the story of Queen Joanna in the supplementary volume of the calendar of Spanish papers produced quite a sensation in the literary world, as it intended, on the basis of unpublished documents in the Spanish archives, to refute the report which thus far had been generally regarded by historians as a well-established fact, that Queen Joanna had been insane. Maurenbrecher stands up for the correctness of the current opinion, and most of the critics which have taken notice of the controversy have taken sides with him. The fourth sketch, on Charles V., forms the transition to the German Reformation to which the fifth, sixth, and seventh essays are devoted. The book closes with an essay on the "Universal Church in the Time of the Reformation and the Churches of the Several Countries."

A new work on the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to Slavery, Religious Toleration, and Freedom of Conscience, has recently been published by J. Buchmann, one the prominent men of the German Old Cath

olics. (Die unfreie und die Freie Kirche, Breslau, 1873.) The author was formerly one of the most violent German champions of the Roman Catholic Church against Protestantism, but, like many other Catholic theologians of Germany, he has found it impossible to submit to the new doctrine of Papal Infallibility. He is a very fluent and forcible writer, though not profound. It is surprising that he has nothing to say on the attitude which the Church of Rome has observed with regard to the slavery question and the civil war in the United States.

The literature on the Augsburg Confession has received a very valuable addition by a work of Professor Plitt, entitled "The Apology of the Augustane Historically Explained," (Die Apologie der Augustana historisch erklärt, Erlangen, 1873.) The author belongs to the Lutheran Church, and advocates the continuance of the binding character of the Augsburg Confession and of the Apology for the clergy and members of the Lutheran Church. He published, in 1867 and 1868, a work in two volumes on the Confession of Augsburg itself, which is one of the standard works on the subject.

The views of Thomas Aquinas on the relations between Church and State are the subject of a work by Prof. J. J. Baumann, a Protestant, who, on the title-page, calls him the greatest theologian and philosopher of the Catholic Church. (Die Staatslehre des Heil. Thomas von Aquino, Leipzig, 1873.) The author has extracted and literally translated, from the principal works of Thomas, those passages which give his views of the relation of the Church and Society. He regards the views of Thomas on royalty, constitutional monarchy, and kindred questions, not only as ingenious, but even as capable of being carried through in the civilized States of the present age. The theory of the proper relation between Church and State, as set forth by Thomas, appears to him as one lacking originality, and resulting from the letter of the Catholic dogma.

The authenticity of both the Gospel of St. John and the Revelation has found a new defender in the work of H. Gebhardt on "The Doctrinal System of the Revelation, and its Relation to the Gospel and the Epistles of John," (Der Lehrbegriff der Apocalypse, Gotha, 1873.) The work is reviewed in the last number of the "Studien und Kritiken," by Prof. Weiss, of Kiel, who agrees with the author in believing that the Revelation no less than the Gospel is a work of the Apostle John, though he regards many of the arguments used by the author as not cogent.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine. The Fifth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, New College, Edinburgh. 8vo., pp. 409. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Armstrong. Price, $5. 1874.

Development is a word that not only rules in science, but is playing an important part in theology. How our creeds, from the primitive form, became what they are; what they have now a right to be, and what they are likely to become, are questions now exciting a large interest. In the Church of professed immutability Dr. Newman has stated a doctrine of development which affords scope for an unknown amount of change in the unchangeable. Dr. Rainy frankly avows himself a holder of the Reformed Creed, that is, of Geneva; and the problem is for him to show by what legitimate development its contradictions of the primitive doctrine of the Church comes out from said doctrine. This he fails to accomplish; and yet he has given us a valuable book, abounding with eloquent paragraphs, acute discussions, and pregnant suggestions.

Two lectures are devoted to tracing the divine scheme of development in giving us the successive portions of revelation. Three lectures trace the nature of that development by which the Church has in successive centuries come to a more explicit understanding of the revelation itself. The closing part discusses creeds, the right in the Church of forming such documents, and the degree of freedom they should allow of modification and reconstruction. The proper office of creeds is acutely discussed. It is our impression that a republication of this work in America in reduced size, and rendered more accessible to our impecunious Christian scholars, would find a general welcome and circulation.

The following passage, on the formation of heresies, may seem to some readers curiously suggestive in regard to some movements in our own Church at the present hour: "Commonly, as has often been remarked, these heresies arise in some such way as this: Some Christian *idea, or some one aspect of a Christian principle, was laid hold of in an intensely exclusive manner.* It began to be urged willfully and impatiently. It was developed extravagantly, and conclusions were urged as needful in order to its being duly recognized and held, which were perverse and erroneous, and traversed some other principle of Scripture teaching; and finally,

the process was cornered by the explicit denial of the part of Scripture teaching which thus interfered with the tendencies that were at work. The Church, meanwhile, could win a complete and real victory over such a heresy only in one way, namely, by *doing justice to whatever truth the diverging tendency represented*, but at the same time evincing its consistency with the other truths which that tendency had neglected or opposed. Such a process could not fail to educate the Church's mind, and force her on to a more full, exact, and fruitful acquaintance with the *whole relations* of truth as unfolded in the Scriptures."

All experience shows that a healthy state of a Church requires that there should not be an exaggerating emphasis laid upon one truth, but that the symmetry of Christian doctrine should be preserved both in preaching and in Christian effort.

We are told by some of our rationalistic friends that Romanism is more permanent than Protestantism, because she is more self-contained, does not rely on the Bible, and is entirely unharmed if science and criticism should upset the Pentateuch, or some of the four evangelists, or all. Thus Mr. Parton some years since, in the "Atlantic," boasted in behalf of "Our Catholic Friends" (such was the title of his article) of the superiority of the Papal Church over all necessities of defending the text of the Canon. And lately the "Nation," in an entertaining, if not very accurate, view of the "Ritualistic Movement," says:—

> One naturally asks, when one watches the performances of the Ritualists, how it is that this reactionary movement should achieve so much success at a moment when Rationalism, under the direction of men of science, is making such serious assaults on revealed religion. But it has to be observed that the scientific men really hurt the Catholics and Ritualists less than the Evangelicals or Broad-Churchmen. It is not so much the belief in the existence of a personal God that Tyndall and Huxley shake, as the authority of the Bible, and the way they do this is by inspiring distrust of, or contempt for, all literary evidence as arrayed against what they call the evidence of nature. Now, Catholics and Ritualists are not seriously concerned about the authority of the Bible. They have not to do battle for the cosmogony of Moses, or the strategy of Joshua, or the morality of David and of Sisera. The Oxford Tractarians, in fact, surrendered the Bible almost at the first shot, and took their stand, as do their successors, on Church tradition. They believe things because they have "always and every-where and by all been believed." The Old and New Testament might go, they say, and the Church still stand. It knew and taught all that needs to be taught about Christ before the New Testament existed, so that the doctors are delivered from a deal of uncomfortable warfare over the authenticity of scriptural history and biography and geology.

Now we had occasion to say, years agone, (Com., vol. ii, p. 5,) that the Christian Church is older than the New Testament, and lived a century or so without it a life of wonderful power. With a living heart, inspir ` by the same spirit as inspired the Bible, the

Church is, in a sense, greater than the Bible. But our impression is, that if our Christian scholars investigate the matter they will find that no Church is faster bound to the Text than the Romanistic. The words, for instance, of the Council of Trent are, "This Synod venerates all the books of both the Old and New Testament, *since God is their author.*" The late General Council issued "The Dogmatic Constitution of the Catholic Faith," containing these words: "Let him be anathema who . . . shall refuse to receive, for sacred and canonical, the books of the Holy Scripture *in their integrity*, with *all their parts*, according as they were enumerated by the Holy Council of Trent, or shall deny that they are inspired by God." And to this *dictum*, a thousand times repeated in Romanistic documents, that Church is bound by the insoluble tie of immutable infallibility. Her doctrine is that the Canon is "the word of God," and by that dogma she stands or falls, for she cannot retract or abate jot or tittle. This dogma is none the less vital because she makes apostolic tradition co-ordinately "the word of God" with the Bible. She cannot surrender the Divine authorship, inspiration, and authority of the Bible without surrendering her own infallibility, and so giving up the ghost. To confess a mistake is to commit suicide.

Not so the Protestant Church. Without impairment of vital truths we hold, we are able to confess that we have erred and still may err. The very words, Protestant and Reformation, point to doctrines changed and abandoned. When full conviction comes upon us, (which surely has not yet come,) we are able to change the Romanistic dogma, "The Bible is the word of God," to "The Bible contains the word of God." Suppose the New Testament comes to be confessed to be simply so many historical documents; they are still, according to ordinary historical criticism ample proof—certainly the highest proof—of what the first Christianity was. If Christian criticism were finally to conclude that Second Peter and the Apocalypse were not written by apostles, they would still stay, at least, deutero-canonical, primitive testimonies as to what Christianity was. Evangelical scholarship has very generally concluded that Genesis is very largely made up of pre-Mosaic documents: patriarchal Bibles successively given. If, however, science should demonstrate that the three or four first chapters of the first document cannot be literal verity, or if researches among the Assyrian bricks should show that the entire nine chapters are semi-mythical, how much easier would it not be for Protestantism to qualify her indorsement of these chapters

than for Romanism? Give us merely of the Old Testament what the most searching fair criticism can leave unquestioned, and the main body of the evangelical faith is untouched. Then give us as truly genuine the Gospel of Luke and the four Epistles of Paul, (Romans, I. and II. Corinthians, and Galatians,) acknowledged to be genuine even by Tübingen, all the other New Testament books being unquestionable documents of a very early period, and the evangelical faith would be essentially untouched. None of these changes could Romanism admit without admitting her own mutability. Such in the face of all criticism does the Protestant Church hold as her rich abundance and reserve of power. With these views it can easily be felt that there is no need of panic; and, we may add, we believe there is no real panic. While scientists and critics are undermining Theism, Genesis, and the Apocalypse, still Christian enterprise, revival, discussion of the central truths, are going on as vitally and vigorously as ever. Sin still presses upon the conscience; joy still springs from faith in Christ; holiness is still the boon after which the Christian heart will pant. We are essentially at one with the Church of the first two centuries—the Church that scarce had a canon—yet the Church with a heart glowing with a sense of oneness with Christ; the Church that smiled at martyrdom, and conquered in the battle, less for the book, than for the Christ the book contained.

Christian Dogmatics. A Text-Book for Academical Instruction and Private Study. By J. J. Von Oosterzee, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated by John W. Watson, B.A., Vicar of Newburgh, Lancashire, and Maurice J. Evans, B.A., Stratford-upon-Avon. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 818. New York: Scribner & Armstrong. 1874.

Dr. Von Oosterzee is not a German, but a Dutchman. He hails from the land of Erasmus, James Arminius, John Barnaveldt, Hugh Grotius, and Simon Episcopius. He is a descendant, modified somewhat by modern influences, of the Synod of Dort. But what a change has come over that Church and its National Synod since the days of President Bogermann!

Ever since the commencement of the French Revolution, rationalism has been more or less triumphant in the National Synod of the Netherlands. The hereditary Dutch Reformed Church has been the State Church; but she has required but a very equivocal profession of the old creed from her ministry, and the Church courts will hardly find any doctrine heretical enough to unfrock a minister. All earnest evangelical movements have come from

without the regular organization, and have received a cold shoulder from the high ecclesiastical authorities. The Arminian (Remonstrant) Church still lives, and has, we believe, ever adhered to its early faith. But its doctrines, never having experienced the thrill of Divine power, that has given such efficiency to the Wesleyan movement, have not secured its triumphant progress. Some of its ministers have been distinguished for eloquence and power. The two Armories, father and son, were rivals to Vander Palm in pulpit eloquence. The younger of the two was a profound thinker, and it has been remarked as a curious fact that, Arminian as he was, he was nearer the old doctrine of Dort than was the present National Synod. Such are the results of State-Churchism.

The University of Leyden, which rejected the theology of Arminius, has been obliged to father the system of Professor Scholten, occupying the same theological chair. Scholten's doctrine is a blend of fatalism and restorationism. He holds the doctrine of absolute necessity (determinism) ruling not only the causations of nature, but the volitions of man, and even of God. In this respect the systems of Edwards and Hobbes are identical with that of Scholten, excepting that the first of the three powerfully emphasizes the personality of God, and so renders revelation and deep religionism possible, while the last verges nearly, if not quite, to Pantheism. Hobbes and Scholten maintain, that by the necessary order of events all sin and misery will be abolished through Christ, and the race attain a final blessedness. And yet Christ is but an incident in the scheme. The system of Scholten has ruled the public mind with mighty power. The pupils of the talented professor (among whom the rationalistic biblical scholar Kuenen is eminent) have been able and active. The evangelical Churches, both Arminian and national, have met the Scholten party ably, but with equivocal success. Among the evangelical leaders on the synodical side, the most eminent is Dr. Von Oosterzee.

Von Oosterzee is known in this country as author of some of the books of Lange's Commentary, and by an excellent *brochure*, maintaining the authenticity of John's Gospel, finely translated by Dr. Hurst. The editors of the present volume inform us that he is theological professor at Utrecht, was born in 1807, and is one of the most popular evangelical preachers of Holland. His work is presented by the translators in a very pure and transparent English. The style of the author is generally clear, with a very slight haze now and then, and his train of thought is often unsteady, wanting somewhat the firm, manly straight-forwardness of Hodge.

He is Calvinistic, as a genuine descendant of Dort. He is Chiliastic, in opposition to the *consensus* of the creeds of the Reformation. He maintains a probation after death of those who had no offer of Christ in the present life. He assigns different degrees of authority to different parts of the Bible, holding the Old Testament as undecisive in dogmatics where not confirmed by the New. On the whole, while we revere the venerable author as "faithful among the faithless," holding fast his evangelical profession amid surrounding storms, we find a trace or so of yielding to "Modernism," with which we decline to concur.

While he emphatically rejects the periodic interpretation of the word *day* in the first chapter of Genesis as unexegetical, he identifies the *day of judgment* with the *thousand years* of the Apocalypse. Moses, in a lofty psalm of creation, must, forsooth, be held as meaning a literal day; while the Jewish maiden, Martha, who speaks conversationally of the resurrection "at the last day," means by *day* a mundane period! And this just reverses the obvious principle of interpretation. The figure, by all just exegetical principle, must be conceded to sublime Moses, the literality to simple Martha.

On the inferiority of the Old Testament we give the following views:—

> The rules for the dogmatic use of the writings of the Old Testament are easily adduced from what has been already said. We have no right for a use of those Scriptures in which we do not alike take heed of their peculiar character, as distinguished from those of the New Testament. The Old Testament revelation must always be regarded, first, in relation to Israel, and has only value for our dogmatics in so far as it is confirmed by the Gospel of the New. The letter of the Old Testament must thus be tested by the spirit of the New, and whatever therein stands in opposition to the New has as little binding force for our belief as for our life. A dogma which can be supported only by an appeal to the Old Testament can only maintain its place in Christian dogmatics if it manifestly does not conflict with the letter and the spirit of the New, and also stands in close connection with other propositions derived from the New Testament. If any thing in the Old Testament had no religious or soteriological value, it would have no import for Christian dogmatics.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Consistorialrath, Hanover. From the German, with the sanction of the Author. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., and FREDERICK CROMBIE, D.D. Part II. The Gospel of John. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 347. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1874. Price, $3,00.

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Meyer was born at Gotha in A. D. 1800, and died in 1865. He commenced his work as a commentator in 1831. For this he was

fitted by a very thorough linguistic training at the Gymnasium of his native place, and at the University of Jena. His commentary, unimpeded by stereotype, was corrected and enlarged through a series of editions during his whole mature life.

As we mentioned in our late notice of the translation of his Galatians, one of Meyer's primary principles was the exegete's independence of the theologian. His entire business is, not to read preconceptions assigned him by the creeds into the text, but to read, with all the insight he possesses, and all the helps existing materials and means can afford him, the exact mind, purpose, and thought of the sacred writer in his words. The excavations of the geologist should be no more overruled by a prescribed cosmogony, than the analysis of the interpreter should be overruled by Church confessions. But the English editor calls attention to the fact, that, as successive editions were issued, nearer approaches were made by Meyer to the confessional doctrines. He quotes in application to Meyer the remark of Winer, "the controversies of interpreters have usually led back to the admission that the old Protestant views of the meaning of Scripture are the correct ones." He quotes the piquant words of Meyer himself in the Preface of the edition of his Romans, issued 1865:—

> We older men have seen the day when Dr. Paulus and his devices were in vogue; he died without leaving a disciple behind him. We passed through the tempest raised by Strauss some thirty years ago, and with what a sense of solitariness might its author now celebrate its jubilee! We saw the constellation of Tübingen arise; and, even before Baur departed hence, its luster had waned. A fresh and firmer basis for the truth which had been assailed, and a more complete apprehension of that truth—these were the blessings which the waves left behind; and so will it be when the present surge has passed away.—P. 2.

Meyer's great excellence, in which he has never been surpassed, is his penetrative insight. He traces the occult connection, and the exact idea, with a keen subtilty, and gives the result in sentences of sharp, decisive conciseness. From his limitless library he gives you a series of brief opinions of his predecessors, two or three of which, in the passing, you think might perhaps be the right ones, when he closes with a *hit*, which you are usually sure of seeing is the *exactly* right one.

In the Book of Romans, Meyer finds Paul's meaning in the fifth chapter to be, that we are viewed as sinning in Adam's sin. The closing part of the seventh chapter he applies to the unregenerate man. In Romans viii, 29, 30, he recognizes that predestination and election are according to God's foreknowledge of man's meeting the faith-condition. He says: "Erasmus aptly remarks, 'Not by chance does God choose whom he chooses; he *knew* his own

before he called them.'" "The right view, since faith is the subjective ground of salvation, is that held by Calovius and our older dogmatists: God *foresaw who would believe and accept the call.*" In his notes on Corinthians (untranslated) Meyer rejects as un-Pauline the doctrine of Restorationism, but accepts in eschatology the Chiliastic doctrine of two resurrections.

Finding the completion of the entire New Testament in such style too much for one human life, Meyer made selections of finishers of his task. Thessalonians and Hebrews are done by Lünemann; the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles by Huther; the Apocalypse by Düsterdieck. These have caught the style of their master, and their work is so worthy of their place that we doubt not the entire will be translated. They exhibit much of the same perspicuity and affluent erudition, as well as the same exegetical independence, which some would call "Rationalism." Lünemann is rather more Calvinistic than Meyer, and quite as Rationalistic. He acknowledges no prophecy in 2 Thess. ii; but, in opposition to Meyer, both Lünemann and Düsterdieck are anti-Chiliastic. Düsterdieck maintains the early publication of the Apocalypse, denies its authorship by an apostle, rejects the identification of "the beast" with Nero, and while denying that a first and second resurrection are taught in the New Testament, he finds them in the Apocalypse, and makes their existence there a ground of rejecting the apostolicity of the book. Yet he believes that it was written early in the apostolic age, by an apostolic man, with a degree of inspiration, and rightly has a place in the New Testament as *deutero-canonical.*

This entire Commentary will be a great acquisition to every student of the Greek text of the New Testament. As absolute accuracy in the minutiæ of both editing and printing is a great desideratum, the work will come forth slowly. But we doubt not that its issue will produce a great effect upon New Testament interpretation in our country.

An Examination of the Alleged Discrepancies of the Bible. By JOHN W. HALEY, M.A. With an Introduction by ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., Professor in the Newton Theological Institution, Andover. 12mo., pp. 473. Boston: Warren & Draper; Estes & Lauriat. 1874.

This "book of reconciliations" was called into existence by the author's knowledge of the circulation of infidel publications containing cavils based on biblical contradictions. He was thence called to make a specialty of investigating these difficulties, to study the various authors who have discussed their nature, and to

present a work both scholarly and practical for Christian use. The first half of the work is very properly devoted to an analysis of the principles involved in the proper solution of discrepancies. He who well understands these general principles will have little difficulty in their application to particular cases. The second half discusses in detail all the individual instances of apparent contradiction, and gives one or more solutions. These are divided into three classes—doctrinal, ethical, and historical. The student of Scripture and the ordinary Christian will find it a very convenient and suggestive aid in dispelling perplexities in biblical interpretation.

In the doctrinal part it will not be difficult to discover the author's own dogmatic position as a Calvinist. We should not refer to this point but for the very questionable statement of Professor Hovey, in the Introduction, of its "strict purpose to avoid sectarianism." We give the following instance:—

The "Called" all Saved.	Some Perish.
Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified. Rom. viii, 30.	For many be called, but few chosen. Matt. xx, 16.

The word "call," in the first case, signifies the "effectual call," such as secures its own acceptance and the salvation of the "called." In the second, the term denotes the general invitation of the Gospel, extended to all men.

This dogma of an "effectual calling," as intrinsically different from another "calling," not divinely intended to be "effectual," is justly rejected by the great body of the universal Church (see our Notice of Meyer) as an impeachment of the Divine sincerity. God's callings are made "effectual" by the free obedience of the called, ineffectual by their disobedience, not by Divine intention, nor by the intrinsic nature of the call. The secret of ineffectual calling is, "I called and ye refused;" "*I would* have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens, and *ye would not.*" These last words conclusively prove that the ineffectual call was a call divinely intended to be effectual.

Mr. Haley, according to his creed, mutilates the left hand text in the above parallelism, and so places over it a false heading. The text, as written by St. Paul and amputated by Mr. Haley, begins with "Whom he did foreknow;" and it bases the whole series of stages in the verse upon God's foreknowledge back of his predestination; that is, of God's foreknowledge of the conditional fitness of the individual at each successive stage to be passed to the next stage. Whom he foreknew as meeting the conditions of predestination he predestinated; and whom he so foreknew he also

called. That others were also "called" is not denied by this text, but is additionally affirmed by the right hand text; so that the right hand text supplements the left hand, not contradicts it. The assertion that certain "foreknown" were "called" does not deny that others were "called," and called with the same calling. And the call of the latter was intrinsically and intentionally just as "effectual" as the former. Perhaps the most "effectual call," intrinsically, was most effectually disobeyed. Paul speaks only of the foreknown ones as being "called," simply because they are his subject. He very well knew that "God calleth men everywhere to repent;" and that such call is sincere, and perfectly effectual if men yield to its efficiency.

Leaving out a few exceptional cases, we recommend the work of Mr. Haley to a general circulation.

The Class Leader: His Work, and How to Do It. With Illustrations of Principles, Needs, Methods, and Results. By JOHN ATKINSON, A.M. 16mo., pp. 338. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1874.

The Methodist Class Leaders form one of the most unique and may be one of the most efficient vitalizing agencies in the universal Church. There is nothing like it, at least in Protestantism. A large and powerful class of laymen, giving their gratuitous labor to the spiritual interests of the entire membership, quickening others and thereby quickening their own spiritual life, contributes in an incalculable degree to the vitality of the Church. Thereby is created a body of secular men who are diffused through the community laden with responsibilities and vitalized by their duties, possessed of a practical alertness for religious action and influence. These serve as a collective pastorate, permanent amid the changes of the itinerancy, enabling each new minister to be the essential continuation of his predecessor. As permanent watchmen they become the *police* of the Church; carrying the influence of its religious government to the individual, serving to ascertain the actual membership and worthiness of membership of each. And, finally, they are the ready confessors, counselors, and comforters of those who need their aid. All these points are, at least ideally, in the office, and we believe they have been realized to a marvelous extent; this body being a scarce appreciated factor when we endeavor to account for our own successful history.

But as fashions change, and as law has ceased to sustain the stringency of the office, the question arises whether the efficiency cannot be still retained, and this powerful body be improved and

largely utilized for the future. May it not be called into greater self-consciousness; an *esprit du corps* be created; a new enthusiasm be aroused; a mutual sociability be awakened; a higher qualification be called into the service, and a larger result of religious profit be gathered? It has occurred to our own thought that a periodical "Class Leader" should be regularly published, filled with matter to organize, instruct, and stimulate these under-pastors of our Church. Our Sunday-school teachers have their Journal. We might, at least, start a semi-monthly sheet, and our own opinion is that an enlargement would soon be demanded. Both Leaders and members could be furnished with a pabulum which would not only supply nourishment, but create an appetite for more.

Mr. Atkinson's book is in this line. It is a sociable, practical, pertinent book. It calls upon Class Leaders to tell their experiences. It draws out suggestions and stirring thoughts from practical hands. The Leadership is called into council. And Mr. Atkinson, as Leader of the Leaders, expounds the subject in such a way as to make far the best book ever written on the subject. He speaks out in meeting as one who means business. He is hortatory, critical, and suggestive, all in a free flowing style that carries the reader upon its rapid current to his journey's end quite as quick as he wishes to stop. Few will begin it without finishing it, and many will find a re-reading at once pleasant and profitable.

Grace for Grace. Letters of Rev. William James. 12mo., pp. 341. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Mr. James was, we believe, a Presbyterian minister, who, as far as appears from his words, was no student of Methodist authors, but attained to very nearly the Wesleyan views of sanctification, and realized them in his experience. He wrote in a style of great transparency, vividly depicting his own subjective phenomena. His own holy ambition he states in these words: "Certainly no sojourner in the desert of Sinai was ever more exercised about setting his foot upon the land of promise than I have been, I might almost say for forty years, about leading a chosen band out of the wilderness of legal and worldly temptation to that glorious inheritance which is described by the term Sanctification."—P. 8.

His clearest statement is this: "And now, in defining my belief as to what you and I may reach in the way of communications from Christ, and service to him, I should say, it is that we may hope to attain to what we call sanctification in this life, not in the sense

of being free from every motion of sin, or from occasional lapses, it may be, by reason of sudden surprisals co-operating with remaining weakness, but in the sense of being purified from every *principle* of sin, from every way of sin; so that we may have the abiding consciousness of serving Christ with our whole hearts, and have a constant and serene (though by no means ecstatic) confidence of his love to us—love which shall keep up a joyful sunshine within, however we may be tried externally."—Pp. 210, 211. It is written with much beauty of thought and language.

Christianity and Science. A Series of Lectures delivered in New York, in 1874, on the Ely Foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By ANDREW PEABODY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University. 12mo., pp. 287. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

The historical evidences of Christianity cannot be put into a more demonstrative form than has been done, once for all, by William Paley. Yet so varied are the phases, and so varying in some respects are the topics with the times, that they always afford a subject for new minds to illustrate. Dr. Peabody presents them with a new freshness. His style is remarkable for its classic chasteness, rejecting from the dictates of a pure taste all approaches to the sensational, yet always attractive, and often rising into a spontaneous eloquence. This is a book to put into the hands of many a thoughtful young man whose interest is awakened to the reasons for the faith which he has hitherto received on trust, and who finds himself disposed to doubt. Such a mind will hardly read the first lecture without finishing the whole.

The Sunday Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Edited by T. O. SUMMERS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 176. Nashville, Tenn.: A. H. Redford. 1867.

By order of the General Conference this service was prepared for Sunday use in the Church, South. It consists mainly of Mr. Wesley's Prayer Book, printed in 1786 for the use of the American Churches. Of that prayer book we have never seen but one copy, and that had the autographic name in its fly-leaves of William Lupton, one of the trustees of the earliest John-street Church. We have long thought that an edition might safely be published as a memento to be placed in the library of Universal Methodism. The Methodists of England have a similar modification of Wesley's book for their own use. How far either English or Southern Methodism really use their liturgy in the Sunday Service we are uninformed. The volume before us is done in handsome style.

The following pithy paragraphs are given by Dr. Summers,

taken from Wesley's first edition. The closing paragraph is specially notable:—

"I believe there is no Liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety, than the COMMON PRAYER of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. And though the main of it was compiled considerably more than two hundred years ago, yet is the language of it not only pure, but strong and elegant in the highest degree.

"Little alteration is made in the following edition of it, (which I recommend to our SOCIETIES in AMERICA,) except in the following instances:

"1. Most of the holy-days (so-called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end.

"2. The service of the LORD'S DAY, the length of which has been often complained of, is considerably shortened.

"3. Some sentences in the offices of Baptism, and for the Burial of the Dead, are omitted—And.

"4. Many Psalms left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation. JOHN WESLEY.

"BRISTOL, *Sept.* 9, 1784."

Christian Theology for the People. By WILLIS LORD, D.D., LL.D., late President of the University of Wooster. 8vo., pp. 923. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

Our Calvinistic brethren give evidence of their faith in their own doctrines by the repeated issues of standard bodies of Divinity. Perhaps Arminians furnish none because theirs are so clearly the doctrines of common sense that little need is felt for systems beyond the practical preaching of the Gospel. Yet even common sense needs defending from the sophisms of the artificial logic of systematized error. We have been awaiting the completion of Dr. Warren's Theology, but his talent as a practical organizer will, we fear, forestall his production as a doctrinal systematizer.

The present volume follows the usual structure of systematic theology. Its statements are clear and firm. With the exception of its Calvinistic elements, which are explicitly, but not offensively, expressed, the work is well adapted to its purposes.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Scottish Philosophy: Biographical, Expository, Critical. From Hutcheson to Hamilton. By JAMES M'COSH. D.D., LL.D., President of College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J. 8vo., pp. 481. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1875.

It is wonderful to note how large a share Scotland has contributed to the formation of modern philosophy, and how nearly complete a history of modern psychological thought is furnished by a history of Scotch thinking. To the Scotch belong the clearness and brilliancy of the Celtic race, tempered by a northern latitude. A Scotchman is a Frenchman cooled off. The one is Gallic and the other Gaelic. To round off the matter, Dr. M'Cosh claims that

even the great German transcendental philosopher's name is Cant spelled with a K, he being the descendant of a Scotch grandfather of that significant cognomen.

The year 1700, including a decade or two before and after, forms an epoch in the history of modern philosophic thought. It was about this time that Locke, having concluded that the necessary condition to our certitude in the great questions of morals and supernaturalism, as well as a valid naturalism, was an exact scrutiny of the human mind itself, set about the work of self-introspection. First, he found clear and certain all our knowledges of the outer world gained through the five senses. Next, he looked into the inner world of mind and found another set of knowledges, knowledges of our own mental operations, which could be analyzed, described, and classified. These two amounts of knowledge, sensorial and reflective, he pronounced to be the whole.

The French thinkers, led by Voltaire, seizing the sensorial phase of this result, and pronouncing the reflective ideas to be merely "transformed sensations," deduced materialism, and thence atheism. Ireland, in the person of Berkeley, admitting sensation, denied that any external object was proved by sensation or really existed, and thence came idealism. But direful Scotland, in the person of Hume, at a few bold strokes, following a similar process, swept away all certitude and gave us nothing but skepticism—"doubts, and doubtful solutions of doubtful doubts." If we have nothing but sensorial impressions as the raw material of all our knowledge, worked up into ideas by our own minds, then causation, soul, supernaturalism, God, are all figments of fancy, for none of them are reached through the senses. In Germany Immanuel Kant was awakened from his repose by the destructiveism of Hume, and set about reconstruction. He *assumed* at the start the existence of *transcendental* (transcending the five senses) ideas, as time, space, causation, but held them as mere conditions or forms imposed by our minds upon external objects. Such a view gave no assurance of their actual reality apart from mind. As for the more transcendent conceptions of infinity, Kant found, as the ultimate of his analyses, that these ideas involved a series of contradictions. He gives long ranges of "antinomies," exhibiting this self-destructive battle in the transcendent sphere. Such a reconstruction was, of course, but the completion of destruction. But although such is the result reached, according to Kant, by "pure reason," yet there is another region of thought, the "practical reason," which affirms the validity of these ideas and the reality

of the externalities they identify. Hamilton is essentially a British Kant. He adopts the transcendent antinomies of Kant, avows a philosophy of "nescience," but saves the higher realities by "faith," which is with him the substitute for Kant's practical reason. Of the sincerity of Hamilton's personal "faith" in supernal realities Dr. M'Cosh has no doubt; but of the sufficiency of his system, any more than that of Kant, for showing the validity of that faith, most thinkers are unsatisfied.

Close following upon Hume, and contemporaneous with, though unknowing of, Kant, was the patient and cautious Reid. He displayed not the bold constructiveness of Kant, but was laboriously analytical. He appealed to the natural "common sense" of our race as being the umpire of reality. The antithesis of perception and object, in a healthy mental process, is in fact the antithesis of knowledge and reality. The perception is knowledge, and the object is a known reality. Hence skepticism is a fallacy. We are realities in the midst of realities. What Reid and Stewart left in an unsystematized analytic form, Dr. M'Cosh has, in his work on the Intuitions, (as his modesty omits to inform us,) built into a structural form. And that completes the Scotch philosophy.

But underlying all these systems, even under the sober common sense of the Scotchman, scepticism puts the agonized question, How do we *know* that the perception is *knowledge*, and its object *reality?* How do we know we know? And how do we know that we know we know? And so *ad infinitum*. How do we know that our sensations are more than the shadows of other shadows? What proves the validity of our faculties? After all, do we get any more than Kant's answer: We do not know by speculative reason; we are obliged to trust our practical reason, and live in "faith" that things are things. And it is in this "faith" that we must as truly *trust* in the demonstrations of geometry, and in our expectation that the sun will rise to-morrow, as in causation, God, or immortality. In our copy of Sir James Mackintosh's "History of Ethical Philosophy" we find, written with our own pencil, forty years ago, the words "*Golden sentences*" in the margin of the following paragraph, p. 138:—

"Whatever attacks every principle of belief can destroy none. As long as the foundations of knowledge are allowed to remain on the same level (be it called of certainty or uncertainty) with the maxims of life, the whole system of human conviction must continue undisturbed. When the skeptic boasts of having involved the results of experience and the elements of geometry in the

same ruin with the doctrines of religion and the principles of philosophy, he may be answered: That no dogmatist ever claimed more than the same degree of certainty for these various convictions and opinions; and that his skepticism, therefore, leaves them in the relative condition in which it found them. Universal skepticism involves a contradiction in terms. *It is a belief that there can be no belief.* It is an attempt of the mind to act without its structure, and by other laws than to which its nature has subjected its operations. To reason without assenting to the principles on which reasoning is founded, is not unlike an effort to feel without nerves or to move without muscles. *No man can be allowed to be an opponent in reasoning who does not set out with admitting all the principles without the admission of which it is impossible to reason.* It is indeed a puerile, nay, in the eye of wisdom, a childish play, to attempt either to establish or to confute principles by argument, which every step of that argument must presuppose. The only difference between the two cases is, that he who tries to prove them can do so only by first taking them for granted; and that he who attempts to impugn them falls at the very first step into a contradiction, from which he can never rise."

This paragraph is perhaps an ample reply to Stuart Mill's statement, quoted by Dr. M'Cosh, that there is "no difficulty in conceiving that in some one of the many firmaments into which sidereal geometry now divides the universe, events may succeed one another at random, without any fixed law." But we venture to suggest that Mill's notion can be logically annihilated. We affirm that *the law of causation must prevail every-where or nowhere.* Our proof is this: This non-causational region could be limited to no place but by causation; and if limited by causation, it is under control of causation. The circumscribing wall must be a circumscribing causation, and it must rule at least the inner margin abutting against the wall; and that must narrow the circumscription, until causation rules to the center.

Sir James Mackintosh's paragraph is a fair reply also to those who say that Paley's proof of Deity from design forms only a deity commensurate with the cosmos, and not an absolute omnipresent and omnipotent. Dr. M'Cosh says that we "must seek the evidence for the infinity of God in the peculiar conviction of the mind in regard to the infinite and the perfect." Perhaps so. But we should first take a shorter cut and adduce the analogy of science. Suppose you object against an astronomer that he cannot prove the absolute universality of gravitation, and so claim that

such a fact invalidates astronomy. He would reward you with a slight smile, and never let the crotchet disturb his calculations for a moment of his whole life. But both objections have an equal validity; and the one has no more right to disturb natural theology than the other has to disturb natural science.

The blending of biography and philosophy in Dr. M'Cosh's book renders it very readable. The portraitures of character are entertaining; and it is a valuable training for the student in psychology to trace the march of thought in cool successive philosophical conclusions. The science itself is far better understood in the light of its history. Hence the works of Dugald Stewart, Mackintosh, and M'Cosh in this line are well worth a careful study.

History of the Conflict between Science and Religion. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of New York. 12mo., pp. 373. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

Dr. Draper's title seems to us to be decidedly too big for his book. The book is, rather, an indictment against the Romish Church for hostility to science, especially to cosmogonical science, based upon her interpretation of the biblical cosmogony. It was in astronomy mainly that the "conflict" existed. Copernicus showed that the center of things was not earth and man, but the sun; and Copernicus was silenced. Galileo showed that the earth moved around the sun, and not *vice versa;* and Galileo was imprisoned for nine long years. This indictment is fully sustained. The prison of Galileo is an imperishable disgrace, not to Christianity, but to that ecclesiastico-political power which Luther and many a learned Protestant have held to be the incarnation of Antichrist. Yet Dr. Draper's dreary picture of the papal ages seems to us overdrawn, and unjust both to the papacy and mediæval Christianity. It is really as one-sided as the declamation of a no-popery zealot. It is a profound question, How came it that these "dark ages" were the mother of modern Europe? To deny a large thanks to the Church, nay, even to the popedom, is want of candor. And when Dr. Draper says that the good done by the Church was unintended by the Church, he forgets how self-love and interest are blended in all human goodness. Dr. Draper writes his book, doubtless, to do good; but if we were to say that he wrote for reputation, from love of intellectual power, from ambition, we should tell the truth, provided we did not affirm these to be the only motives, and declare that good-doing is with him unintentional. Ulphilas and Boniface, and other mediæval missiona-

ries, who Christianized the pagans of Europe, were men of pure and earnest motives. Charlemagne, whose sword brought the wild Saxon tribes to order, and to possible civilization, meant both to rule and to do good. The Church of the Middle Ages, from mixed motives, took the barbarians of Central Europe, unified them, spiritualized them, developed them, and contributed largely to the modern European system. Her monasteries were the schools, her doctors the teachers, her clergy the scholars of those ages. She founded universities, and promoted the arts and sciences. Painting and architecture flourished. The first use of the newly-discovered types was the issue of a printed Bible. To fling all this into an invisible background, and to bring out, as the entire picture, Rome's hostility to a true cosmogony, is falsification. It is (as we said of a previous production of the same author) casting history into the mold of a theory.

In the geological part of the great questions of cosmogony, the discussion came before Protestant Christianity. It is during the present century that the antiquity of the earth and man, and the nebular theory, have come before the Churchly mind. And here Dr. Draper, more candid than many of his scientific brethren, acknowledges that there has been "moderation," and that it has been merely a "controversy" rather than a "conflict." This appears to us rather a sign that our scientific brethren are at last beginning to feel that the public mind does not admire the bitter style in which they have treated the religious thinkers of the age. They have carried this style so far that it is becoming a clear perception that it is not the clergy who are the "bigots" and the "persecutors."

Dr. Draper imagines that astronomy has given Christianity a great shock by abolishing the earth-center and establishing the sun-center of the cosmos. Man, in the vastness of the new immensity, shrinks to an atom—a nothing. Dr. Draper leaves the matter there. A cold chill is left upon the heart with the feeling that we are out of the notice of God, sinking like a snow-flake in a vast icy ocean. Why could he not have the soul to add that, nevertheless, astronomy herein undoes all the mischief she does? For she gives the full conception of an absolutely omnipresent God, to whom the infinitely little is as truly present as the infinitely great; and whose infinity is so perfect that he is able to take as complete care of me as if I were a planet or a solar system; or as if I were the only thing in the universe besides himself. Dr. Draper can show us how FORCE and LAW regard

not magnitudes nor minitudes as ruling both with equal absoluteness. Why can he not see the same truth to be applicable to omnipotence and omniscience? If the telescope reveal an immensity of vastness, the microscope reveals an immensity of littleness, with law and wisdom ruling over both alike. And grant for once that man is IMMORTAL, and you make him worth more than a solid universe of dead matter, or a vacant universe of pure space.

On page 224, Dr. Draper tells us that "the most solemn and sacred of Christian doctrines, the Atonement, . . . originated among the Gnostic heretics." We are amazed! We had supposed that for ages the Hebrews had observed a "great day of Atonement," in which the doctrine of substitutive atonement was concreted in the ceremony of the scape-goat. We thought that sacrificial victims suffering for the sin of the offender formed a large share of the Old Testament Levitical ritual, as duly and fully expounded, and installed in the Christian system by the author of the Book of Hebrews. And when John the Baptist spoke of "The *Lamb* of God," and that he "taketh away the sin of the world," we have dreamed that the atonement was traced by him to the Old Testament. And when the victim himself said, This is my blood, offered as a "ransom for many," we see a divine authorship of the doctrine of the atonement. And we are likely still to retain these notions in spite of the light shed upon our minds by that illustrious biblical luminary, Professor Draper.

Dr. Draper sets Providence and Law at antithesis, as being opposites; and he tells us that "the priesthood" prefer the former. The providence which he credits to "the priesthood" implies intervention, interposition, miracle, all of which the scientist considers as opposed to law. Now, as great a scientist, perhaps, as Dr. Draper, who also belonged to "the priesthood," namely, the late President Hitchcock, of Amherst College, once showed, with what we think great clearness, that Law and Providence are at one. Providence rules by law; and its interpositions are in accordance with law. If there be an Infinite and Eternal Mind, who acts by the law of perfect wisdom, it may be that he will never interfere, and that physical causations will take an eternal, unvaried course; and it may also be that he will always intervene when the law of Divine wisdom suggests. My clock strikes but once an hour; the clock of the cosmos may strike but once in ages. And when that hour of the ages comes to its end, the divine hand intervenes in the train of events, as the hour-hand of my clock intervenes in the train of the minutes and seconds.

What a glorious army of martyrs this Church of the Scientists is. It sends out a cry of "persecution," "persecution," and you would think by the howl and growl they make that their books were burned, and their persons were obliged to lurk in sheep-skins and goat-skins in the fastnesses of the mountains and the dens of the earth. The ferocious theologians are after them with a Bible in one hand and a fiery fagot in the other. And the joke and felicity of it is that they have all the *glory* of this martyrdom without the slightest *inconvenience* of martyrdom. When the old Christians suffered martyrdom, it was an awkward endurance. The Roman ax did chop; the beasts of the amphitheater did bite and draw actual blood; the fire of Nero did burn to ashes. But as for these scientific martyrs, their furious theological executioners string them up to the very staple of the gallows without the slightest squeeze of the neck; the pinchers and thumb-screws torture them without the slightest pain to their protoplasm. Even after they have been burnt at the stake, and are in the condition of cinders and ashes, they quietly sit as professors in Christian Universities, and issue volumes against Christianity; they assemble great congregations in a nominally Christian city, and lecture against what they suppose to be theological dogma, to be applauded to the echo by the public press.

For the last thirty years—ever since its start by Sir Charles Lyell, we believe, in the first edition of his great work on Geology—we poor Christian preachers have lived with the most direful scientistic thunderbolts rolling over our heads, denouncing us as "persecutors." We are arraigned and condemned without "benefit of clergy," as making war on science, and crushing the hapless and helpless scientists. Now as we are rather a feeble, unarmed folk, and belong to a class that in past ages has done more for education and science than all the other classes put together, we are inclined to ask, What are the import and amount of all this hue-and-cry? We take it to be just this: *Science is bound, when she propounds any claim to a new discovery, to demonstrate it against all previous opposite opinions.* Such previous opposite opinions may be based upon imaginative conceptions; or upon the immediate perceptions of the senses; or upon the teachings of former science; or upon the interpretation of religious records; or upon the dogmas of a false, or partly false, revelation. Now these previous opinions have their rights. They have a right to sit in judgment upon the newly-proposed discovery, and to claim that it demonstrates its positive reality before they can be required to

surrender their own. They have a right to say to the scientists: "Gentlemen, it is false that we have any 'conflict with science,' or any war with discovery. Go and work with honesty and zeal in your own fields, irrespective of any previous conceptions, and learn the truth as it is. But when you have arrived at a conclusion do not shirk scrutiny. Do not whine and whimper, and cry "persecution," because we put your announcements to the severest tests. Do not turn into fierce martyrs because we refuse you credit until you have given us, what you are bound to give, *demonstration.* When that comes, and not till then, your hypothesis is SCIENCE; and every opposed opinion accepts its claim, and crowns you, not with the amaranth of martyrdom, but with the laurel of successful discovery."

Theology stands, in this respect, on the same ground as any other pre-established opinion. She holds real science to be but another word for *ascertained truth.* Before that, no anterior opposed opinion can stand. We are all learners. Advancing developments, new science, have often poured new power and grandeur into theology, new and larger meaning into the text. The millennium to which we look consists of that grand blending of scientific and religious truth which, in God's own time, shall finally bring all human belief to itself.

Dr. Draper has given us a fearfully frigid book. It abolishes the fatherhood of God, and gives us the modern scientific blind god, *Force.* He abolishes providence and gives us law, consisting of the invariable succession of physical causes. He points us to the sublimity of dying without hope, as without God, in the world.

The Science of Law. By SHELDON AMOS, M.A., Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Jurisprudence in University College, London, and in the Inns of Courts; Examiner in the University of London. Author of "A Systematic View of the Science of Jurisprudence;" "An English Code, its Difficulties, and the Mode of Overcoming Them," etc. 12mo., pp. xx, 417. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874.

What the author's "Systematic View" does for the law-student, this work does for the student of the physical and moral sciences, and for the general reader as well, only less technically and more widely. The science of law is of but recent date, but the discovery of certain universal permanent principles applicable to all nations, has furnished for it a sufficient groundwork. There are (1) certain elemental institutions of society, family-life, ownership of things, government, and contract; (2) general rules of action, defining the nature and limits of the governing authority, the

forms and condition of ownership, the relations of family life, and the force of contracts; and (3) the interpretation and application of laws by duly constituted courts of judicature. They enter as essential elements into the structure of human society everywhere, and upon them the science of law is based. Besides this general view, there is the expansion and growth of those elements in the system of law in any given country, the character of which at any time exhibits the stage of civilization reached by that nation. The relations of States and of the citizens of different countries to each other give rise to what is called International Law, both public and private, the true principles of which will doubtless be found in the universal elements which lie at the basis of this science. The several topics indicated in this outline, with others cognate to them, are carefully elaborated in the work before us, in a style and with a freedom from technicalities very satisfactory to the general reader. The chapters on "The Growth of Law" and "International Law" cannot fail to attract his attention.

The author loses no opportunity of enforcing the theory that society is an aggregation of groups of persons, the family and not the individual being the "atomic unit." American readers will hardly receive it, and the fact of the regulation by law of the relations of members of a family with one another, would seem its sufficient confutation. Another point equally illustrative of the unconscious bias sometimes given to a man's opinions by his surroundings is in the denial that there are any "rights of man as such." The doctrine that a right is a concession from the supreme political authority of the State, and drawing all its continuing validity from the State, is English, we all know, and not American, which latter proclaims its faith in certain "inalienable rights" for all men. Besides, if ownership is one of the essential institutions of all society, as is seen above, is not the right of a man to the ownership of himself prior to all society and to the State?

Responsibility in Mental Disease. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College, London, etc., author of "Body and Mind," "Physiology and Pathology of the Nervous System." 12mo., pp. x, 313. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874.

Not a few persons who have observed the operation in late years of the plea of insanity in criminal trials, have felt that there is great need of a fresh and careful discussion of the whole question. We hoped to find it in this volume; but though it presents many important facts, and very properly criticizes the action of the

courts, both English and American, in many cases it fails to meet the demand. Indeed, it inspires the query whether there be not a slight touch of insanity in almost every body we know, and whether also a little of it is not a necessity to the accomplishment of whatever departs from the common level of human life. Dr. Maudsley rightly regards insanity as a disease, and on this point he is at home. His chapters on Partial Insanity, including, as he classifies its forms, the Affective and Intellectual or Ideational, on Epileptic Insanity and Senile Dementia, will be read with interest, as will also that on Law and Insanity. The relation of mental disease to bodily organization and inherited tendencies is the pivot, of course, on which his doctrine of responsibility turns. On the materialistic principles of the author we do not see how there can be any responsibility at all, for both sane and insane move only as their organizations impel them. Moral insanity, as here described, notwithstanding the explanations given, amounts to what we usually denominate *wickedness*. The argument proceeds boldly toward the result of the non-responsibility of what are known as the dangerous classes, who are deemed for the most part partially insane through inherited degeneracy; but Dr. Maudsley has not the courage to venture the logical conclusion. The question is not discussed in its moral bearings.

A *System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive.* Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation. By JOHN STUART MILL. Eighth edition. 8vo., pp. 659. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

Our reception of the first edition of "Mill's Logic," thirty years ago, announced to us the advent of a great thinker on the materialistic side of philosophy. In spite of this onesidedness there is a broad area of thought in which he may be studied as a clear and conclusive expositor of truth. His analysis of induction proves to every one who desires to understand the nature of reasoning a rich reward to patient study. The present edition contains the author's latest revisions, with few alterations, but some adaptations to the present state of thought. Pity that the moral and religious sympathies of this great intellect were so chilled and dried as to be unsusceptible to those great truths that reveal themselves most surely to the rightly attempered heart!

History, Biography, and Topography.

Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Held in Louisville, 1874. Edited by THOMAS O. SUMMERS, D.D. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 1874.

At our General Conference in Brooklyn, 1872, it was resolved that delegates should be appointed by our Bishops to bear our greetings to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in order "to place ourselves in truly fraternal relations with our Southern brethren." No qualification was placed upon this action save the proviso, that in no case do we surrender, or withdraw from, the work of our Church in the Southern States. This action was adopted with such heartiness and unanimity as convinced the Southern brethren who happened to be present that it sprung from genuine feeling, and had a veritable reality. The delegates selected by the Bishops in due time presented themselves before the General Conference of the Church South at Louisville, 1874, were received with honorable courtesy, and presented their greetings in speeches of hearty fraternity, expressed in a style of rare eloquence. These speeches, when read, received, we believe, from the great body of our Church an entirely approving response.

Of the sincerity of the movement the Southern General Conference gave a decisive acknowledgment in the fact, that one quarter of the Report by it adopted was, an earnest argument against any possible "union" of the two Churches. The entire implication of the argument was, that our General Conference was not only earnest for fraternity, but might be ready, and anxious even, for organic reconstruction into one Church. A similar confidence was evinced by some of the ablest and truest of Southern men in their acceptance of an invitation to attend the Round Lake camp-meeting. There and elsewhere they had opportunity to estimate the spontaneous feeling, and to know on the most decisive evidence that nothing but cordiality exists in the hearts of our Methodism toward every other Methodism.

And here we may say that the membership of the Church South is much better posted than ours on the history of the separation of the two Churches, and its subsequent events. Under a more irritated feeling it has there been narrated, repeated, and argued elaborately, but one-sidedly, in various forms before the popular mind. Our people and our ministry have taken little interest in the long-past matter. Our average minister, in a debate with their average minister, would be unquestionably floored from sheer ignorance of

the ancient story. Most of both ministry and people now living can say very much as Gen. Fisk said before their Conference: "We were too young to understand matters in 1844, and we have not since had time to post ourselves up, so as even to know what is that 'Plan of Separation.'" They only know that the two Methodisms were once one Church; that somehow a separation took place arising from the slavery controversy; that this separation was terribly widened by the war; and now that all this is over, they do not see why fraternity, and even re-union, might not take place. And nobody here takes the pains thoroughly to instruct them in order that a due spirit of separation may be maintained, and the danger of re-union be peremptorily prevented. Nobody takes care to brighten up the old issue and keep us in good quarreling condition; so that all but a few venerable antiquarians are in a state of stupid good nature.

The report, responsive to our delegation, adopted by their General Conference strenuously insists on the permanent validity of what it calls "The Plan of Separation;" meaning thereby the Report of the Committee of Nine adopted by our General Conference of 1844. The title "Plan of Separation" was invented for this document, not by the General Conference, nor by any other competent authority, but by the reporter, Rev. R. A. West, a local preacher from England, whose sympathies were with the Southern side. Our Southern brethren insist upon this title, and, also, on interpreting it as a plan *authorizing a withdrawal of the Southern section*, so that their Bishops could truly say to ours, "We separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us." We, on the contrary, interpret this Report of the Committee of Nine, as adopted by our General Conference, as simply an enactment of our own course in case the South withdrew. We would have no quarrel or collision; we would divide the property and draw a line over which operations should not pass—provided the Southerners stayed south of said line. Whether they withdrew or not was *carefully and explicitly left to their own decision*, to their own responsibility, without any volition or consent of ours on that point. *They chose to withdraw*, and construct a new organization. With the body withdrawn from were left the hereditary Church name, the archives, the officers, the quadrennial series of sessions as they had always stood. Our Church, "the old Church," went on in the regular line of its uninterrupted history. The adopted Report of the Committee of Nine was, like any other enactment, repealable, and was repealed by our next General Conference, in 1848,

for reasons formally assigned. The reasons mainly were, that the South had abundantly and repeatedly disregarded the boundary line, full details of which disregard were given. An additional underlying reason doubtless was, that the Church, the constituency of the General Conference, very generally condemned the enactment of the "Plan" of that Report. But so far as the present relations of the two Churches are concerned, neither the "Plan" nor the repeal has, in our view, any sort of consequence. That "Plan" consisted of two points: a boundary line between the two Churches, and the concession of all the Church property then within the territory of the Church South to the Church South. With regard to the first of these two points, we understand that both sides now are fully agreed that *said line is forever obliterated.* Neither Church is circumscribed by any geographical limits. With regard to the second point—property conceded to the Church South by that plan—we do not understand that our General Conference intends, or ever intended, to disturb the claim of ownership by the Southern Church. We do understand that our General Conference at its last session would have appointed a commission to meet a commission of the Church South, to settle the special questions of property on the basis of Christian equity, had it not been made to understand that such questions were in process of settlement in their respective localities.

The Commission of the Church South on the Property Question will, we doubt not, be met in a spirit of perfect fairness, and every demand of equity be heartily conceded. The so-called "Plan" exists as a documentary evidence in case of litigation. But our General Conference has never contemplated any litigation, or any claim upon property claimable under said "Plan;" so that, in our belief, wholly irrespective of the "Plan," every thing really claimed by the Church South will be heartily accorded.

We see, then, no justifiable obstacle in the way of the restoration of ancient fraternity between our two representative bodies at our next General Conference. Meantime it is indeed true that a great many sharp things are said, both by contributors and editors, in the periodicals of the two Churches. This is to be expected where both sides exert the freedom of speech. We criticise our own Church. There are differences that will be discussed, not always in sanctified temper. After fraternization, and even after that impossible "re-union," debatable points would remain, on which the individualisms of the debaters would be ventilated. Our General Conference, however, will act in entire independence

of small spars; and the hearty interchange of fraternal greetings, based upon equitable settlement of difficulties and conceded mutual equality, will have a controlling effect upon the feelings of the entire Churches, and a benign influence upon our national peace.

Our QUARTERLY has, from the close of the war until this hour, maintained that our work in the South should not hinder or injure the Church South, but rather aid and strengthen it in its good work. There is room enough for all. There is work which each can do which the other cannot do. Here in the North our Methodism is all the stronger for the existence of every other Methodism. If the Church South will send us twenty duplicates of Dr. Deems we will give them, not the cold shoulder, but the right hand. We will set them at work, and get all the good we can out of them. They may organize an Annual Conference—an Annual Conference of the Church South—right under our noses here in New York city, and we entertain not the least doubt but that our own Annual Conferences would be all the stronger for it. In the South there is ample unoccupied ground. There are expenditures of work and money to be laid out upon the colored race which the Church South is ill-able to expend, and in which she declines, upon principle, to concur with us. In no case will we be impeded or circumscribed by any consent of our own in the accomplishment of that work.

If, however, their delegation come with "conditions," or impracticable propositions, overlying the movement of fraternity, our course is very plain. We shall accept the fraternity, but decline to accept the "conditions." If for such declension they withhold fraternity, the rejective *act* must be theirs. One of two things must be: either the full, fair re-establishment of fraternal relations between the two Churches, or the laying the clear, full responsibility of its failure before the eyes of Christendom upon the justly responsible party.

The "Journal" of her General Conference presents the affairs of the Church South in a decidedly encouraging aspect. She has arisen from the devastation of war and is prosecuting her own reconstruction with a brave Christian energy. We shall present a few points, by extracts, in its own words.

Immediately after organization a letter from the Secretary of the British Conference, Gervase Smith, was announced, conveying the Address of the parent body. It contains the following paragraph:—

We cannot overlook the fact that so many years have elapsed since the commencement of your separate existence as a Church without our having sought intercommunion with you. The causes existing at the time, from which this arose, have now passed away. As to the institution of slavery in general, and in particular as to the forms in which it formerly existed in our own colonies, and in your country, our opinions remain the same as they ever were, and as they have often been deliberately expressed. This fact makes us deeply grateful that, at length, in your country, as in our own empire, the evil has been entirely, and, as we devoutly trust, finally, done away. It is to us a cause of thankfulness that nothing exists to prevent official intercourse between your General Conference and our own body; and we pray that both Churches and both countries may be firmly united, within themselves by concord, and to one another by amity.—P. 375.

The able address of the Bishops, if we understand it, opposes common schools supported by the State, and proposes denominational schools. They say nothing as to what shall be done for children that belong to no denomination. Our own view is, that the State is bound to provide all necessary means for the education of all she enfranchises. Universal suffrage necessitates universal education. We have a right to require that every man who votes upon our destiny should possess intelligence enough to vote intelligently. We justly require it of the State, and require it of the individual.

The following paragraph from the Bishops' Address shows the good result of the burning down of an old Publishing House:—

Within the last two years our Publishing House has passed one great crisis in its history, and even now is struggling with another because of the monetary troubles of the country. It has survived both. Destroyed by fire, it has sprung from its ashes, enlarged and improved. Embarrassed by the financial panic which rests upon the country like a palsy, it has sold more of our standard books within half a year than perhaps in the last decade. The exigences of this crisis revived among our preachers a custom which prevailed among the fathers, and to which much of their success in promulgating the Gospel, and establishing the people in the knowledge of our doctrines, was due. *We mean the circulation of our books.* The object of a Church Publishing House is moral, not mercantile. Books may be printed in any quantity, and of the best quality, but they fail to do good unless distributed among the people. This work can best be done by the pastors. We trust this revival of so good a work will not be spasmodic, but that it will continue and increase.—P. 388.

PRESENT OPINIONS IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

The existence of slavery in the Southern States furnished an occasion, with its connected questions, fruitful of disturbance; and to this the division has been mainly attributed. The position of Southern Methodism on that subject was scriptural. Our opinions have undergone no change.—P. 542.

WHAT THE CHURCH SOUTH HAS DONE FOR THE COLORED RACE.

We held ourselves in readiness to carry the Gospel to the bond and to the free. Missions to the slaves constituted a large part of our work. Many of our ministers labored in this field, and much of our means was expended on it. These labors were eminently owned of God. At the beginning of the late war a quarter of a million of negroes were in the communion of our Church, and thousands of their children were receiving catechetical instruction. The societies organized in the Southern States during the last ten years by our Northern brethren, and the members which swell their statistics, are made up largely of those who, in slavery,

had been converted by our instrumentality. The colored preachers, exhorters, and class-leaders by whom they have principally carried on their Southern work, and some of whom have been counted worthy of seats in their Annual and General Conferences, were Christianized and trained under our ministry in other days. Following the indications of Providence we have, without abandoning this work, adapted our methods to the changed condition of the descendants of the African race in the midst of us. Many of them had been drawn away from us by appliances that we were not prepared to counteract; but a remnant remained. At their request we have set off our colored members into an independent ecclesiastical body, with our own creed and polity.—Pp. 542, 543.

PROSPERITY OF THE "COLORED CHURCH."

They have now 15 Annual Conferences, 4 Bishops, 607 traveling preachers, 518 local preachers, 74,799 members, 535 Sunday-schools, 1,102 Sunday-school teachers, and 49,955 Sunday-school scholars. They dwell in the land side by side with us, and between us and them exist the kindest relations. Our Northern brethren have pursued a different plan, and they seem to be committed to it by honest and conscientious convictions. They have mixed Conferences, mixed congregations, and mixed schools. We do not ask them to adopt our plan. We could not adopt theirs.—P. 543.

Energetic measures are to be adopted for establishing Methodist common schools throughout the Church. Besides the proposal to aid a training school for colored ministers for the "Colored Church" *nothing is said of the education of the colored people.* We did not expect that in the present state of her finances, the Church South could establish colored schools. But it is a painful blank that not one word of sympathy is uttered for the negro as needing education, or for the teachers and contributors that now are furnishing education for the oppressed race in the South. Over that blank we acknowledge a pensive feeling. Can it be possible that this great Christian Church, which is now projecting noble missionary enterprises abroad, has no thought, no purpose, no sympathy, for the education of the oppressed race at home?

Much of the success in reconstructing the Church is due to the energy of her nine Bishops. Their salary was fixed at three thousand dollars per year; and it is creditable to both parties that the deficit in full payment for the last quadrennium is but little over two thousand dollars. We, as a Church, ought to be ashamed in the comparison if our Bishops are not entirely paid by the people. The constitutional enactment has been passed, that when their Bishops object to a measure as unconstitutional it must pass a two third vote of the General Conference and the three fourth vote of the Annual Conferences in order to its adoption. The Church South is a little more Episcopal than we; but her provisions against revolutionary action are, we think, wise. We acknowledge her as a great and powerful branch of the Methodist family, and wish her peace, prosperity, and harmony with her sisters. And we ren-

der thanks to the Secretary of the General Conference, and to Dr. Redford, the able head of the Publishing House, for sending this and other documents.

Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873. History, Essays, Orations, and other Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in New York, October 2–12, 1873. Edited by Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., and Rev. IRENÆUS PRIME, D.D. 8vo., pp. 773. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The appearance of this monumental volume upon our table reminds us, late though it be, that we have never said our say in regard to the Evangelical Alliance. The "Tribune" reports of this illustrious assembly were a marvel for rapidity and substantial accuracy, characteristic of our times. But this magnificent pile of a book is a fitting memorial for permanent use and future reference for the hundreds of thoughtful men who see in the Alliance cheering indications for the future.

The first regular assemblage of the Evangelical Alliance took place in London in 1846. There were present eight hundred delegates, consisting of Presbyterians, Independents, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists. Among these last, and still living, was Dr. George Peck; and, long since deceased, Stephen Olin and Tobias Spicer. After several days of deeply interesting discussion a doctrinal basis was adopted, which we here record for standing reference:—

I. That the parties composing the Alliance shall be such persons only as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be Evangelical views in regard to the matters of Doctrine understated, namely:—1. The Divine Inspiration, Authority, and Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures. 2. The Right and Duty of Private Judgment in the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. 3. The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of Persons therein. 4. The Utter Depravity of Human Nature, in Consequence of the Fall. 5. The Incarnation of the Son of God, his work of Atonement for Sinners of Mankind, and his Mediatorial Intercession and Reign. 6. The Justification of the Sinner by Faith alone. 7. The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Conversion and Sanctification of the Sinner. 8. The Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, the Judgment of the World by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Eternal Blessedness of the Righteous, and the Eternal Punishment of the Wicked. 9. The Divine Institution of the Christian Ministry, and the Obligation and Perpetuity of the Ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It is, however, distinctly declared: First, that this brief summary is not to be regarded, in any formal or Ecclesiastical sense, as a Creed or Confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian Brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance. Second, that the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important Truth, or that the latter are unimportant.

These doctrinal memoranda seem to us to have been drawn up with great delicacy and skill. There are significant omissions of topics on which Evangelical Christians are divided, and yet a very ample platform remains of Evangelical unity. To the great honor of the Calvinistic section, it must be conceded that they

were prime movers and eminent controllers of the whole movement. Both the impulsive and concessive elements are largely their work. And, so far as they are concerned, it is a magnanimous challenge to the Arminian section to Christian fraternity, requiring a perfectly frank reciprocation. Underlying the whole platform, as a bottom plank, is the grand Augustinian motto: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity."

The tendencies to unity, accelerated by this movement, are now working among the respective denominations for inaugurating ecumenical organizations. A pan-Presbyterian movement, it is understood, is now under contemplation. A pan-Methodistic organization has been suggested, and, we doubt not, would meet the earnest concurrence, and, if actually started, the hearty cooperation, of all Methodists of every branch and every country Bishop Peck, some years since, drew up, and published in our Quarterly, a plan for the harmonizing of the two Episcopal Methodisms, leaving all their present institutes unchanged, by uniting under a higher General Council. But the movement for a pan-Methodistic unity might, we think, be taken into immediate and earnest consideration. Our Bishops, in concert with the Bishops of the Church South, if they consent, might properly lead the way. We see no good reason why both ecumenical bodies, the Presbyterian and the Methodist, might not meet at the same time, though in different places, and interchange the most delightful Christian courtesies with each other.

History of the Discipline. By Rev. D. SHERMAN, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

The importance of a work like this to Methodist ministers, and all who desire to be thoroughly informed concerning the rise and progress of the Methodist Episcopal Church, can hardly be overestimated. No man is competent to be an efficient member of the General Conference who is not familiar with the history of all the past legislative assemblies of the Church. And as it is impossible to carry the entire history in the memory, or always to have the materials of it at hand, a reliable epitome is a desideratum. It is also valuable to all thinkers and reformers, who may by its aid sometimes discover that their pet notions—and, as they fondly imagine, their original suggestions—have already been broached, discussed, defeated, or perhaps adopted, and found on trial to be unsatisfactory. Others may ascertain that most important propositions have been defeated by merely local and temporary influ-

ences. Such a book to be valuable must be full, clear, and trustworthy. It must be substantially a compilation, and the only question to be asked is, Has the work been performed with discrimination and accuracy? Dr. Sherman enjoyed a great advantage in having been preceded in this field by so conscientious and painstaking an explorer as Dr. Robert Emory, (not Bishop Emory, as the editorial page of "Zion's Herald" mistakingly announced,) whose work he justly describes as "characterized by careful research and neatness and accuracy of statement." He objects, however, to Emory's method as affording rather a "mass of materials for a history than the history itself." At the time Emory's work appeared there was "no model for such a work in all the range of civil and ecclesiastical law books," and we think that, in view of the limited knowledge then possessed on the subject by the Church, his method was the best that could be adopted. The period, however, has fully come for a new work on the subject. Several supplements had been added to the former standard, and the recent introduction of the lay element into the General Conference affords a most appropriate occasion for the production of another "History of the Discipline."

The present work contains a valuable abstract of the doings of the General Conferences, and sketches of the lives of the bishops, as well as much information subordinate to its main purpose. And the examination which we have given it warrants the conclusion that the work has been faithfully done, and that the Church may rely upon it as giving at a glance the history of the progressive legislation under which the Methodist Episcopal Church has grown from its humble and unorganized beginning to the present symmetrical and complicated ecclesiastical establishment.

There are, it is true, some insignificant defects, but not such as to call for special mention here. The style of the work is clear but not finished, and in some instances the author, in point of correct writing, does not maintain his usual level. B.

Educational.

Latin Hymns, with English Notes, for use in Schools and Colleges. By F. A. MARCH, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 333. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The first Book and Selections. Edited for Schools and Colleges by F. A. MARCH, LL.D. With an Introduction by A. Ballard, D.D., and Explanatory Notes by W. Bowen, A.M. 12mo., pp. 279. New York: Harper & Bros. 1874.

These Mediæval Hymns and this Eusebius, with notes for beginners, are a suggestive novelty. They give us specimens of two great

languages, applied to themes quite as attractive as the old mythologies, and fully exhibiting the power and beauty of the old dead tongues. For our theological courses, at any rate, if not for our colleges, these present themselves as very admirable text-books.

Periodicals.

The ATLANTIC MONTHLY lives, flourishes, and preserves, we are happy to say, a faithful punctuality in coming to our table. It fills its place in elegant literature with all its ancient ability. It views the questions of the day from even a more "advanced" stand-point than in its early years. We need not say that in literary finish, and in thorough scholarship, it has no superior.

The LADIES' REPOSITORY pays us her monthly visits, ever welcome to our office, and still more welcome at our home. It counts up a numerous and able corps of contributors. Its editorials were never so ringing and spicy. We have not the slightest purpose of nominating its editor for the Episcopacy. But we do think it queer that that feminine periodical should have furnished so many bishops, and our manly Quarterly *never a one!* The only creditable and credible reason we can manufacture for such persistent oversight is, that perhaps the General Conference thinks that removal from the Quarterly to the Episcopate would be no promotion.

We beg leave to dissent very often from the opinions expressed in THE NATION. In religion it seems rationalistic; in philosophy it tends to the materialistic; in politics it is crotchety, yet independent, and, generally, intentionally conscientious. But we could ill afford to spare the reading, we might sometimes say the *study*, of its pages. Its paragraphic reports of weekly events are trenchant, often spiced with saturnine humor. Its essays on very complex subjects are penetrative, suggestive, and thorough. Its summaries of foreign literature are unsurpassed for richness of scholarship. Altogether, our periodical literature has never had any thing quite like The Nation.

We are a thorough reader of our METHODIST ADVOCATE, edited by Dr. Fuller, and published in ATLANTA, GA. We study most carefully the phases it exhibits of "the situation" in that interesting region. Whoever among us wishes to understand the South, and especially Methodism in the South, should take this paper. And while to us of the North it is invaluable as a reporter, it is equally valuable to the South as a monitor. Nothing is more

important to a government or a people than a free press. Had the South possessed free newspapers, daring to tell the truth on the other side, our late civil war would never have been. Our Advocate is thus one of the safeguards of the South. And in Dr. Fuller's hands it will flinch from no needed utterances. We may be sure that amid perils and changes it is true to its trust—"that flag is still there."

The Canadian Methodist Magazine. Devoted to Religion, Literature, and Social Progress. Toronto: Samuel Rose, Methodist Book Room. Halifax: Alexander W. Nicolson, Methodist Book Room. January, 1873.

We welcome the appearance of a periodical of higher Christian literature among our friends in Canada. The columns of the "Christian Guardian" have long shown that Canadian Methodism possessed an amount of talent that demanded a medium for a literature of more permanent form. The magazine, affording space for articles of more elaborate range, will call out a higher grade of production. Its editor is our well-known contributor, W. H. Withrow, A.M., author of the standard work on the "Catacombs." The leading article is a fresh and vigorous Life of Arminius, with a portrait, by Mr. Dewart. The article on the Canadian General Conference gives us a fuller and clearer view of the situation than we had elsewhere derived. Peace and prosperity to our sister Methodism, and success to her new organ, are our hearty prayer!

Foreign Publications.

The Letter Books of Sir Amias Poulet, Keeper of Mary Queen of Scots. Edited by JOHN MORRIS, President of the Society of Jesus. 8vo. London, 1874.

Another contribution this to the history of that famous woman "whose name," says Froude, (*History of England*, vol. vii, p. 369,) "will never be spoken of in history without sad and profound emotion." We may question her part in the memorable event of February 9, 1567, when the small mansion near Edinburgh, where now stands the south-east corner of the celebrated Scotch University, then containing the sick-worn body of her husband, Darnley, was blown up by gunpowder, and thus was suddenly brought to a close the terrestrial career of him to whom Mary on the night of the assassination of her lover, Rizzio, had spoken these ominous words: "I shall never rest till I give you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present." The "Jewel Letters" clearly condemn her; but then the authenticity of those is not al-

together settled. (See Meline, *Mary Queen of Scots, and her latest English historian*, 8vo., New York, 1872, and Professor Fisher, *History of the Reformation*, p. 376.) There have, however, hitherto been few to question Scotch Queen Mary's complicity in an attempt to dethrone her cousin Elizabeth, and of seeking herself the rule over united England and Scotland. But at last the Society of Jesus has raised up the man who, tracing the history of the last three years of her nineteen years' captivity, in the letters of her last prison keeper, Poulet, is bold enough to come forward and declare her unjustly accused, and to pronounce Elizabeth herself, and her cunning councilor, Walsingham, guilty of an attempt to defame Mary's character, and thus make her a fit subject of the gallows. We must confess that the boldness of Mr. Morris may confuse and even gain over superficial inquirers of this very important case. Closer examination and reading of contemporary authorities, however, will soon undo all mischief his work may create. At the "Record Office" in London one may find this day a letter from Mary Stuart, implicating her, beyond the shadow of a doubt, with the crime with which she stands charged by Elizabeth and her ministry, and Mr. Morris's attempt (pp. 239–242) to impeach the genuineness of that letter is mere Jesuit twaddle. Indeed, he writes too much like another of Mary's defenders—Hosack (*Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers*, second edition, 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1870)—and as of him so also it may be said of Morris, that "he writes in such a vein as would befit him were he indeed earning a lawyer's fee by a lawyer's service." J. H. W.

Revista de la Universidad de Madrid.

The re-awakening of intellectual life in the northern half of the Iberian Peninsula is certainly a hopeful sign. The struggle for freedom has been continued so long, and seems yet so far distant in its termination, that the recent efforts of the Spanish literati to spread culture among all classes of society are warmly welcomed by all liberty-loving students as the harbingers of better days soon to dawn upon Spain. But one of the most important of recent literary enterprises, deserving our most special attention, is the publication of a Review by the University of Madrid, to which all schools of thought and all opinions are welcome, provided, however, always "that the general tone of the contributions indicate a belief in a *personal* Deity, and in the ordering of the universe by Divine laws." The "Review" has made its *début* under

the editorship of the Rector of the Madrid University, and bears evidence of much intellectual activity in the various branches of literature among Spaniards. The papers would be a credit to any of the British Reviews, particularly those by Don Francisco Simonet, the Professor of Arabic in the University of Granada, which treat of *Muz-Arabic literature.* There has been little done hitherto to bring into clear light the valuable monuments of Muz-Arabic Christian literature, and we hope these papers by Professor Simonet are only the first earnings of a devoted study to a work sure to reflect credit on Spain if prosecuted to more definite purpose. How little we know of the relation which the Arabians sustained toward the schoolmen! J. H. W.

Miscellaneous.

Prize Essay. Go or Send: a Plea for Missions. By ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D.D., of the North Georgia Conference. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

The Principles and Facts of Missions, and the Obligations of the Church to Support Them. An Essay by REV. BEVERLY W. BOND, of the Baltimore Conference. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

Missions: an Essay. By S. T. ANDERSON, D.D., a Missionary of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Port of Spain, Trinidad, S. A. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

Mission Work. By REV. HOMER S. THRALL, of the Texas Conference. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

Thoughts on Missions; or, an Essay Setting Forth the Principles, Facts, and Obligations of Christian Missions. By W. G. E. CUNNYNGHAM, D.D., of the Holston Conference. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

Go or Die. By DAVID C. KELLEY, D.D., of the Tennessee Conference. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

These six Tracts on Missions were the result of a premium offered by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1873, for the best Essay on this important subject. The premium was adjudicated to Mr. Haygood, the author of the first in order above. But the committee wisely decided that the others were too good to be lost. They each take an independent route of thought, but converge to the same great point. They spread out the facts before the eye of the Church; they open the grandeur of the work to which she is called; they impress the solemn duty binding on every individual to contribute his share; they call for the men to consecrate themselves to the mission work, and portray the qualifications of the true missionary. This is a noble opening of the subject. We trust that the Church South herein means business, and will attain success.

Old Wells Dug Out. Being a third Series of Sermons. By T. De Witt Talmage. Phonographically reported and revised. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The great popular power of Talmage, in spite of liabilities to special criticisms, and his great earnestness and labor in the Gospel of Christ, are becoming generally conceded in England, as well as in America, by the press as well as by the people. This volume is full of freshness and vigor.

Politics for Young Americans. By Charles Nordhoff. 12mo., pp. 259. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

A sprightly induction of the American boy into a knowledge of the principles of our American government, and his future duties as an American citizen.

The Life and Habits of Wild Animals. Illustrated from designs by Joseph Wolf. Engraved by J. W. & Edward Whymper; with descriptive letter-press by Daniel Giraud Elliot, T.L.S., F.Z.S. 8vo., pp. 122. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A magnificent quarto, rich with elegant engravings, with pages of vivid description and narrative, all done up in a style to ornament the parlor table.

The Southern Review and Infant Baptism; or, Methodist Literature Vindicated Against the Attacks of Dr. A. T. Bledsoe. By Rev. C. W. Miller, A.M. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1874.

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1875.

ART. I.—RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

WHEN a man sets up for a profound and original thinker, it is natural to inquire what cardinal principles he has accepted and what methods he employs. In Emerson we have found the fundamental conviction to be, that man is himself the source of all truth. But this statement must be taken in a broad and generous spirit. Emerson does not mean to exclude the study of history, nor conversation with living thinkers. He maintains that men should refuse each other the position of masters, and that truth should be accepted, not upon authority, but on an immediate and individual perception of its reality. This maxim is too obviously true and important to be overlooked. But with what modifications must such a statement be accepted? That we should apply it when possible in all important matters, every body concedes. What folly to think of enjoying by proxy the splendors of dawn, the fragrance of June roses, or the strains of Beethoven? Yet nobody ever pushes any pursuit far without coming upon the perplexing fact of his own limitations. None are so keenly alive to their own deficiencies as the masters in every province of science, art, and culture. Encyclopedic minds exist only in the dreams of school-boys and visionaries. Our life is so short, the range of our faculties so narrow, and the domain of truth so vast, that none can be an independent thinker in every realm. Men in general have to accept the law of gravitation without any familiarity with

the sublime reasonings which are its demonstration. In such matters Emerson confesses and accepts the limitations of our nature. He finds these bounds inexorable and insuperable, and deems it nobler to admit ignorance than to affect superior wisdom. He has studied the past with eager and searching eyes—its history, philosophy, literature, and religion have all been investigated with patient and fearless scrutiny. Meantime he deems the living soul of the wise inquirer, a deeper fountain of knowledge than all records of past ages. Reading those records, he does not hesitate to say:—

> "I am the owner of the sphere,
> Of the seven stars, and the solar year,
> Of Cæsar's hand, and Plato's brain,
> Of Lord Christ's heart, and Shakspeare's strain."

He who owns so much is royal every-where. "Seek not beyond thyself," is his way of saying, "Man is the measure of all things." In his view, truth is the common but largely undetermined inheritance of mankind. He who has traversed and surveyed more of it than others is entitled to correct their half-truths and errors. He may set aside theories, books, and masters. In some tribes of savages he assumes the headship, whose prowess none dares to match; so in the realm of wisdom, he is chief whose vision is broader and more exact than any other. Yet this perilous headship can only be retained at the cost of constant struggles, and must be surrendered to the next more comprehensive brain. By such stern rivalry alone can science retain her vitality and refresh her charms.

There is nothing novel in such teachings. What is novel in Emerson's handling of them, is the poetic beauty with which he clothes them, and the wider range he gives to their application. By these tests would he try the dogmas of the Church, the Bible, Christ, Christianity, Judaism, and Mohammedanism; in short, every thing that offers itself to examination. This experiment gains interest, in Emerson's hands, from the absolute rigor with which he conducts it. Nothing is so time-honored, nothing so useful, nothing so venerable and awful, as not to be coolly subjected to his terrific scrutiny. It may prove instructive to follow his proceedings with some care, indicate his conclusions on important subjects, and show the questions which he entirely fails to resolve.

Every man who thinks seriously on the great questions of philosophy, is forced to choose his position. Is it not curious to hear such a thinker deny the possibility, in any strict sense, of Divine revelations to man? When Emerson haughtily rejects such notions as chimerical, and declares that from the human intellect alone are we to expect all positive and possible knowledge of God, do we not wait in silent wonder for the next step? And is not the next step, strangely enough, the rejection of the possibility of aid or light for man on these subjects from his logical faculties? We perceive at once that a philosopher who says, "I cannot state the arguments on which any doctrine of mine rests," and, "I know not what arguments mean in reference to any expression of a thought," has wonderfully limited the range of his investigations. On the questions of the Existence of God and the Immortality of the Soul, his field of vision must be very narrow. If consistent with its loudly-proclaimed principles, his system will yield the most meager results on these heads; nay, will present a complete void. If, appalled at so strange and undesirable a conclusion, he strives to give a happier aspect to the business, he can only put an abusive strain upon those faculties whose competence to deal with such questions he still concedes.

The student who turns to Rothe's *Dogmatik* finds the logical proof of the existence of God arrayed in formal order: The Ontological Argument, The Cosmological Argument, The Physico-theological Argument, The Moral Argument, and The Historical Argument. These learned arguments must naturally appear cogent in various degrees to different persons, but in Emerson's eyes they all have the fatal defect of depending upon logical processes for their validity. Hence nothing of this sort appears in any statement of his views of God. He has, therefore, no alternative; he must ground all our positive and possible knowledge on intuition. In this respect the broadest contrast appears between Spinoza, the father of modern Pantheism, and Emerson, its most conspicuous American disciple and advocate. Spinoza pursues a mathematical, and hence, essentially deductive method. The reader of his works finds at the outset axioms, definitions, propositions, corollaries, and scholia. The entire work, in short, is logical in concep-

tion and execution. For such methods Emerson has no taste nor aptitude. He does not present even the Platonic combination of rigorous analysis and poetic splendor. He brings the habits and methods of a poet to the tasks of a philosopher, and tries to find his way among the most perilous questions by the aid of intermittent flashes of intuition. From his carefully devised definition of substance, Spinoza seeks to deduce the universe; while Emerson only hopes to grasp, amid the temporary and vanishing phenomena of the world, some fleeting shadow of the invisible Eternal. The rejection of the aid of the logical faculties in such researches is strictly an Emersonian peculiarity. It obviously follows from this rejection, that we know God, if at all, through direct intuition. The writings of Emerson constantly reveal the fact that he deems himself flooded and permeated with a perpetual sense of the presence of deity. But surely we need not read far to find that all men are not endowed with any such wonderful ability for the immediate intuition of God. The evidence that comes to us from the past, near and remote, is unanimous and conclusive on this point. "Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself," is as truly the language of Plato as of Isaiah. Nor need we rely on distant ages for proof of the non-intuitional quality of our cognition of God. The scientist Tyndall has been largely influenced by Emerson's writings and general views of the universe. He quotes no other writer so often, and plainly shows that he finds something congenial in the spirit and tendency of the unscientific speculations of the Sage of Concord. He says that Emerson and Carlyle got him out of bed at five o'clock every morning through three long, dreary German winters. Evidently, then, Tyndall would take kindly to this notion of direct contemplation of God if he could make any thing of it. In his "Fragments of Science," page 93, Tyndall speaks out his convictions on this topic:—

> If you ask me whether science has solved, or is likely in our day to solve, the problem of the universe, I must shake my head in doubt. You remember the first Napoleon's question, when the *savans* who accompanied him to Egypt discussed, in his presence, the origin of the universe, and solved it to their apparent satisfaction. He looked aloft to the starry heavens and said: "It is all very well, gentlemen, but who made all these?" That question still remains unanswered, and science makes no attempt to

answer it. As far as I can see there is no quality of the human intellect fit to be applied to the solution of the problem. It entirely transcends us. The mind of man may be compared to a musical instrument with a certain range of notes, beyond which in both directions we have an infinitude of silence. The phenomena of matter and force lie within our intellectual range, and as far as they reach we will, at all events, push our inquiries. But behind and above, and around all, the real mystery of the universe lies unsolved, and, as far as we are concerned, incapable of solution.

James Mill held essentially the same position. Herbert Spencer says: "Only the man of science can truly know how utterly beyond not only human knowledge, but human conception, is the universal power of which nature and life and thought are manifestations."

There is some difficulty for most thinkers in making out how men who pursue logical processes so readily, and rest with such entire confidence in their results, can avoid the force of the argument for theism. If we strive rather to comprehend their position than to cast odium upon them for it, it may presently be seen to arise out of their mental habits. Like others, scientific men frame their conjectures, theories, and hypotheses. They deem it wrong to accept these as truth until they have verified them by actual observation and experiment. Under this test of experimental verification, some of their anticipations turn out true, some false. Perhaps cases of the latter kind are more frequent than those of the former sort. To avoid error, then, they sternly control all theories by observation and experiment. Hypotheses that seemed logically valid can get, in many instances, no confirmation from experiment. Such are deemed, at least, not proven. Now the scientist cannot obtain any such verification of the hypothesis of a personal God. That theory, he may say, is good in its abstract logical statement, but as we cannot verify it, it must stand simply unproven. The cases of Tyndall and Faraday may possibly suggest how only verification can come apart from personal revelation.

The question between such thinkers and Emerson is, whether the phenomena of matter, force, and intelligence are simply manifestations of a hidden and unapproachable energy, or whether we have in them, or through them, a direct cognition

of God. In this instance the scientists surely have the best of it. On Emerson's theory, they ought to have the very same immediate perception of Deity which he has. They say that this is not true. Yet he and they look upon the same vast array of phenomena of force, life, and thought in the universe. When they say that these are manifestations of a force, personal or impersonal, which does not fall under the direct cognizance of scientific methods, they hold a much more reasonable position than Emerson, with his claim that they give him the immediate cognition of Deity. For, let the appeal be taken directly to facts. When men experience joy and pain, they at once understand and distinguish such mental states. They are not found to confuse the conditions of mind known as doubt and certainty. The populations of a hemisphere turn their eyes on a clear night to some awful portent flaming in the midnight sky, and not one of them doubts that he really sees something which has substantive existence in the heavens. What man ever had any such direct cognition of God? What sense has disclosed Him? Do we know at any time that God is present in our minds as we often know that joy, grief, and anxiety are? Mankind has no consciousness of such immediate cognition of Deity. This is the nearly universal testimony. The only contradictory voices proceed from men whose theories compel the contradiction. Such obvious facts as these could not help enforcing themselves upon the notice of even so unsystematic a thinker as Emerson. They subject him at once to serious embarrassment and self-contradiction. Emerson had said: "Ineffable is the union of God and man in *every* act of the soul. The simplest person who worships God becomes God." Such words imply that men need only inspect their minds to see this marvelous union of the Divine and human. For it can only be ineffable as being a primary fact of the universe. Emerson sees clearly that some account of the origin of our direct knowledge of God will be insisted on, hence he says: "The inquiry leads us at once to that source, the essence at once of genius, of virtue, and of life, which we call Spontaneity or Instinct. We denote this primary wisdom as Intuition, while all later teachings are tuitions." But the statement that we came into this transcendent wisdom by intuition has this inconvenience, that instantly every man

becomes a judge of the validity of this account of the matter. The intuitions are no private affair. Their notes being self-evidence, necessity, and catholicity, what they report can be no secret. Having got the business to this pass, the next thing would have been the legitimate retort from the human race, We know nothing of this.

Hence the sage who could not wander in the solitary forest without seeing the presence of God flaming from every bush around him, nor cross the common without the thrill of rapture which marks the incoming Deity, nor get out into the open fields without being an inlet for the rushing tides of infinite truth and life, could not fail to see that awkward questions were coming. Contradictions now set in. Man grows more passive in seeing God. It becomes a rare privilege in life. Emerson tells us that ideas catch us up into their heaven, fix our attention so fully that we do not try to make them our own; presently we fall to earth again, and report, as well as we are able, what we have seen. "As far as we can recall these ecstasies, we carry away in the *ineffaceable* memory the result, and all men and all ages confirm it. It is called truth." Here the power is assigned all men in all ages to confirm what the seer learns in his loftiest visions; this should be borne in mind, since it will assist us in finding out when Emerson sees truth, and when he dreams dreams. Observe, too, that the results are *ineffaceable* from memory.

There is another passage wherein the author has set himself most seriously to the task of explaining how this intuition of God can occur. Emerson had probably come to see that all men were not likely to confirm his alleged intuitions, and hence his explanations grow less explicit:—

> And now the highest truth on this subject remains unsaid, probably cannot be said; for all that we can say is the *dim, far-off remembering* of the intuition. That thought by which we can now approach nearest to say it is this, When good is near you, when you have life in yourself, it is not by any known or accustomed way; you shall not discover the footsteps of any other; you shall not hear any name; the way, the thought, the good shall be wholly new. It shall exclude example and experience. You take the way from man, not to man. . . . The soul raised above passion beholds identity and eternal causation, perceives the self-existence of truth and right, and calms itself with know-

ing that all things go well. This is the ultimate fact which we so quickly reach on this as on every topic, the resolution of the all into the ever-blessed One.

This being Emerson's most patient and strenuous effort to explain to us the nature of that direct cognition of God given us in intuition, we intend to submit it to careful scrutiny. We are at once struck with the fact that we no longer have to do with results of vision stamped *ineffaceably* upon the memory, but with *dim and far-off* recollections of the intuition. We notice, in no carping temper, but because it is a fact, that these recollections grow dull and remote just when the need of explanation is most urgent. This is mentioned also in excuse for the statement that the highest truth remains unsaid, and, probably, will remain unsaid. This course awakens some disappointment. So lordly had been Emerson's air as he trampled upon and demolished all hostile systems, and so loud had been the proclamation of the new dogma as sure to purify Church and State, and make the round earth sweet again, after so many evil ages, that something unimaginably great and divine was expected. At first, we are somewhat puzzled to know whether this momentous truth is to remain unspoken because Emerson can see but cannot formulate it, or because profane ears are unworthy of the communication. After so many hints and suggestions of wonderful things to come, it would be rather hard to be assured that we are unfit to possess them. With no small satisfaction, then, do we gather from the statement that all we can know is a dim and far-off remembering of the intuition, that the seer's mind is not dark with excess of light, but is struggling with an insuperable obscurity of thought or recollection. We are thankful to know that the difficulty does not spring from the insufficiency of human speech to report his wisdom, but from the nebulous haze of memories, in which, like a bewildered traveler, our philosopher wanders with hesitating steps. We see, too, that this sublime intuition is no every-day affair. Though proclamation was once made that the doors of this shrine stand open night and day, and that the oracles of this truth cease never, now that we would enter and listen, it turns out no easy matter. Formal preparation alone can dispose us for this rare privilege; only thus can we hope for the sacred and awful face-

to-face vision of the Absolute and Eternal. One must give over his usual thoughts, forsake his wonted haunts, see no footstep, hear no name, and exclude custom, example, and experience. The exaltation of the soul over passion is the final effort of preparation. The hour of open vision comes on! The first act of the grand intuition is when the soul intuits or "beholds identity and eternal causation." The second act is when the soul has the intuition or "perception of the self-existence of truth and right." The third act is the comforting intuition or perception "that all things go well." The fourth act is the intuition of "the resolution of all into the ever-blessed One."

The oracle falls silent, and reflection and memory ensue. It is vain for Emerson to talk about going away from men to secure "a thought, a good wholly new," in these mysteries and raptures. Never was he nearer men, never more fully under their influence, than in this supreme act of intuition. Instead of being a transaction unrelated to time, space, men, and matter, logic or philosophy, these ecstatic trances almost date and locate themselves. They come after Plato and the Alexandrian philosophers; after the Christian mystics, Spinoza, Kant, and Schelling. Had the seer cast his dazed eyes about him, he might have seen the Musketaquid dreaming in its reeds on its lazy way to the sea, and glimpsed Harvard College in dim remoteness. His very words prove this. Does not the "perception of identity" show that Emerson remembered the "absolute unity" of Plotinus, and Schelling's doctrine of the "absolute identity" of the subjective and objective worlds? Was Grecian Plato far away when our Yankee seer descried the self-existence of truth and right? Has the "knowing that all things go well," no savor of Tauler, Behmen, or George Fox? And surely the whole school of pantheists looked on with approving eyes as "the resolution of all into the ever-blessed One" rose before Emerson's vision. Even the eternal causation which appears in the first act of intuition reminds us of Schelling's lapse or "fall of the absolute." Thus only what he took with him in this towering flight of ecstatic contemplation, could the sage bring back to report to the world. Not a new thought, word, symbol, or image, has been added to our intellectual stores through this much vaunted, immediate intuition of the Absolute. Only the incurable delu-

sion of the seer appears a little stronger, as though such an opening of the religious sense were in reality attended with peril of madness. Still our disappointment is extreme. Surely we may well give vent to gentle complaint, when, instead of the promised direct contemplation of the invisible Eternal, we are forced to put up with a kaleidoscopic jumble of philosophical schools. But one soon wearies of running down the formless shadows which people the dense metaphysic fogs that overhang Concord. The line of argument now completed fully justifies the following conclusions:—

Despite occasional appearances to the contrary, Emerson distinctly and unhesitatingly rejects the Christian conception of God, and his relation to the universe. It seems strange now to look back to times when warm disputes prevailed over this question, and men were denounced as lacking charity because they were clear-sighted enough to deny that Christianity and Pantheism are one. The careless or casual reader might still think his doctrines in the main Christian. Passages are scattered throughout his writings, which, without any intention to mislead on his part, appear to justify these opinions. Such passages are overruled by the general drift of his writings. The citations hitherto made in this essay abundantly prove the pantheistic quality of his views.

Emerson is distinguished from the great chieftains of his school by the literary form given to his speculations, by their unsystematic and fragmentary character, and by his resting all his conclusions on intuition as their only safe basis. In this respect there is a most striking contrast between him and Spinoza, Schelling, and Hegel. In this procedure the mystical quality of his mind came into full action. Were his rejection of the logical faculty justifiable, it would effectually impeach the methods and work of his most famous predecessors. It likewise puts him into sharp antagonism with all the spiritualistic philosophers of his time. They hold that our cognition of God is not self-evident, necessary, nor catholic: hence is not intuitive. Emerson does not, cannot, show the contrary.

The serious attempt of Emerson to explain the nature of that immediate intuition wherein God is revealed, is a signal failure. He can find no community of nature between our

souls and the over-soul. Vain for him to say, "I am God in distribution, I am a weed by the wall." We are not.

It will be remembered that Emerson debated the question of the Immortality of the Soul with reluctant Carlyle as they rambled together down into Wordsworth's beautiful country. The ramble itself would at once suggest the theme to thoughtful and questioning minds. No doubt they weighed

> "Those shadowy recollections,
> Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
> Are yet a master-light of all our seeing."

Christ, too, was remembered with tenderness in their parley, but not accepted as a master. The question is of such living interest to all men, that one wishes he knew Emerson's convictions on the subject. Meager satisfaction for such curiosity will arise from any study of his writings. He makes Montaigne, the representative of skepticism, say, "What is the use of pretending to assurances we have not respecting the other life? If there is a wish for immortality, and no evidence, why not say just that? If there are conflicting evidences, why not state them? If there is not ground for a candid thinker to make up his mind, yea or nay, why not suspend judgment?" Considering the liking Emerson confesses for Montaigne, one readily suspects that such doubts are as much at home in his cottage at Concord as in Montaigne's *château* in Perigord. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that he follows, in his remarks on the question, the exact line imputed to the old Gascon. He only gives us guesses, hints, doubts, and theories. "What light," he asks, "does history shed on those mysteries which we hide under the names Death and Immortality?" When we read, "The immortality of man is as legitimately preached from the intellections as from the moral volitions," we see that it is left an open question how legitimately it may be preached from either. Emerson displays a similar reserve in closing the "Essay on Heroism:" "And yet the love that will be annihilated sooner than treacherous has already made death impossible, and affirms itself no mortal, but a native of the deeps of absolute and inextinguishable Being." Here is no affirmation, or necessary implication even, of the eternal

and personal existence of the soul. Emerson's questioning attitude is further seen in this statement: "It is not what we believe concerning the immortality of the soul, or the like, but *the universal impulse to believe*, that is the material circumstance, and the principal fact in the history of the globe." In another place he scornfully says, "Men ask concerning the immortality of the soul. They even dream that Jesus left replies to precisely these interrogatories."

When he lost a beautiful child, and that blighted promise evoked from the weeping father a noble, touching, but most melancholy threnody, Emerson would not permit his deep grief to be cheated with illusory hopes. In that poem, alive and quivering with the father's passionate pain, conflicting emotions but uniform thoughts prevail. Here are its keynotes:—

> "The deep Heart answered, 'weepest thou!'
> Worthier cause for sorrow wild,
> If I had not taken the child . . .
> My servant Death, with solving rite,
> Pours finite into infinite. . . .
> "*What is excellent,*
> *As God lives, is permanent;*
> *Hearts are dust, hearts' loves remain,*
> *Heart's love will meet thee again.* . .
> House and tenant go to ground,
> Lost in God, in Godhead found."

The deep heart that speaks in these lines is what he elsewhere calls Over-Soul, Muse, Minerva, Holy Ghost. The coloring of the passage is pantheistic. Death resolves finite existence into infinite. The lines underscored by Emerson have sometimes been held to imply belief in the persistence of his child's individual being, in its personal affection for himself, and in a future renewal of their love; that is, men have put their thoughts into Emerson's words, instead of accepting his thoughts from them. It is the excellent that survives. And which is excellent, the dusty heart or the living love that thrilled it? Heart's love will meet us again, not in friends recovered in another world, but in the new friends of earth. The same subtility which made him write, "Not what we believe about immortality, but *the universal impulse to believe*, is the material circumstance," now leads him to say, not who

love us or whom we love is the important matter, but the universal impulse to love. He speaks in the same temper in the "Essay on Experience:" "In the death of my son, now more than two years ago, I seem to have lost a beautiful estate, nothing more. . . . This calamity does not touch me; something which I fancied was a part of me, which could not be torn away without tearing me, nor enlarged without enriching me, falls off from me and leaves no scar. It was caducous. I grieve that grief can teach me nothing, nor carry me one step into real nature." Not long before, Emerson had lost a nobly gifted brother, the dear companion of his proud childhood; the bride of his youth had gone, silent and wan, into the shadowy realm. Thus bereavement had spent its violence upon him; it had no lesson of personal immortality to teach. He could only say to himself, like Hegel to his friend, "Every thing is over. But you still have the memory of your former joy, the memory of your beloved child." Finally, there is a passage in "Over-Soul" which expressly affirms that our curiosity about the future state is low and vulgar, that God has no response for it, that a verbal answer would be no answer, and that we shall only learn the truth in the next world. Thus teach the Essays.

Many years have fled since Emerson published these opinions, and they stand before the world yet as his only acknowledged sentiments in the matter. Has growing age brought riper wisdom? We may doubt it. In December, 1870, Emerson was announced to speak in Music Hall, Boston, on Immortality. Attracted by the theme and the man, the writer attended the lecture. It was worth while to hear the old skeptic speak, in his sixty-eighth year, on this pregnant question. A sense that such an opportunity would not often occur, made many anxious to be present. The audience was vast. The well-known figure of the lecturer, tall, awkward, untremulous despite his years; the stoop of the shoulders; the thin, silvery, senile hair; the slow, careful, weighty manner; his pile of manuscript, his perfect acquaintance with the subject, the careful literary finish of the discourse, and the beauty and affluence of its illustrations; the grand overshadowing organ, the spacious hall with its statues, and the hush of the expectant throng, all made the occasion a remarkable and memorable picture for

recollection. The opening sentences told the story of Northumbrian Edwin's thane, who, when the adoption of the Christian faith was under debate, likened our earthly life to the passage of a bird through the lighted hall where the king and his servants feast, a rapid flight out of darkness, and then a sudden vanishing into night. Such a beginning would naturally have brought on a discussion of the value of Christian faith as a revelation of immortality. But the lecturer evaded that question, and gave what account he could of the early forms of the doctrine. Then he discussed recent forms of the theory of a future life. A hearer, who had just read Caro's lucid discussion of the same matters, was surprised to find Emerson recounting them in about the same order. The arguments for the doctrine were sometimes so sharply put as to compel a momentary feeling that the speaker had been convinced by them. He argued that most thoughtful minds rest in a preliminary conviction that, if it is best they should live after this world, then they will live; if not best, then not. He argued from the nobility of nature, man's abode, the nobility of his destiny. "Do we build magnificently for mice?" Not an argument for immortality was forgotten, not a doubt against it was omitted. He hinted that the only immortality man should enjoy would be in the good deeds he left in human memory. Then he asserted that it might prove merely a survival of the fittest, one man in five centuries turning out broad and noble enough to deserve long cycles of existence. The discussion was closed with the declaration that the best evidence of immortality, is the universal longing for it. As the throng moved slowly out of the hall a religious radical said, "Well, he don't believe in immortality;" and a perplexed Christian answered, "Perhaps he does." These stray remarks seemed to one hearer a fit expression of the natural impression left on the public by the lecture.

This careful abstract of Emerson's teachings concerning immortality has been made with a protesting conviction that he had no logical right to deal with it in any form. So long as he adheres to intuition as the sole fountain of truth for man, all he can rightly say is that we can know nothing of a future life. Our intuitive perceptions occur only in the actual present. Memory recalls many intuitions we have had in the

past. Human consciousness does not embrace the future, and since intuition is a conscious act of the mind, it can have nothing to do with what is not within the range of consciousness. There is no intuitional power which discloses to us our future as the representative faculty recalls to us our past. He only can know the entire future and the abysmal past, to whose consciousness all things are ever present. Man can predict the future only through inductions founded upon uniformities of experience and the absence of contradictory instances of experience. Now induction is not an intuitive but a logical process, and hence lies under Emerson's ban. He says, "The moment we cease to report, and attempt to correct and contrive, it is not truth." This statement is indeed erroneous, but he who uttered it should not have spent his time prating about proofs of immortality. Since intuition relates not directly to the future, obviously he who questions it as to whether we shall survive death, questions a silent oracle. From that side nothing! Since assurance of immortality can only arise in man by revelation from Him to whom all things are naked and open, or through logical processes, both of which Emerson rejects, let him fall silent and wait in awe the speedy advent of eternity. Why should he pander to a vulgar curiosity about the next world? Thus he thinks himself when at his best. In the closing lines of "Terminus," lines which might well be his epitaph, nothing higher or wiser is uttered:—

> "As the bird trims her to the gale,
> I trim me to the storm of time;
> I man the rudder, reef the sail,
> Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime:
> Lowly faithful, banish fear;
> Right onward drive unharm'd;
> The port, well worth the cruise, is near,
> And every wave is charmed."

These words hold good, whether personal being persist or is lost in Godhead. It would seem easy to predict the opinions of so strong an intuitionalist as Emerson concerning the moral freedom and responsibility of man. Before the nature of the intuitions had been well defined, they had their spontaneous play and influence in human thought. If the theological fatalist or the philosophical necessitarian built up his theories in con-

better use as schools and hospitals; that he grudges the dollar he sometimes gives to missions as a mean compliance with opinion, and hopes some day to be virtuous enough to refuse it; that he thinks the Sunday-school an endless bore, and most popular reforms so many vain schemes. Our surprise here is that such contradictions should dwell in the same mind. One might wonder that the intuitions of moral freedom and duty, so constantly present with man, so habitually his guides in all the grave concerns of life, should be forced to give way before those which are only remote and dim in memory. This is not the natural course of things. The actual world can only be construed thus by one who has taken up the Spinozan conception of the universe as a necessary and eternally shifting form of deity. Emerson accordingly says, all things are but shadows of God. Each man is God. It follows that the development of the universe proceeds in a fatal order. This excludes vice and sin, virtue and holiness. The actual condition of things being in no measure subject to our personal action or choice, to attempt to change it is absurd, and would be immoral were immorality a possibility. Hence the impossibility of reform. Change can only occur by the further development of the fate-bound universe. Reform of the actual state implies evil in it. When a man lends ear to the moral intuitions, tyranny, war, slavery, intemperance and licentiousness, appear terrible evils. Then, even Emerson can grow hot and denounce. But it needs only a bit of impossible intuition to bring him back to a sounder view of things. Then the universe is good, and all reforms have a petty and mean look. Here is the grand Sly Boots, the original old Two Face, as he ventures to term truth and God.

The reader who has carefully attended to this discussion has long foreseen an attempt by Emerson to revise the statements of the Evangelists, and the faith of Christendom concerning Jesus Christ. For, if he is the God-Man, as Christians assert, in a way of unshared eminence, then he alone refutes and demolishes Emerson's speculations. That so keen-sighted a writer would not miss this situation of affairs was easy to perceive. Emerson saw it from the outset, and marked his sense of it in certain passages of his address before the Divinity School. Not a little depends on the decision of this question

between Emerson and Christians about Jesus. For, if the matter stands as the Church affirms, Emerson has no case; while, if Emerson can show that his theory fully harmonizes all the facts of that divine history, the Church must revise her creeds. Since the affair is so critical, it will readily appear somewhat singular that the sage has nowhere elaborately considered this question. His references to Christ are relatively few, and his remarks on each occasion are desultory and inconclusive. There are passages which show the remarkable impression Jesus has made upon him. He says, "Jesus acted so because he thought so." "Jesus always speaks from within, and in a degree that transcends all others. In that is the miracle." "And the unique impression of Jesus upon mankind, whose name is not so much written as plowed into the history of the world, is proof of the subtile virtue of this infusion" of moral sentiment. These extracts show that Emerson soon perceived that Jesus has somehow a *unique* character.

In the following sentences we shall see a critical, and even accusatory, temper toward Christ:—

> But there are no such men as we fable: no Jesus, nor Pericles, nor Cesar, nor Angelo, nor Washington, such as we have made. . . . The reliance on authority measures the decline of religion, the withdrawal of the soul. The position which men have given Jesus, now for so many centuries of history, is a position of authority. . . . Each man, too, is a tyrant in tendency, because he would impose his idea on others; and their trick is their natural defense. Jesus would absorb the race; but Tom Paine or the coarsest blasphemer helps the race by resisting this exuberance of power.

In the next citation will be found intimations that Christ no way transcends human nature, with curious suggestions of the probable explanation of his character and works:—

> Jesus and Shakspeare are fragments of the soul, and by love I conquer and incorporate them in my own conscious domain. His virtue—is not that mine? His wit, if it cannot be made mine, it is not wit. . . . Jesus astonishes and overpowers sensual people. They cannot unite him to history, or reconcile him to themselves. As they come to revere their intuitions and aspire to live holily, their own piety explains every fact and every word.

He names the miracles of enthusiasm, self-healing, animal magnetism, eloquence, moral reformers, reported miracles in

antiquity, and the life of Jesus Christ, as instances in which "men acted with their entire force upon nature." "Christ is born and millions of men so grow and cleave to his genius that he is confounded with virtue and the possible of man."

The air of complaint which overhangs these sentences changes to rigor in this:—

> This one fact the world hates, that the soul *becomes;* for that for evermore degrades the past, turns all riches to poverty, all reputation to a shame, confounds the saint with the rogue, shoves Jesus and Judas equally aside.

These citations assume a certain superiority in their author over Christians and their Lord. No proof is offered for these marvelous conclusions. Is not Emerson's word enough? They have been gathered up here for the purpose of giving the reader at a glance Emerson's attitude toward and judgment of the Saviour. It requires no small effort to refrain from extended comment on the weak positions and contradictions which these quotations present. They are so palpable, however, as to make comment less necessary. The passages which succeed, furnish the key to all the explanations that need be made. If Emerson can make good the positions taken in these, we must accept his version of the history of Jesus and his relation to humanity. In the "Essay on Plato" there are found words which clearly show how profoundly the peculiar quality of Christ had impressed Emerson:—

> It is almost the sole deduction from the merit of Plato, that his writings have not—what is, no doubt, essential to this regnancy of intellect in his work—the vital authority which the screams of prophets and the sermons of unlettered Arabs and Jews possess. There is an interval; and to cohesion contact is necessary. I know not what is to be said in reply to this criticism, but that we have come to a fact in the nature of things: an oak is not an orange.

Notwithstanding the guarded character of this language, doubtless Emerson is not here contrasting the Old Testament prophets nor Mohammed with Plato. It was Christ whom he wished to suggest without naming him. The fact that he finds a difference in nature between Christ and Plato, should have led to a profounder study of that difference. Such a study, impartially conducted, might have led to strange results. Two

passages which mark Emerson's utter misconception of the quality of Jesus follow. They make the issue clear and unavoidable. The first is found in the "Essay on Experience."

'Tis the same with our idolatries. People forget that it is the eye which makes the horizon, and the rounding mind's eye which makes this or that man a type or representative of humanity, with the name of hero or saint. Jesus, the "providential man," is a good man, on whom many people are agreed that these laws of optical delusion shall take effect. By love on the one part, and by forbearance to press objection on the other, it is for a time settled that we will look at him in the center of the horizon, and ascribe to him the properties that will attach to any man so seen.

The next citation is from the Address. Having been quoted at length in the former article, only the critical words will be reproduced here. "He [Christ] said, in this jubilee of sublime emotion, I am divine: through me God acts, through me speaks. Would you see God? See me; or, rather, see thee, when thou also thinkest as I now think."

The bearing of these sentences is not to be mistaken. Our reverence for Christ is pure idolatry. He is no higher nor better than some others. Nay, any other would appear to have the qualities we assign him, should men agree to consider him in the same way. The second statement puts these opinions into the lips of Christ himself. True, Emerson tells us that the teachings of Christ suffered speedy distortion, but he never fails to glean up from the Gospels the least word apparently favorable to his ideas. On this question issue is joined. Jesus did *not*, in word or thought, place other men upon the level of a common nature with himself, nor in a like relation to God. Further, there runs through the four gospels an argument for the superhuman quality of Christ which no life of Christ has yet touched, of which Emerson has no idea, that peremptorily and forever sets aside his assertions. In the sequel of the long and terrible scrutiny to which learned and remorseless unbelief has subjected the early records of the life of Christ, there will arise a clearer and stronger conviction that he transcends humanity, as well as a warmer love for his Name. The argument to be produced has been half seen by many, has been stated in a partial way by Dorner, by Bersier, by Dr. F. H. Newhall in this REVIEW, but has been grasped

in its fullness and consistency by nobody. It postulates nothing concerning the nature of Christ. It asks no concession of the miraculous deeds of the Saviour. It does not demand the admission of his moral perfection. It does not require faith in the reality of past events, such as are not known to occur now. Thus it avoids the objections of Hume and his school. It requires simply a candid, searching, and scientific investigation of the fragments of the personal history of Christ, known as the four gospels. The gospels were not written nor dictated by the Saviour. He spoke as unconcernedly to men aronnd him as if his words were to have no higher nse than their primary one. Matthew and John were disciples of Christ, and, doubtless, drew mainly upon their own recollections for the materials they worked up into the gospels which respectively bear their names. Mark was in close relations with the original circle of the Saviour's disciples. He was afterward the friend and traveling companion of St. Peter. His Gospel is supposed to embody the recollections of that apostle. Luke was not originally a member of the apostolical body, nor familiar with the apostles. He was the companion of Paul, who had never seen the Lord before the ascension. He depended upon eye-witnesses and original members of the apostolical group for the facts and accounts contained in his gospel. In Dorner's Introduction to his "Doctrine of the Person of Christ," a fact is stated which the reader can verify; namely, Christ is constantly reported in the four gospels as never associating other men, not even his disciples and apostles, with himself in his relation to the Father. "No man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." This language shows that Christ put nobody on the same level with himself. He claimed a relation to God strictly unique and personal. Dorner alludes, in confirmation of this assertion to the fact that, in speaking to men in general and to his disciples in particular, Christ did not speak to them of God as *our* God. In not a solitary instance did he forget to make the claim to a special relation to the Father involved in the terms, "My Father," "My God." "*Our* Father which art in heaven," seems to contradict this position, but he was there teaching *them* how to pray. "When *ye* pray, say, Our Father," etc. In Bersier's sermon,

"*Le Roi*," may be found another fact, which is the counterpart of that just recited: "Does Jesus ever express himself otherwise than as the Master, and does his word ever betray a terrestrial origin? Its divine character appears in the slightest details. When he addresses himself to men Jesus never associates himself with them, as Isaiah, St. Peter, or St. Paul would do. He always says to them, *you:* you think, you believe, you say. Never does he say, confounding himself with them, We think, we believe, we say. In John iii, 18, which alone seems to contradict this statement, we have the non-association of himself with other men put out of doubt by the opposition throughout the passage of Him who descends from heaven and those who are of the earth."

Mr. Emerson may say what he likes about the fragmentary character of the gospels. Admit that not one in a thousand of our Lord's words are recorded; that we have little consecutive talk or conversation from him; that parables are given without the subject they were to illustrate; that briefs of addresses and snatches of controversies are given; that sometimes miracles, parables, and disconnected paragraphs are jumbled together in utter confusion: what follows? On carefully considering this mass of confusion, we find not a solitary fragment which does not present the strange peculiarity already mentioned. Can Emerson persuade himself or the world that this singular fact is accidental? The two instances, which at first might seem to oppose this idea, really confirm it by falling out just where it is impossible to mislead candid men. Among all the writers, philosophers, legislators, prophets, or founders of religions, who have left personal records or immediate traditions behind them, we look in vain for a similar fact. Let whoever will, search and see what other being in his reported conversations, held at all hours of the day or night, in public discourse and intimate communion with friends, by whomsoever surrounded, by whatsoever cares pressed, was never for an instant unmindful of his claim to a superhuman nature, and of an unshared Divine Sonship? What makes the matter more surprising, is the fact that the reporters of the deeds and words of our Lord were plain, simple men, who seem not to have had the least suspicion of this unique characteristic of the language they were handing down to after ages. They were

but honest reporters, who delivered to the Church whatever they knew or had heard from others concerning their Master. And after eighteen centuries are fled, one seeks to know whether the Scriptures afford any warrant for the strange assertion of a pantheistic philosopher, that Jesus Christ was of his opinion respecting the community and equivalence of his nature and the nature of the human race, between his relation to God and its relation to God; when, lo! from every page of the Gospel Christ affirms the error of Emerson. "Character teaches over over heads," says Emerson; the study of this fresh instance of its teaching over the heads of eighteen centuries of history is commended to his meditation. From this simple statement it is easy to judge how widely he misses the mark when he represented Jesus as saying to man, "Would'st thou see God, see me: or rather see thee, when thou thinkest as I now think."

This glaring contrast between Emerson's conception of Christ, and the notion of him that rises before us in our study of the New Testament, puts us upon the idea of a running contrast between the philosopher and the Son of man. First of all, we get the impression of Emerson's limitations from our study of him. We have already seen that he fails in his effort to respect the intuitions of humanity. On the one hand he seeks to obtain a direct vision of the Absolute from them, while he fails to show that his pretended intuition has any note of intuition, and fails to explain why, upon careful analysis, it reveals evidence of being a rough, abrupt synthesis. He cannot appeal to human nature as justifying this theory, nor furnish any apodictic proof of it. Christ speaks of seeing God, as if such vision were as constant and easy as the spectacle of the outward world. Yet he declares expressly that no mere man has the like power. Now then, had the young Nazarene, dying before the reflective powers had awakened in him, as Parker says, deeply meditated the matter, and discerned that this course would put his revelations beyond the control of men through their intuitions or logical processes? The weakness of Emerson's position is, that he affirms all men have the alleged intuition, and the race, in its historical and living consciousness, contradicts him. The safety of Christ's position lies in his steady denial to men of that direct cognition of God which he affirms in himself. Men accept his statement of their igno-

rance; they are not competent to judge directly what his consciousness discloses to himself. Either this securer position of Christ is the result of greater philosophic insight than Emerson displays, or he spoke the simple truth. If it was skill in philosophy, how came Christ by it; he of whom Renan and Strauss testify that no sign of philosophic or rabbinic lore is upon him? In this direction no explanation is possible. It is a pleasure to state the real fact in Emerson's words: "Jesus always speaks from within, and in a degree that transcends all others. In that is the miracle."

Further, when Emerson tries to show what he can of his supposed direct intuition of God, what a fuss he makes about it—running off from men, hearing no name, giving up custom and routine, and I know not what other strange rites of preparation. Christ had no need, as all the Evangelists show, of any such arrangments for visions of the Father. Emerson thinks he has rare flashes of such intuition, and, for the rest of his life, has only dim and remote memories of these celestial raptures. Christ never was without this direct cognition, save upon the cross, and then his cry of horror over the strange experience shook the solid globe.

Emerson has repeatedly described the toil with which he thinks. One would have no difficulty in seeing that to every glittering sentence of his, sweat of brain has been given. Such heavy-textured cloth of gold, spangled with sheen of emeralds and diamonds, was not woven at random. Every poem, essay, and lecture, has drawn upon heart and mind. So severe has this strain often been, that a kind of temporary collapse must have ensued. Jesus died in his thirty-third year, an age at which Emerson had published nothing. He wrote no sentence, left no literary remains, dropped his words of spirit and life upon men's hearts, and years after the hearers reproduced them in writing, and they got into circulation. What Shakspeare, Homer, Virgil, or Plato would risk such a publication of his thoughts? Yet in this way we have received the sermon on the Mount, the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the flame picture of the Final Judgment. These sprang from the mind of our Lord as easily as water falls or stars shine, and are filled with the easy beauty of nature seen in rainbows and sunsets. There is no trace of labor in their production.

Emerson says it is the hardest thing in the world to think. "I would put myself in the attitude to look in the eye an abstract truth, and I cannot. I blench, and I withdraw on this side and on that." He describes the uneasy groping about in the thick gloom, which drives one out doors and brings him in again, teases him with vague hints, and "thus, in a moment, and unannounced, the truth appears. A certain wandering light appears, and is the distinction, the principle we wanted." Admirable description of human thinking! Why do we see no such mental groping in Jesus? Why hear no such confession from him? It is often easy to see that Emerson has not grasped the real truth when he thinks he has. Who will point out the like errors in Jesus?

Christ came into the world to enlighten and save it. He said, "I am the light of the world;" "he that believeth on me hath everlasting life;" "Come unto me, ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." He nowhere hints a doubt that he can put the world from pole to pole into a blaze of moral light. He never questions his own power to break the fierce energy of human selfishness, and bring the soul back to truth and holiness. In the reign of Tiberius, the moral midnight of earth, he dared to promise rest to all the restless, and send his promise down the ages for the comfort of mankind. Emerson shows no such confidence. What he said yesterday is not permitted to hinder him from uttering the most contradictory thoughts to-day. So far is he from being the light of the world, that he says, "No sentence can contain the whole truth, and the only way in which we can be just is by giving ourselves the lie." How distant are we here from Him whose life and death were one long and glorious testimony to the truth; who said of others, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Instead of offering to save men, Emerson has moods in which he abhors and contemns them. He knows that he would be a poor guide to the erring. He doubts and unsettles all things. He seeks and cannot always find; he experiments not without moral risk to himself and others. No value would he have attached to what he does or omits to do. That Christ is the reverse of all this let the gospels show. Whether the restless experimenter, or he who does always the will of God, is the true Lord of hu-

manity—how can that be a question? What habit of mind is indicated when our sage calls truth a Sly-boots; God, Old Two-face; good, evil; and evil, good? One great source of Christ's power over mankind is his fidelity to our deepest conceptions of reality. With him goodness is always good, evil always evil, truth and lies are truth and lies; conscience is real, duty real, sin real, retribution real, God real, and heaven real. Christ never comes upon the perception of the equivalence and identity of all things.

Finally, Emerson laments that no pure intuitionalist has ever yet appeared. He generally sticks to it that no other sure road to solid truth can be found. Here and there a sentence drops out, showing that logic has some part to play in the ordering of our stores of knowledge. In general he contrives to forget such momentary concessions, and stand by his exclusive intuitionalism. To reject the assistance of any real power of the soul in our intellectual philosophy and work is sure to produce confusion and error. Emerson's contempt for logic puts him under the moral necessity of becoming a pure materialist, disbelieving in the distinction of the human and the divine minds, and of extorting from intuition a cognition of deity. Sure that the swinish opinion could not prevail, he wrenched all things out of their course in his vain effort to find God. Then his bad theory of deity made him do violence to the moral intuitions, and altogether he has turned the universe into bedlam. He would have dealt simply and in truth with the problem of the eternal life had he said only, "We cannot know in this world."

Little as Jesus has credit for it with philosophers, he spoke no word on these recondite themes which conflicts with our intuitions. By saying that men cannot directly know God nor the future state, he brings the world to his support. By never treating truth lightly, or making duty less than awful, he commends himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And since conscience speaks ere passion kindles her sudden flames, gives sharper emphasis to her warnings when the hot sensibilities are in their maddest riot, and suddenly assumes the port and majesty of a God when sin has brought forth death, it follows that conscience and Christ are constant allies.

Looking at Emerson's intellect as it is disclosed in his works,

no other trait is so impressive as his skepticism. What grand and noble qualities are these! How masculine and lofty his mind! What vigor and range of powers! How vast and choice his reading! What keenness of scent for telling phrases, as seen in his bringing us from the Sahara of the Koran the words, "Paradise is under the shadow of swords!" What affluence and felicity of illustration! How his pages brighten as with the steady rays of constellations, and yet are pervaded by gleams and flashings and brightenings, as if of the Aurora Borealis! Still, nothing appears in these wonderful pages so matchless as his skepticism. It respects nothing sacred; all persons are indifferent to it; all systems and reputations go down before it. The next world is no more secure from its rage than this world. It is omnivorous. Well, I ask myself, What can this unexampled skepticism import? Turning upon myself, I ask, What does skepticism mean in me? And I find it means that men are under a disability in the acquisition of truth. The child trusts all persons and all arguments that demand his confidence. After some experience of the untrustworthiness of men and arguments, he is apt to distrust all reasonings and all persons. We readily see that great skeptics must have had unusual experience in the weakness and fallacy of human wit. An individual who had never made a mistake could not doubt the correctness of his opinions. A race of finite beings whose knowledge of all things should be as clear and self-evident as are the axioms of mathematics, would never present the mental phenomenon called skepticism. It is the experience of inward uncertainty and error which, in its reaction upon character, produces the skeptic. When Socrates and Emerson unsettled every thing in Athens and Boston, it is a sure sign that they have groped their way in Egyptian night.

Did Jesus Christ ever doubt? Again I open these fragmentary and disconnected memoirs—shapeless biographies made by untutored men—to find what they report on this head. Again the crowded story of those three eventful years passes in review, and a fact appears which no modern biographer of Christ has noticed. Read the Life of Jesus by Renan, Strauss, Schleiermacher, or Pressensé, and much as their learning, acumen, and genius stirs your wonder, you note that not one of them

has observed the fact which is nevertheless palpable on every page of the Gospel—Jesus never doubts. There is no uncertainty, no balancing of opposites in his mind. The time to speak and act arrives, and instantly the fit deed and the fit word appear. Study the biographies of great actors, thinkers, and saints: Cromwell, Napoleon, Newton, Mill, Faraday, St. Francis, Wesley, and Newman. They were often in doubt. What shall we think, say, do? Thus, or so, or otherwise, or not at all? Thus they question and ponder. Christ only never questions, never ponders, but acts as with sure constancy of a law of nature. Again, the simple writers of the gospels had no notion that such a strange peculiarity lay imbedded in their unpretending pages.

The question puts itself, Why Jesus alone among men never doubts? Help toward the proper solution will come when we consider why we are so certain of some things, and yet so uncertain of others. It will be found that an intellectual being can only have absolute convictions about things which are known to him through intuition. Where reasoning begins, doubt becomes possible. Where any conclusion is not perceived to repose ultimately upon intuition, doubt and conjecture ensue. A being who knew every thing within the range of his faculties, as surely as we know the axioms of mathematics, could never doubt. A race of such beings would never exhibit such a thing as skepticism in all its history. If Christ never doubts, it is because all his knowledge rests on intuition.

This conclusion is strengthened in another way. Bersier says Christ never reasons. He does not appear to know why. God knows all things with equal certainty; he sees at once all possible relations of all truths to each other. In reasoning we proceed from what we do know, to discover what we do not know. God is never ignorant; hence he does not reason: he knows. If Christ be man only, he will grope in uncertainty, try to escape from uncertainty by reasoning, and on many questions will become skeptical. If he is God, he cannot do so. Read the gospels, and, lo! you find on every page the air and movement of God. When we know things intuitively we do not prove them, we assert them. Speaking as a teacher, Christ always asserts, never attempts to prove. Here we are entering on a field of inquiry too vast for this article. To ex-

plore it would require a volume. Let us be content to say that Emerson's theory of Christ goes to wreck upon the facts of the gospels. It is human to doubt, to err, to grow skeptical. Emerson doubts, errs, is skeptical, and, therefore, human. It is divine to know without doubting, error, or skepticism. Thus Christ knows. "What think ye of Christ? whose son is he?"

ART. II.—THE FIRST YEAR OF OUR MEXICAN MISSION.

THERE is no country in which we could plant, with more apparent fitness, a mission, or where the obligation seems stronger to set down our missionaries, than in Mexico. She is our closest neighbor, and for over a thousand miles her territory adjoins our own. From our propinquity we are affected by the morality or immorality of her people, as well as by her material prosperity or adversity. Self-interest, if nothing else, demands that we should help her to rise from the gloom in which she is sitting, that she may be a peaceful neighbor and a commercial ally. But the philanthropy of the Gospel urges us, by higher considerations, to pour into her bosom the blessings of an unfettered Bible. After the struggle of our rebellion was over, after we had secured our own national life, we assisted her to throw off the incubus of an imperial dynasty and to take her stand again among the republics of our continent; and shall we not proffer to her our aid as we behold her groping after a purer religious life than that which she possesses?

There is no doubt, therefore, that it was a wise policy which prompted our Church to found a mission in our sister country—a mission, to inaugurate which the incipient steps were taken by Bishop Haven in the beginning of the year 1873 by purchasing, in the city of Mexico, a part of the San Francisco convent. This purchase was made for the sum of sixteen thousand five hundred dollars in gold, a sum which is now said to be about half the value of the property. The San Francisco convent covered blocks of ground. So immense was its extent that streets have been cut through its solid walls. All the convents in the city of Mexico have required a similar work,

on account of their size, to make their various parts accessible. The part purchased by the Bishop for our Church formed the cloisters, and had been used, after its confiscation by the Government, as a circus, denominated the Circus of Chiarini, and still later as a theater. It was thus used immediately before it fell into our possession. The Bishop also purchased, in the city of Puebla, part of the Dominican convent, which is said to be the very building in which the Inquisition was once established. Here, upon our premises, is shown a spot, inclosed by heavy masonry, where the bodies of three victims of ecclesiastical tyranny were found, and who are supposed to have been buried alive. Puebla, in its appearance, is one of the finest towns in Mexico, is universally neat and clean, and contains about seventy thousand inhabitants. It is the most intensely Romanist city in the whole country, has its situation close to the old Aztec shrines, and is called the ecclesiastical center of the nation. These two premises are the real estate which we have purchased in Mexico.

We proceed to give some account of the progress of our work. Early in the same year (1873) the Rev. Dr. William Butler, formerly of our mission in India, was appointed Superintendent of the Mexican Mission, arriving on the ground in the month of February. The writer was appointed as missionary in the same month, and reached the city of Mexico on the thirteenth of March, 1873. We commenced prayer and class meetings, in Spanish, at once on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. From a few Mexican people who attended at first the number gradually increased until the attendance rose to thirty or forty, the exercises being invariably in Spanish, with the exception of the few who were not able yet to express themselves fluently in that language. Shortly we began to preach, having had an experience of six years among the Spanish-speaking people of the Argentine Republic, in South America, and held three services every Sabbath, one in the morning, which consisted of the usual exercises with a sermon; another in the afternoon, a prayer-meeting; and the third at night, likewise a sermon. These services kept increasing in interest, the number of the attendants gradually augmenting, until at length, every Sunday night, numbers of persons, unable to find accommodations, were obliged, if they remained, to sit or stand around the door.

We had not yet, however, entered our Church property in the convent. There was a lease upon it to a third party having over a year to run at the time of its purchase by Bishop Haven, and that lease had not yet expired. It was held by a person who, as we have already stated, used it for a theater; but being summer now, and theatrical performances unprofitable, he consented to relinquish the possession. Mechanics were immediately employed to remodel and prepare the interior for a religious congregation. Taking it altogether, there was a vast amount of space in the building. There was the audience room, sixty feet by seventy, around which ran large corridors, which had been used for boxes and galleries of the theater, and now, partitioned off by our workmen, gave abundant space for schools, lecture-room, and every other purpose which the mission required. There was, besides, sufficient space to form two dwellings, subsequently to be prepared, for which all the exterior walls were already there, except on the east side. It is not only a large and commodious property, but is situated in one of the best streets of the city. Bishop Haven deserves the thanks of the whole Church for his judgment in making the selection which he did.

On Christmas day, Dec. 25, 1873, the church room proper was ready for dedication. It was an interesting spot. There were the massive stone pillars, and arches with angel heads above them, just as they had been sculptured two hundred and fifty years ago to suit the taste of the monks, now to echo with the hymns and prayers of a Methodist congregation. There were the stone walls, five feet in thickness, seemingly intended to last until the end of time—a refuge of the Romish Church against every invader—strong enough to form a citadel, now to inclose and protect the heretics she abhorred. This very room and these corridors are the very spots where the friars used to walk and meditate. Why may we not hope that, during all that time, some of them, like Luther, sought here and found the true light? Perhaps they were buried within these very walls for attempting to promulgate it; for here is a private cemetery deep down within two dead walls, with niches for the bodies, where a hundred of their number might be interred and the outside world would know nothing of the fact. Several bodies were actually found here and removed after the secular

arm had taken possession of the property. O! who can tell what scenes of oppression, wrong, and secret guilt were enacted on this very spot!

Our audience room was seated to hold about five hundred people. By more closely placing the seats it will contain a greater number; but we supposed that for some time we could not expect to need larger accommodations. A slight, drizzling rain set in on Christmas morning, which increased as the hour of service approached. Rain is very unusual in Mexico at any time, except during the rainy season in summer, and being so, it made the prospect of a numerous congregation extremely unfavorable. We had thought that if our temple were half full, supposing it to be a pleasant day, the dedication would be a success; but what could we expect now? As we entered, however, the people were rapidly assembling, and in a short time every seat was occupied. When we came to the sermon and proceeded with it, a large number of persons who could not find seats listened eagerly and attentively at the door.

Such was the opening of the first Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Mexico, and the first in the country. It was remarkable from the fact that the building had been a strong-hold of Romanism. There was a time in which this convent is said to have contained four thousand monks. It was built in all its magnificent proportions to propagate Romanism, and it is now a Protestant and Methodist Church, with all its social religious meetings, its flourishing Sunday-school of between sixty and seventy children, besides a large adult Bible class.

Let us turn back a moment, and see what had been done in the mean time personally among the people. Here is a young man, mild, gentle in his manner, seemingly of little energy or enterprise; one who would hardly be selected to go forth and battle with the enemies of the Gospel. He speaks in a low tone of voice, and you would think that a harsh word must crush him to the earth. And yet this young man has been a moral hero in Mexico for the last few months. He has been to all the bigoted, fanatic villages around the city, distributing large numbers of Spanish tracts, and selling evangelical Spanish books, Testaments, and Bibles. He has been robbed, insulted, struck, persecuted in various ways, and yet he keeps on. His life has been constantly in danger, and yet he works on. We

met with him some time after we arrived in Mexico—hardly know how we found out what was in him—put him in the field he occupies, and, notwithstanding all he has suffered, he has never intimated that he was weary of the labor. It was his custom to come to our study every few days and give an account of his last journey, the number of books sold, and how he had been treated, while the question trembled often on our lips as we inquired if he had been attacked or molested. And when he had made his report came the usual interrogatory from him, "Where shall I go next?" Once he remained away longer than ordinary, and we feared greatly that he had been assassinated—no unusual thing in Mexico. He carried a box with him, which contained his tracts and books, and made many of his journeys, miles at a time, on foot, carrying his box on his back. One day as he came in he remarked, with a quiet smile, "I was robbed coming back. Two men attacked and beat me. They took some of my Bibles, but did not get my money. It was under a newspaper in the bottom of my box, and they failed to raise the paper." A moment afterward came the usual question, "Where shall I go next?" as if nothing had occurred. The thought of being discouraged by such an event, or of giving up his work, never seemed to occur to him. May God bless and preserve Daniel Fonsec, the humble Mexican colporteur! Perhaps a brighter crown shall be his, when he comes to stand before the throne, than that which shall be awarded to many who have shone more brilliantly on earth in the Christian army.

Here is another. He came to Mexico from the city of Merida, in Yucatan, with a sick wife. We called to see her and told her of the Saviour's love. O how eagerly she drank our words! With what intense earnestness she listened as we read to her, in Spanish, the sweet promises of the Gospel! We knelt down in the little chamber where she lay and commended her soul to God. Expressing a firm trust in the Saviour she shortly passed away, asking for no Romanist priest, for she was trusting to our great High-priest in heaven. Señor Francisco Montiel entered our work after the death of his wife. The first place to which he was sent was the city of Tezcuco, lying on the lake of the same name, where, like St. Paul, he was stoned by the populace, and driven from the

town. He is now canvassing the city of Mexico with Bibles, Gospels, Testaments, and tracts.

Here is a remarkable young man. He engaged in our work at about the same time with Señor Montiel. It may be said of him, that if the gift of ready speech be an indispensable qualification to the performance of his duties he is utterly unqualified. He is the greatest stutterer we ever heard, and continues to be so notwithstanding every effort to lead to an amendment; but there is that in his face and manner which makes you sure that he is a sincere and earnest man. He also is canvassing the city of Mexico with Bibles, Testaments, and tracts. These, with three other young men raised up within the year, took part in our social meetings, so that we were able to conduct a regular prayer or class-meeting in Spanish.

Others, who have not become such active laborers in our work, have been blessed and converted during the year. A gentleman attended our services for some time, when one day he came to our study, saying, with tears of deep and earnest feeling, "God has blessed me so much! He has forgiven my sins. I should like to take the communion with you and join your Church."

But the most touching of all incidents in our Mexican experience is the conversion and death of the priest Rojano, which has already been published at length in one of our weekly papers, "The Methodist." We refer to it briefly here. It seemed as if God vouchsafed to give us this as the crowning confirmation of the success of our labors among these people for the year we spent in Mexico. It was Sunday morning. We had concluded our usual services, and as we stepped outside of the room where we worshiped we observed standing near, as if waiting to speak to some one, a Roman Catholic priest. We knew him to be such from his dress, and wondering at seeing him there, thought, it may be, that some improper object might have led him to the spot fraught with danger to the peace of our people. We, however, advanced and offered him our hand, which he grasped cordially and asked for a private interview. We conducted him to our study, where he stated that he had come on purpose to converse with us on religious questions. Avoiding all controversy, we addressed him at once on the subject of personal piety. He had said that he

was seventy years of age, and the thought flashed across our mind that he must have but a few years at most to live, and that now, if ever, he must repent and believe in Christ. We spoke to him of penitence for the past, a true consecration of his life to God, but, above all, of a trust in Christ alone—in Christ, excluding all other sacrifice, all other mediator; and as we proceeded his tears freely flowed while he assented to what we said. He wept half of the time that we talked thus together. O, it was a touching spectacle to behold one who forgave others, or professed to do so, thus seeking forgiveness himself! There seemed to be a very marked and unusual spiritual influence present with us. It was, no doubt, the fulfillment of Christ's promise to be in the midst of two or three who are met in his name. He came again and again. Then he attended our prayer and class meetings, with the consciousness that he was putting in jeopardy his living and his position in the Church to which he ministered. These were, in fact, shortly after taken away from him, for his sympathies with us, by his archbishop. As he informed us of the occurrence he made the touching remark :—

"God will take care of me, he has said he would;" and added, "He has assured me that if I seek first the kingdom of heaven I shall have every thing else I need. He has blessed me and forgiven my sins, and I love him."

God did take care of him, but in a way he did not anticipate. He was taken sick, and through his illness made use of utterances, which we took down at the time, such as the following :—

"I am united to Christ. I had no peace or comfort in the Roman Catholic Church; now I have both. I have taken away all my pictures," meaning images and representations of saints. "I close the day reading one of your hymns; then I engage in prayer, after which I read another hymn and pray again, offering up my petitions for all Protestant Churches. God has removed a weight from my soul. I have left the Roman and Latin Church and joined the catholic, apostolic, Christian Church. Brother beloved, my father, I have peace. I have faith in Christ. I can come direct to him. It is so easy, so simple, so different from the Romish Church."

And so he passed away, no doubt to that home where faith is turned to the beatific sight of the Saviour in whom he trusted.

Having thus referred to the commencement and progress of our mission in Mexico during the first year of its existence, we would now inquire whether there are any special reasons which give us ground to hope for the success of evangelical effort in that country, and we observe,

First. The Roman Catholic Church in the Republic of Mexico is in a state of senility. It neither possesses the vitality and force which are capable of resisting the advancing civilization of the world, nor the vitality and force which that Church exhibits in the United States. As a rule there are no church buildings now erected, remodeled, or largely repaired in the country for the use of her priesthood or people. We never saw a new church in Mexico, or one in the course of construction. They were all built about two hundred years, more or less, ago, with all the vast monasteries and ecclesiastical property; and the massive structures, favored by the atmosphere and the absence of severe frost, remain comparatively uninjured by time. We were passing, one day, the magnificent Church of San Augustine, in the city of Mexico, which was scaffolded in front and undergoing extensive repairs and alterations, and as we gazed upon it tried to imagine the appearance which it would present as a church with the modern improvements already perceptible, but found on entering and making inquiry that the Government had taken possession of the building and was fitting it up for a grand public library, leaving the ecclesiastics who once ministered beneath its lofty arches a little chapel adjoining for their perfunctory worship. The grand audience room of the Church of San Francisco, perhaps the finest in the city of Mexico after the cathedral, superior, even, to that in its acoustic qualities, and which adjoins our own new church, is undergoing extensive repairs, not, however, to be occupied again by Roman Catholics, but by one of the congregations of the well known Dr. Riley. And we may say, as we mention his name, that no man is more highly esteemed in Mexico than he. He has done a great work for Protestantism in the country, and his name alone is a tower of strength throughout the land. But the Church of Rome is not aggressive in Mexico.

Another element of weakness is the fact that, as far as we have observed, the priests who minister at the altars are

generally advanced in years, and there is slight disposition among young men to enter their order. These old men have little education and little influence beyond the arena of their own immediate circle. We never heard of an orator, great preacher, or man of commanding talent among them. Those of the priests who have professed conversion to Protestantism do not usually make effective preachers, with one or two bright exceptions. It is a trite remark in the country, when converted priests are spoken of in relation to their usefulness as ministers, that "the timber is not good;" and, wherever we may get our laborers, it is the impression that we had better not draw them from that source.

Second. The establishment of free schools inspires additional hope for the future of Mexico. We do not know how largely these exist throughout the country, but in the city they abound. Perhaps in our great metropolitan mart there are not many greater facilities for acquiring an education than in the city of Mexico. They are not Church schools, neither are they subject to visitation from the priests. There are, besides the schools of ordinary grade, free high-schools for both sexes, all of which are thronged with pupils. Many private schools are also sustained, which seem to be doing well; showing that there is among the people a thirst for education.

Third. The laws of Mexico are more thoroughly Protestant, at present, than even the laws of the United States. Not only is freedom of worship established, but the instruments which have been so successfully used by Romanism in the past are proscribed. While multitudes of Jesuits are finding a home in our own land, and are doing their pernicious work without molestation here, not one of their order can remain, if discovered, upon the soil of our sister republic; and while we are allowing convents and monasteries to multiply among us, no edifice devoted to their use can be erected there, and no society of their order can be established. The vast convent and monastery buildings constructed in the palmy days of Romanism throughout the country were confiscated some years ago, and their inmates set at liberty to take their natural places in social life. History will never tell, there is no record to reveal, what a boon this was to the worn and weary women who had been incarcerated within their walls. Romanism is no longer the

religion of the country, except in the fact that a majority of the people are adherents of that faith.

Not only have Church and State been separated, but a provision to that effect has been incorporated in the Constitution; and not only is it thus a national provision, but on the 27th of September, 1873, all officials and *employés* of the Government, of whatever rank and order they might be, from the President down to the lowest clerk, were required solemnly to protest, which is the legal oath, that they would maintain this and the other laws of reform. It was our privilege to be present when Señor Lerdo, the President of Mexico, and his cabinet took upon themselves the solemn obligation. Not only have convents and monasteries been proscribed, but a constitutional amendment has been adopted forbidding their re-establishment, to enforce which all *employés* have, in like manner, been obliged to protest; and these laws take effect throughout the whole nation, from the Rio Grande and Lower California on the north and west, to Yucatan and Tehuantepec on the south and east.

These statutes have not only been made a part of the Constitution of Mexico, not only are all judges and officials required solemnly to swear that they will maintain them, but the Federal Government itself has shown that it is determined on their enforcement. In the region of Temascaltepec some of the priests inspired the inhabitants, who were of the uneducated class, to rise in mass against the laws of reform. The troops of Government were immediately sent against them, who routed the rebels and captured their leader. The latter, who was mortally wounded in the conflict which occurred, confessed before his death that it was at the instigation of one of their priests that the people had risen—that, as this priest urged them on to a massacre of all who attempted to maintain the laws of the country, he had assured them that, if they wished to save themselves in the future world, they must kill the Protestants, and that those of his flock who died while they were executing this pious work went direct to heaven. The Government troops succeeded in capturing the priest, who was put upon trial, and it was supposed that he would be speedily executed. The Government, we say, is determined to enforce the law, and not leave it to lie a dead letter on the statute-book. Not long

since an attempt was made to re-establish nunneries on a small scale. Though every one of their vast convent buildings had been confiscated and taken away from them, a few friars and nuns gathered together in private houses, with a view of collecting the wrecks of the forbidden communities. On the night of the 20th of May, 1873, the police made a raid upon them and captured two hundred women and seventy men, sending the women to their homes and conveying the men to the city prison. In the language of a Spanish paper in the city of Mexico, "The unfortunate women, the greater part of whom were deprived of their liberty contrary to their wish, returned to the bosom of their families, and are freed from the toils of those who have, for wrong purposes, made use of their credulity and fanaticism." So summary was the action of the Government that nineteen of the friars, by a decree dated May 23, 1873, three days after their capture, were sentenced to be expelled from the country; and this decree was shortly after carried into effect, with the exception as to two of their number, who pleaded that they were citizens of the United States, the final decision as to whom we have not learned. The judges, the educated class of men, the Government officials, the men of influence, are, almost without exception, enemies of the Jesuits, enemies of all monastic institutions, and on the side of liberty of worship. Many of them, as far as they dare express it, are Protestant in their religious views.

If Romanism shall continue to be the religion of Mexico she must become vitalized, she must gird herself with new force and energy; otherwise the wave of advancing knowledge, which is rolling on with the progress of the world, will either sweep her into infidelity or evangelical Protestantism. If this knowledge shall come to her impregnated with materialism she will lose all religious belief, like the educated classes of France; but if knowledge and the Gospel go together, her people, as they yield up trust in the forms and superstitions of Romanism, will see the beauty of the simple, plain precepts of Christ, of simple faith in Jesus alone, and she will become our ally in the work of spreading the Gospel, and, raised up to a high national prosperity by that righteousness which exalteth a nation, she will be a most valuable commercial neighbor.

ART. III.—EGYPT AND THE PENTATEUCH.

The Books of Moses Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt. By Dr. E. W. HENGSTENBERG. Edinburgh: Thomas Clarke.

Ancient Egypt. By Rev. GEORGE DEVOR, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society.

The Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs. By Sir J. GARDINER WILKINSON. London: Bradbury & Evans.

The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia. By Sir SAMUEL W. BAKER, M.A., F.R.G.S. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Sinai and Palestine. (Introduction.) By DEAN STANLEY.

THE history of a country is usually associated with the course of its principal rivers. This is pre-eminently true of Egypt, whose very existence depends upon the Nile. Any reference, therefore, to the monuments of ancient Egypt, as throwing light upon the Pentateuch, would be incomplete without some account of its grand and mysterious river.

In the region of Central Africa, directly under the equator, and in latitude 33° east from Greenwich, lie the now celebrated twin lakes, Victoria and Albert N'yanza. The Victoria may be briefly described as a fresh-water sea, three thousand five hundred feet above the ocean level, fed by the almost incessant equatorial rains. Its southern boundary is some three degrees south of the equator, from which point it stretches northward a distance of two hundred and eighty miles. About midway of the northern shore the waters find an outlet, where they break in miniature cascades over the rocky barrier. These rapids mark the spot where the "strange, long wandering Nile" begins its journey of three thousand geographical miles.*

During the first half of its journey the Nile receives many tributaries, chiefly from the west; but between 16° and 18° north latitude two powerful rivers flow in from the east, carrying with them the principal drainage of the high table-lands of Abyssinia. The second of these rivers—the Atbara—forms a junction with the Nile at Berber, and from thence the entire drainage is conveyed to the Mediterranean, without any further tributary, through a course of nearly fifteen hundred miles.

The current of the Nile is broken by several rapids, the last of which occurs in latitude 24°, and only about half a degree north

*I am aware recent discoveries throw doubt upon the statement that the Victoria Lake is the absolute *source* of the Nile. But assuredly this is the highest point to which the stream itself has yet been traced.

of the Tropic of Cancer. At this spot the bed of the river is traversed by a ridge of rose-colored granite, from whence came the rich materials for the statues, columns, and obelisks, so abundantly produced by Egyptian art. About three miles below the cataract is the island of Elephantine, and it is at this point that Egypt proper begins. Syene, its frontier town, now called Assouan, stands on the right bank of the river, and is noted for its splendid granite quarries. At this point the valley has a width of only two miles. On the east lies the Arabian Desert, divided from the Nile valley by a range of limestone hills. On the west, beyond another rocky chain, stretches the Sahara, or Great Desert of Libya. In the depression between these ridges flows the Nile. Sometimes there is a space between the river and the hills of several miles, sometimes of only a few yards. Immediately above the blue waters of the river—blue by contrast with the darker colors around—rises a bank of black mud, which, after the inundation, is clothed in the brightest verdure, "like an emerald set in the bosom of the desert." That strip of verdure, with an average width of seven miles, is Egypt; and to have lived below the cataracts, and drank the waters of the Nile, was to be an Egyptian.

From Assouan to Cairo, a distance of six hundred and twenty-nine miles, the valley is limited to an average width of seven miles, forming a strip of verdure drawn across the desert, like a ribbon, with the Nile for a central thread. Under the Pharaohs the upper valley was known as the "Southern region," and formed a distinct government from the "Northern region." The Greeks and Romans divided the upper valley into the Thebais and the Heptanomis, nearly corresponding to the modern divisions of Upper and Central Egypt. Upper Egypt is the most southerly portion. Its capital, Thebes, that magnificent city of whose hundred gates Homer sang, was the No or Nohair Ammon of the prophecies. Middle Egypt was anciently called Heptanomis, because divided into seven *nomes*, or districts. Its capital, situated at the apex of the Delta, was Memphis, the Noph of the Prophet Jeremiah, whose prediction, "Noph shall be laid waste," has been fulfilled to the very letter. On the right bank of the river stands the modern city of Cairo; and nearly opposite, on the left bank, a salient angle of the Libyan hills

serves as a pedestal to the eternal Pyramids, whose gigantic shadows the setting sun flings far over the groves of palm-trees that now cover the space where Memphis stood.

The civilization of Lower Egypt is more ancient, as shown by the monuments, than that of Upper Egypt. This proves that the lower portion was first colonized; and as the country formerly bore the name of Mizraim, the grandson of Ham, there can be little doubt that it was settled by the immediate descendants of that patriarch. After the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the consequent dispersion of the race, the family of Mizraim left the plains of Shinar, crossed what was afterward known as the Arabian Desert, skirted the southern extremity of Palestine, crossed the desert of Shur, and entered the valley of the Nile by way of the Isthmus of Suez. There they founded an empire and a civilization which has excited the admiration and the wonder of succeeding ages.

Egypt is emphatically the land of monuments. Next to the Nile, they form the chief feature of the country, as they stand in long procession on the banks of the river, witnesses of an unknown but profound antiquity. They are more abundant and more perfect than in any other country. "India, the battle-field of countless generations, has nothing to compare with them. Babylon and Nineveh wrote their history in brick or perishable alabaster; but Egypt, attaining to a greater superiority in art, was provided at the same time with a material well-nigh indestructible, and a climate which could bid defiance to the ravages of time." Its monuments, constructed of granite, serpentine, or basalt, are of gigantic proportions, ornamented with sculptures and the most brilliant paintings. "With no frosts to splinter, no storms to batter, no moisture to nourish mosses and creepers, the ruins remain as new in appearance as if they were but of yesterday." The monuments are found throughout Egypt, and its former dependencies in Ethiopia and Libya. Besides statues, tablets, and obelisks, they consist of ruined temples, palaces, and especially of sepulchers. In the latter we find the richest treasures of Egyptian lore.

Still, these monuments enwrap themselves in mystery. They have a language as well as a story of their own. Strange characters are carved upon them, known to conceal a history

which has perished from every other record. It is only within the present century that the key has been found to these mysterious archives, and their long-hidden annals are still being slowly and painfully deciphered. The way in which this key was discovered deserves at least a passing notice. During the occupation of Egypt by the French, in 1799, the troops were engaged in constructing a fort on the Rosetta branch of the Nile. In the course of their excavations an oblong slab of black basalt, covered with inscriptions, was brought to light, and taken possession of by an officer of the expedition. By the fortunes of war it afterward fell into the hands of the British, and was sent to England, where it arrived in 1802. This was the now celebrated "Rosetta Stone," and its value consists in the fact that it contains what had never before been discovered—a hieroglyphic inscription, with a translation in Greek. It was engraved in three sections, the uppermost in hieroglyphics, the lowest in Greek, and between these another in characters then entirely unknown. The Greek inscription was found to contain a decree by the high-priests, etc., assembled at Memphis, for the coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes, B. C. 196. With the slender clew thus afforded, English and French scholars set patiently to work, and at length succeeded in unraveling the mystery of the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Space will not allow me to dwell at present on the history or topography of Egypt. My object is to show how the Egyptian monuments confirm the truth of the Pentateuch, and rebuke the objections of modern infidelity. A common objection to the inspired narrative is that it contradicts the facts of Egyptian history, and displays an entire ignorance of Egyptian habits and customs, and, therefore, it must have been written by some one who never had been in Egypt, and at a period long subsequent to the time assigned to Moses. To decide this point we question the monuments, and, lo! the stone cries out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answers it. The Pyramids open their secret chambers; Memnon becomes vocal with a more significant melody than of old; the obelisks point their strong fingers to the records of a bygone age sculptured on their granite sides; while the tombs reveal in their rocky chambers histories written in brilliant colorings,

apparently as fresh as when laid on four thousand years ago; and all these witnesses testify with one voice, "The Word of God shall stand forever."

When we begin to consider the history, religion, and customs of the Egyptians in their bearing on the truth of the Pentateuch, the subject becomes at once inseparably interwoven with the history of the Israelites. I shall, therefore, employ the leading incidents of that history as *nuclei* around which to group the testimony of the monuments.

We take up the thread of the narrative at the time when Joseph was sold to Potiphar, the captain of Pharaoh's guard. On the first point—the selling of Joseph—we have the testimony of Herodotus, that the purchase of slaves was common in Egypt. The same author informs us that the kings of Egypt had a guard, who, in addition to the regular income of the soldier, received separate pay. In the paintings of marches and battles on the monuments they are represented as employed in protecting the person of the king, and are distinguished by a peculiar dress and weapons. In Genesis xxxix, 4, 5, we are informed that Potiphar placed Joseph over his house and substance. We must not regard this as a sample of the way in which Egyptians usually treated their slaves. In this case a special reason is assigned for Joseph's exaltation, "The Lord was with him." The appointment of a head servant, or steward, illustrates a peculiar feature in Egyptian life. Among the operations of husbandry and tillage portrayed in the Egyptian tombs we often see a steward, who takes account and makes a registry of the harvest before it is deposited in the store-house.

The kindness of Potiphar to Joseph continued for nearly ten years, when a disastrous change occurred, and Joseph was cast into prison. During his imprisonment two of Pharaoh's servants, the chief butler and the chief baker, incurred their master's displeasure, and were put in guard, and placed by the keeper of the prison in Joseph's charge. On a certain night the two men dreamed each a dream, which, on the following day, they related to Joseph. First, the chief butler tells how, in his dream, he stood before Pharaoh, and pressed the juice of the grapes into the wine-cup, and gave it to Pharaoh to drink. Here we have an illustration of Egyptian

life. It has been said by objectors that the vine was not cultivated in Egypt at the time here referred to, and hence the statement ascribed to the chief butler is manifestly inaccurate. But what say the monuments? In the tomb of Beni-Hassan are to be found representations of the culture of the vine, the vintage, the bearing away and stripping off of the grapes—in short, the whole process of wine manufacture. And these pictures are to be found not only in the monuments of later dynasties, but in those of the earliest Pharaohs. Besides this there are pictures of feasts, in which the guests are represented as overcome with wine.

Next comes the dream of the chief baker. "Behold," says he, "I had three white baskets on my head," [literally, 'baskets full of holes; that is, baskets of wicker-work,] "and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh." What say the monuments to this? They say, first, that flat baskets, made of open wicker-work, for carrying grapes and other fruits, were very common; they say, further, that among the Egyptians the art of baking was carried to a high degree of perfection. They were accustomed to prepare many kinds of pastry for the table, which they kneaded in various shapes. Lastly, the monuments show that the custom of carrying burdens on the head was peculiarly Egyptian. Herodotus also mentions this as distinguishing the Egyptians from other nations.

We now come to an interesting event, showing the thorough acquaintance of the writer of the Pentateuch with Egyptian habits and customs. Pharaoh has a dream, and his wise men being unable to interpret the same, he is troubled. The chief butler now remembers Joseph, and mentions his case to Pharaoh. Joseph is sent for in haste, and it is said "he shaved himself, and changed his raiment." This circumstance, though apparently trifling, is, nevertheless, significant. It was a universal Egyptian custom to shave off the beard, and by this, in the paintings and sculptures on the monuments, they are distinguished from other nations. In shaving himself, therefore, Joseph simply transformed himself, in appearance, into an ordinary Egyptian. So particular were the Egyptians in this matter of shaving, that to have neglected it was a subject of ridicule and reproach; and whenever they

intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition, or a slovenly person, the artists represented him with a beard.

Let us now enter, with Joseph, the hall of audience as he goes to interpret Pharaoh's dream. From the entrance to the throne there is a space of one thousand feet, the roof being supported by rows of columns ninety feet high, covered with elaborate sculpturing. A guard of soldiers (perhaps with Potiphar at their head) in silver cuirasses, and helmets covered with silken scarfs, inclose the space. Down the center an avenue of statues of the gods extends toward the throne a distance of eight hundred feet. At the termination of this avenue stand two statues of Osiris and Isis, and in the center of the open space beyond stands the throne of the Pharaohs, elevated upon a platform of variegated marble twelve feet from the floor. The platform is square, and at the four corners crouch four lions, one having the head of an eagle, another of a sea-dragon, another of a bull, and another of a man, representing the kingdoms of the air, the sea, the earth, and the intellect, or soul. The platform is ascended by four flights of steps of Syenite granite, inlaid with precious stones. In each flight are seven steps, representing the seven mouths of the Nile. In the midst of the platform, "rising island-like in this hall of the Pharaohs, stands the throne itself, separated from every other object, in solitary splendor, and reflected in the brilliantly polished marble floor." The material of the throne is the purest ivory, carved with wondrous skill. High above the throne is a canopy of blue silk, extending over the whole dais, and on the throne sits APHOPHIS, the Pharaoh who ruled in Egypt at the time of which we write. Around his throne are his men of power, while in the next circle may be seen the wise men of Egypt—the magicians and astrologers—vainly endeavoring to interpret Pharaoh's dream. Thronging the body of the hall is a vast array of officers and courtiers. All are in a state of eager expectancy, when suddenly the massive doors fly open, and down the central avenue of statues the young Hebrew captive is seen advancing, till he stands in the open space before the throne.

"I have dreamed a dream," says the haughty ruler of Egypt, "and, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, fat-fleshed and well-favored; and they fed in a meadow:

and, behold, seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill-favored and lean-fleshed, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness." The first thing that strikes us here is the naturalness of the record, and the perfect way in which it accords with Egyptian modes of thought. The objects beheld by Pharaoh are kine. The Egyptians regarded the cow as the symbol of Isis and the earth—that is, of fruitfulness; so that to represent kine in different conditions, as the types of different kinds of seasons, was perfectly natural. Here observe, the kine "came up out of the river." This becomes perfectly intelligible when we remember that upon the Nile Egypt depended for its fertility—the variation of a few feet in the height of the annual inundation making all the difference between a fruitful and a barren year—in other words, between plenty and famine.

Pharaoh then proceeds to relate his second dream: "Behold, seven ears came up in one stalk, full and good: and, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, sprung up after them." It has been said by objectors that there is no scorching east wind in Egypt; that the phenomenon belongs to Palestine, from which region the writer of the Pentateuch had incautiously transferred it to the valley of the Nile. It is, indeed, true that in Egypt there is rarely a wind *directly* from the east, but there is oftentimes a south-east wind which is precisely the one to produce the effects here stated. Besides, it blows commonly at the time when the events of Pharaoh's dream are supposed to have occurred—before the corn harvest, which, in Egypt, is in March and April. That the Hebrew word should be east instead of south-east, is not surprising when we remember that the Hebrews had terms only for the four principal winds, and that any wind from an easterly direction would be called by them an east wind. This south-east wind is called *Chamsin*, and when it arises the heat becomes almost insupportable. "As long as it continues doors and windows are closed, but the fine dust penetrates everywhere; every thing dries up; wooden vessels warp and crack; and the grass withers and perishes if this wind blows long."

Joseph having interpreted Pharaoh's dream, declaring that there should be seven years of great plenty, followed by seven years of famine, counsels him to choose out a wise man and

set him over the affairs of Egypt, that he might gather in the surplus productions of the plenteous years against the years of famine. The counsel pleased Pharaoh, and, impressed with the wisdom of Joseph, he appointed him the second ruler in Egypt. In this investiture of Joseph with the king's delegated power, it is said that Pharaoh took off his ring and put it upon Joseph's hand. Upon this point we need not dwell, inasmuch as the gift of the signet-ring, as the symbol of delegated power, is common all over the East to this day. But it is added, he arrayed Joseph "in vesture of fine linen, and put a gold chain [literally, *the* gold chain, the chain of office] about his neck." The fine linen of Egypt was a fabric celebrated for the beauty of its texture. A piece obtained by Mr. Wilkinson at Thebes shows, when put under the microscope, one hundred and fifty-two threads in the warp, and seventy-one in the woof, to the square inch—much finer than the finest productions of the present day. Garments of cotton or linen were considered by the Egyptians as pure and holy, and the priests wore no other kind. The investiture of Joseph in linen garments was a part of the process by which he became a naturalized Egyptian. Then, as to the necklace of gold: In the tombs of Beni-Hassan many slaves are represented, each of whom has in his hand something which belongs to the dress or ornaments of his master. The first carries a necklace, and over it is the inscription, "Necklace of gold." Some beautiful specimens of these necklaces, taken from Egyptian tombs, are now in the British Museum.

In addition to this investiture with the insignia of office Pharaoh gave to Joseph a new name, and "gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On." This record has been assailed by Rationalists, on the ground that an alliance of intolerant priests with a foreign shepherd is entirely opposed to the character of the Egyptians. But we must remember that this marriage took place by command of the king, (who stood at the head of the priestly caste,) and after Joseph had become a fully naturalized Egyptian, had assumed the Egyptian dress, received an Egyptian name, and been established as the second ruler in the kingdom. Such a change in Joseph's circumstances might well cause a change in the feelings with which the priestly caste regarded him.

Some may be inclined to wonder that one who, under very trying circumstances, had remained faithful to the true God, should unite himself to a worshiper of Osiris. Viewed from a *Christian* stand-point, it is strange; but to judge the conduct of a man living in Egypt three thousand seven hundred years ago by the light we now enjoy, would be utterly unreasonable. Besides, it may be doubted whether the religion of Egypt, at that period, was as grossly idolatrous as many suppose. The tradition which gives the history of the Egyptian mythology is as follows: "Osiris was in the beginning the lord of all worlds. He came upon earth for the benefit of mankind. Before his coming the ox and all other animals were wild, and of no service to man. The Nile was a terror to Egypt. Vegetation had perished. He entered into all things, and infused his life, and good, and uses, into all. He bound the Nile to its banks by breasting its flood and subduing it. His spirit passed into the bull and all cattle. He tempered the heat of the sun, and drew the poison from the moon. The earth became his bride, under the name of Isis, and thus was man benefited and the earth made habitable. Upon this his brother Sethis, who represented 'evil,' as Osiris did 'good,' sought his destruction, and caused him to be put to death. *He was buried, and rose again, and became the judge of the dead.*" Such was the foundation of Egyptian mythology; and hence the sun, the moon, the Nile, animals, and even vegetables, were regarded as sacred, because the spirit or soul of Osiris had been infused into them to change them from evil to good. Thus our God was worshiped through invisible objects which he had consecrated. In the course of ages these objects multiplied; the people no longer distinguished between the symbol and the thing symbolized, and thus the worship of Egypt, which at first was a simple monotheism, degenerated in after times into a wide-spread and debasing idolatry.

According to Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, Egypt was to be blessed with seven years of great plenty, to be followed by seven years of famine. This prediction was, according to the Bible narrative, fulfilled to the very letter. In this remarkable concurrence of events there was, doubtless, a supernatural or miraculous element; but there was also a substratum of natural law. Egypt in ordinary seasons is one

of the most fruitful countries on the face of the earth; but its fertility depends on the annual overflow of the Nile. The river, as we have seen, takes its rise in the Victoria and Albert Lakes, in Equatorial Africa, where the almost incessant rains keep these natural reservoirs always full. But about midway between the equator and the Mediterranean two powerful tributaries form a junction with the Nile. These rivers are not fed by lakes, as is the case with the main stream, but are dependent for their supply upon the periodical rains which fall in the mountain ranges of Abyssinia. The first of these rivers is the Blue Nile; but the principal one, so far as the fertility of Egypt is concerned, is the Atbara, so called by Sir William Baker, although known in the geographies as the Tacazze. But how do we account for the periodical overflow of these rivers? In this way: During a portion of the year the vapors which rise from the Mediterranean are very abundant. These, carried along by light winds from the north, pass over the heated soil of Egypt and the deserts; but, on reaching the mountain ranges of Abyssinia, rapidly condense in the cooler atmosphere, and descend in rains of remarkable violence. These rains begin in April, and, for a time, descend at intervals; but as the season advances they become more copious, and fall almost without intermission, and rushing from every direction into the channel of the Atbara, suddenly swell the almost exhausted current into a mighty, irresistible flood. Sir William Baker, who spent months in exploring the country traversed by the Atbara, describes the bed of the river as a channel from four hundred to five hundred yards wide, with clay banks of thirty feet perpendicular descent. "So completely," he remarks, "were the waters exhausted by the dry season that the current had almost ceased to flow." The same writer gives the following graphic description of the sudden rise of the stream:—

The cool night arrived, and at about half past eight I was lying half asleep upon my bed by the margin of the river, when I fancied that I heard a rumbling like distant thunder. I had not heard such a sound for months. Hardly had I raised my head to listen more attentively when a confusion of voices arose from the Arabs' camp, with a sound of many feet, and in a few minutes they rushed into my camp, shouting to my men in the darkness, "El Bahr! El Bahr!"—The river! The river! We were up in

an instant, and my interpreter, in a state of intense confusion, explained that the river was coming down, and that the supposed distant thunder was the roar of approaching water.

All was darkness and confusion, . . . but the great event had occurred; the river had arrived "like a thief in the night." On the morning of the 24th of June I stood on the banks of the noble Atbara at the break of day. The wonder of the desert! Yesterday there was a barren sheet of glaring sand, with a fringe of withered bush and trees upon its borders, that cut the yellow expanse of the desert. In one night there was a mysterious change—wonders of the mighty Nile!—an army of waters was hastening to the wasted river! All had been dry and sultry—dust and desolation yesterday; to-day a magnificent stream, some five hundred yards wide, and from fifteen to twenty feet deep, flowed through the dreary desert. . . . Here was the giant laborer that had shoveled the rich loam upon the Delta of Lower Egypt. The Arab name "Bahr-el-aswat, (Black River,) was well bestowed. It was the black mother of Egypt still carrying to her offspring the nourishment that had first formed the Delta. Wherever the sources of the Nile may be, the Atbara is the parent of Egypt.'

But what has all this to do with the seven years of plenty and the seven years of famine in Egypt in the time of Joseph? Much every way. It shows how entirely Egypt was dependent on the annual overflow of her majestic river. A succession of heavier rains than usual among the mountains of Abyssinia insured a more than ordinarily fruitful season; on the other hand, if these rains were withheld a wasting famine was the result. At various points along the Nile are instruments designed to measure the height of the annual overflow; and it is worthy of remark that the records indicate years in which the waters rose from ten to twenty feet above the average level, while they point out other years in which the waters failed by many feet to reach their wonted height. Even in modern times Egypt has frequently been visited by famines owing to this cause.

The labors of Joseph in building store-houses are placed vividly before us in the paintings on the monuments. In a tomb at Elethya a man is represented whose business it is to take account of the quantity of grain which another man is measuring. The inscription reads, "The writer or registrar of bushels." In a tomb at Beni-Hassan there is a painting of a great store-house, before the door of which lies a heap of grain already winnowed. On the walls there are characters

which indicate the quantity deposited in the magazine, thus affording an illustration of Gen. xli, 49: "And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering."

Passing over several occurrences connected with the arrival of Joseph's brethren in Egypt, we note the incident where Joseph's cup is found in Benjamin's sack. The point to be observed is the remark of Joseph's steward, "Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?" Our business here is not to prove that Joseph could really divine by means of his cup, but merely to show that such a practice was common in Egypt, and that the writer of the Pentateuch was well acquainted with Egyptian customs. *Jamblichus*, in his book on Egyptian mysteries, mentions this custom of divining by the cup, and says that by means of certain figures, reflected in the rays of light in clear water, future circumstances were prognosticated. One method of divining by the cup was by casting into it pieces of gold or silver leaf, together with precious stones, engraved with certain characters; when, on the gods being invoked, the engraved signs were seen to be reflected in the water, by which certain facts inquired into were supposed to be ascertained. Another method was that of dropping melted wax into the cup, and inferring the answer to a given question from the shape it assumed on the surface of the water.

In the forty-sixth chapter of Genesis we have the account of Jacob going down into Egypt with his household and all their substance. A remarkable parallel to this description is furnished by a scene in a tomb at Beni-Hassan, representing strangers who arrive in Egypt. They carry their goods with them upon asses, and over this the number "37" is written in hieroglyphics. The first figure is an Egyptian scribe, who presents an account of their arrival to a person in a sitting posture, the owner of the tomb, and one of the chief officers of the reigning Pharaoh. The next, likewise an Egyptian, ushers them into his presence, and two of the strangers advance, bringing presents. Four men, with bows and clubs, follow, leading an ass, on which there are two children in panniers, accompanied by a boy and four women. Last of all another ass, laden, and two men, one of whom carries a

bow and club, and the other a lyre, on which he plays. All the men have beards, contrary to the custom of the Egyptians, although very general in the East at that period, and represented in their sculptures as a peculiarity of foreign uncivilized nations. Some authors believe that this picture has a direct reference to the arrival of Jacob and his family in Egypt.

Before introducing his brethren to Pharaoh Joseph charges them to say that they were shepherds, so that Pharaoh might give them a location in the rich pasture-lands of Goshen, "for," it is added, "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." To this day the monuments furnish abundant evidence of this hatred of the Egyptians to shepherds. The artists of Upper and Lower Egypt vie with each other in caricaturing them. But how do we account for this abhorrence? By a significant fact in Egyptian history. Years before the time when Joseph was sold into Egypt a terrible calamity befell the nation. "The first migration of nations whereof history has retained the remembrance came rushing across Western Asia. Swollen by all the nomadic tribes that it had gathered on its way, it fell suddenly upon the valley of the Nile." Whence came this human avalanche? We cannot tell with certainty; but, "judging by the force of its impetus, and the length of time it took for the disappearance of its straggling remnants, by the name accursed which it has left in the memory of Egypt—above all, by the avenging hate which, in later times, repeatedly impelled the Egyptian armies beyond the Tigris—it is in Central Asia that we must look for the starting-point of the invaders."

The only historic account we have of this invasion is that given by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who lived and wrote when the Greeks were masters of Egypt. On many points, especially on Egyptian chronology, the testimony of Manetho is utterly unworthy of credit; but his account of the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos, or Shepherd-kings, has an air of truth about it that renders it perfectly credible. "In ancient times," he says, "the anger of God was aroused against us, I know not why; and there came from the direction of the east a multitude of men of ignoble race, who, precipitating themselves upon our country, possessed themselves of it without a struggle and with the greatest ease. They slew part of the chiefs, and cast

the rest into chains. They burnt our cities, and threw down the temples of the gods. Their barbarity toward the Egyptians was such that all who had not perished by the sword were reduced, with their women and children, to the hardest servitude." Manetho further relates how the first king of the invaders, named Salatis, erected a strong fortification eastward of the Bubastic branch of the Nile, in which he placed a powerful garrison. "Dying after a reign of nineteen years, he had for a successor Beon, who was replaced by Apachnas, to whom succeeded APOPHIS, [the Pharaoh who reigned in Egypt when Joseph came into power,] then Yanas, then Assis, in all six kings in two hundred and fifty-nine years and three months." There is at the present time, in the British Museum, a papyrus roll on which is an inscription agreeing substantially with the account given by Manetho.

In this fragment of Egyptian history the following points are clearly presented: Previous to the time of Joseph Egypt was invaded and conquered by a vast army, to the rulers of which was given the name of Hyksos, or Shepherd-kings, as indicative of their previous mode of life. Part of the native Egyptians were slain, part reduced to servitude, while a vast number (though this is not mentioned by Manetho) fled the country, and sought refuge in Nubia, behind the granite ramparts of Syene. From this point their descendants ultimately descended, and recovered possession of the country. It appears also, from other records, that the Hyksos adopted the religion of the country, that the native priests still continued to exercise their functions, and that a great number of native Egyptians remained in the land, and, in the course of years, were treated by the successors of the first Hyksos as citizens rather than as slaves. Doubtless it is this native population that is referred to when it is said, "Every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." The rulers of the land had no such prejudices, because they regarded the sons of Jacob as sprung from the same stock as themselves; but they wisely respected the prejudices of the native population, and hence gave permission to the Hebrews to settle in a part of the country by themselves.

In the first chapter of Exodus reference is made to the rapid increase of the Hebrews, after which follows this statement:

"Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph. And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we: come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land." We have already referred to the Hyksos invasion, and to the fact that the native Egyptians, expelled by the invaders, took refuge in Nubia. Issuing from thence, they made forays from time to time upon their conquerors, transmitting the quarrel from father to son for the space of two hundred and fifty years. Waxing stronger, they first possessed themselves of Upper Egypt, then descending to the Heptanomis, they regained possession of that, and finally succeeded in expelling the Hyksos entirely from the country. The "king who knew not Joseph" was, therefore, simply a descendant of the Pharaohs who ruled in Egypt before the Hyksos invasion. This fact accounts for the jealousy with which he regarded the Hebrews, believing them to be of the same stock as the hated race who had held possession of Egypt for two hundred and fifty years. His hatred of foreigners was so intense that it led the native Pharaoh, when they regained possession of the country, to destroy every monument calculated to perpetuate the memory of the Hyksos rule; consequently there remain only a few fragments of the public works undertaken while Joseph was prime minister of Egypt.

From Exodus iv, 14, we learn that task-masters were set over the Israelites, and that the latter were employed in building for Pharaoh the treasure-cities Pithom and Raamses, or Rameses, as it is more commonly called. These cities were situated in the land of Goshen, the province where the Israelites dwelt, and one of them became the rendezvous before the exodus. Again, it is said, they (the Egyptians) made the lives of the Israelites "bitter with hard bondage in mortar and brick, and in all manner of servitude in the field." Now we know from various sources of information that the use of brick was very common in Egypt, and it is a significant fact that a small portion of chopped straw is found in the composition of these bricks. But one of the most remarkable confirmations of this portion of the Pentateuch is found in a painting discovered in

a tomb at Thebes, representing the Hebrews as they were engaged in making brick. Some of the laborers are employed in transporting the clay in vessels, some in intermingling it with the straw; others are taking the bricks out of the form and placing them in rows; still others, with a piece of wood upon their backs and ropes on each side, carrying the bricks already burned or dried.

We now pass over a number of incidents in the life of Moses, and take up again the thread of the Bible narrative at the time when, in obedience to the Divine command, he demanded permission for the Israelites to go and sacrifice to God in the wilderness.

To realize the impressiveness of the scene, we must remember that he who at that time sat upon the throne of Egypt was an unrelenting foe of the Jewish people. He it was who, for a long series of years, had increased their burdens, till they groaned in hopeless anguish under the oppression. We must remember, also, that Moses had been for many years outlawed from Egypt, and that it was at the risk of his life to return at all. But God had given commandment, and, with that resolute faith which characterized his course all through life, Moses obeyed. To obtain admission to the presence of the king was not difficult, because on certain days he gave audience in the throne-room, when, according to custom, no one, however humble, was refused permission to lay his petition before the king.

We can imagine the impressive scene when the two venerable brothers, accompanied by several of the elders of their nation, enter the hall of judgment. Calm, fearless, and with the dignity of princes, they proceed down the central avenue of statues, till, in the open space before the throne, they make obeisance to the ruler of Egypt. For a moment the king gazes inquiringly upon them; but who can describe his feelings of mingled astonishment and anger when he first realizes that these petitioners are Hebrew *slaves!* Nor is his angry astonishment lessened when, in answer to his haughty inquiry as to their business, he hears the startling demand, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast to me in the wilderness." We can hardly wonder that his first words are those of angry defiance, coupled with a threat of increasing, instead of diminishing, the burdens of the

people. In the name of the god of Egypt he defies the God of Israel, and refuses to let the people go. This brings the question to a decisive issue. Pharaoh resolves, as many a fool since that day has done, to measure strength with Jehovah. We shall soon see with what result.

Undaunted by the first repulse, Moses and Aaron go again before Pharaoh and repeat their request, and when he demands a sign, Aaron casts down his rod, and it is at once changed into a serpent. The magicians, at Pharaoh's request, also cast down their rods, and similar results follow.

Several points here are worthy of attention. When Moses and Aaron go in before Pharaoh Aaron carries a rod in his hand, and in various passages we find reference to the rod which Moses carried. This custom was peculiarly Egyptian. The monuments show that the Egyptian nobles, when they went out, carried a stick from three to six feet long; and, from Exod. vii, 12, it appears that each of the magicians carried a similar instrument. When Aaron cast down his rod before Pharaoh, it is said that it became a serpent, and the same phenomenon occurred when the magicians cast down their rods. It will aid our apprehension of the situation if we remember that the contest now beginning was a direct and well-understood contest between the gods of Egypt and the God of Israel; hence we see the Divine wisdom in beginning with miracles which the magicians were able to counterfeit, inasmuch as it rendered their subsequent overthrow more decisive. The counter-wonder of the magicians was founded upon a peculiar condition of Egyptian society. The art of serpent-charming has been native to Egypt from the earliest times. It is confined to a certain class, and is transmitted from father to son. At religious festivals these persons appear entirely naked, with the neck, arms, and other parts of the body coiled around by serpents, which they permit to sting and tear their breasts, defending themselves against them with a sort of phrensy, pretending to wish to eat them alive. They are able, according to their assertion, to change the *hadja*—a very venomous species of serpent—into a rod, and compel it to feign itself dead. When they wish to perform this wonder they spit in the throat of the animal, compel it to shut up its mouth, and lay it down upon the ground. Then, as if in

order to give a last command, they lay their hand upon its head, and immediately the serpent, stiff and motionless, falls into a kind of torpor. They wake it up when they wish, rolling it roughly between their hands. Of course all this does not explain *how* the wonder was accomplished, in the case of Pharaoh's magicians; but it serves to prove the minute acquaintance of the writers of the Pentateuch with Egyptian customs. There is a peculiar feature, too, in this contest: Aaron's rod, when changed into a serpent, swallows those of the magicians.

The next act in the series of wonders was turning the waters of Egypt into blood. In this miraculous transaction there is a substratum, if I may so express it, of natural occurrences. The water of the Nile, at the beginning of the inundation, assumes a red color, caused by the large admixture of reddish-colored clay, brought down, during the heavy rains, from the table-lands of the Atbara. The miraculous element, in the event under consideration, was the sudden and intense character of the change, and the fact that it extended to all the canals, lakes, and pools, and even to the water contained in vessels of wood and stone in the houses. The severity of the chastisement appears from the vast importance of the Nile water to the Egyptians, and from the enthusiastic love of the people for it. The Nile water is almost the only drinkable water in Egypt. The Turks are accustomed to say, that if Mohammed had drank thereof he would have asked immortality of life that he might drink of it always. When the Egyptians go on a pilgrimage to Mecca or elsewhere, they speak continually of the delight which they will experience when, on their return, they shall drink again of the water of the Nile. These facts will enable us to appreciate the words of Moses, "The Egyptians shall loathe to drink of the water of the river."

We have now reached a point in the history of the Israelites where the monuments can afford us no further information. Of course Egypt erected no monuments to perpetuate the memory of her national humiliation, and the crippling of her military power. It may be observed, however, in passing, that each of the plagues was directed against some one of the gods of Egypt. The Nile was worshiped—its waters are

turned into blood. Other gods were worshiped, as protectors against flies, locusts, and other insect plagues—these now came in such countless swarms that the land is devoured by them. The Egyptians worshiped Apis, the sacred bull, as an emblem of Osiris—their cattle are smitten with a grievous murrain. Then followed the plague of boils upon man and beast, the tempest of fire and hail, the supernatural darkness, and, last of all, the swift flight of the destroying angel, smiting the first-born as he passed.

The morning dawns at last—the day of deliverance for a long-oppressed race. We gaze with profound interest upon their movements. We see them journeying from Rameses to Succoth, from Succoth to Ethan, and we follow on until from the rocks of Baal-Zephon we look down upon the shores of the Red Sea, strewn with the wrecks of Egypt's chivalry; while far beyond the mighty host move onward, led by the mysterious fiery pillar that for many succeeding years guided their desert-wanderings, type of the constant presence of God with his people still as he guides them to their heavenly rest.

It needs not that we should further pursue the theme. Enough has been said to show that there are no such discrepancies between the records of God's Word and of Egypt's ancient history, as some have asserted; and my object will be gained if these facts serve to strengthen in any mind the conviction that, spite of all the assaults of infidelity, "the Word of the Lord shall stand forever."

Art. IV.—PROTESTANTISM AND ROMANISM CONTRASTED.

In order that this contrast may be seen intelligibly, it is necessary that the two things be separately understood. We will, therefore, attempt a very brief outline sketch, historic and philosophical, of the religious system known as Romanism, particularly in its ecclesiastical aspects. The attempt will be to make this sketch unobjectionable even to a Roman Catholic.

As Europe emerged, by slow degrees, out of the deep gloom of the Dark Ages, through a period extending from about the

sixth to the fifteenth centuries—the most wonderful period of the world's history of which we have any account— the bishops and other almost *unread literati* who governed the principal Christian Church, combined to teach that the Church and government thereof subsisted in the nature of a civil corporation, like the government of a State or nation. As the State is supposed to have begun by some competent personal authority, and continued by descent through successive official incumbents, so the Church began by the personal authority of Jesus Christ. And so, in the language of a very able Roman Catholic, Mr. Wilberforce, "he committed the like authority to his twelve apostles." And so, from this beginning of a new Church, the apostles, taking into the corporate inclosure others, and they others, and so on, under the original charter prescribed by the authority of the Saviour, the Church exists in this transmitted and descending authority.

This doctrine was the more plausible because that, for ages, the ruling bishops were civil rulers, and rulers of civil rulers. Popes were the governors of emperors. And then it is in accordance with these erroneous ideas of Church origination that they read and construed the sixteenth chapter of Matthew. With such preconceived notions, it is easy to imagine that Jesus said he would set up a new Church, and so, of course, with a new government, new laws, and new officers.

And then it follows easily that a new Church must have a new functional head. And then it is not difficult to see that the Apostle Peter was the first Church president, or ruling bishop. For, of course, on this plan of Church organism, a *first* man must be identified. And then, for such a government to continue, there must be regular successors of the headship in the descending line as long as the Church continues. And so, the Church government thus formed must have its exact corporate limits. Then it is impossible that Church membership can exist outside the recognitions of this corporate authority. The regular descent of Church princes is as necessary as civil princes. This is the legitimate mode of descent. Foreign relation or expatriation is the same in either case. And so, original Protestants expatriated. Now all this is plausible. In brief outline, it is the grounds on which Romanism is built.

Protestantism denies this ground of Church authority *in toto.*

It denies that the Church ever had any such kind of supreme headship, so there could be no succession of that which never had existence. Thorough Protestantism holds that any body of men conforming to the Scriptures in faith, morals, and worship, constitute a Church; and that the Church, as a whole, or any integral part thereof, is identified in this, and in no other, way. It holds that conformity to Scripture to-day, without any reference to past history, determines and identifies the Church.

Now let these outline sketches be kept in mind, while we inquire how Romanism and Protestantism came to be distinguished as such.

In the early ages there was little, and often no, distinction between the civil and the Church governments; and along in the fifth to the seventh centuries there was much strife for Church supremacy between the Metropolitan Churches, as those in the larger cities were called. In the seventh century this contention became narrowed down to the Churches of Rome and Constantinople. Here the strife was long and bloody, varying here and there in its civil and ecclesiastical aspects, until Rome triumphed. From that time the Church of Rome was called Catholic, or universal. It had dominion over the other Churches, both in the West and East, on the fall of the Western Empire.

From this time, for more than nine hundred years, the most enlightened parts of the world were wrapped in almost impenetrable gloom and darkness. The Church of Rome was dominant all this while. Here we find the cause chiefly, if not the justification, of this Church supremacy. For a long period the nations of Western Europe were greatly indebted to the Church of Rome for much of the order and security, poor as it was, that prevailed in those fierce and turbulent times. But it was morally impossible these things could fail to corrupt the Church.

Long before the time of Luther there was a deep and widespread demand for Church reform. Many writers urged its necessity, popes admitted it, emperors demanded it, and councils sought its accomplishment. But there were various conflicting interests, and things, on all hands confessed to be hopelessly bad, grew worse and worse. The Reformation began to work in earnest in the early part of the Sixteenth Century.

Those in favor of Church reform and those content naturally

created two parties in the Church long before they became distinct and visible. But a crisis was approaching.

The abatement of these alleged abuses was urged by preaching, writing, teaching, and such other available means as could be used. The opposition to the sale and traffic in indulgences, and other scandalous and dishonorable practices, became more and more prominent, concentrated, and popular, until the agitation was felt at the very core and foundations of the Church and of the great German empire. It culminated in the city of Spire, in Germany, in April, 1529, in a solemn protest against two things practiced in the Church. The emperor, Charles V., assembled the noted civil and religious diet to quiet these agitations. Six members filed their solemn protest against certain action of the body tending to support the pope in any action, right or wrong, without the right to inquire into such action. The Protest declared, first, against religious tenets not founded in Scripture; and, secondly, against the exercise of ecclesiastical functions by the civil magistrate.

And so, very naturally, all the members of the Church who held these points were called pro*test*ors, and hence *Prot*estants. This whole movement was in the Church, and by the Church, and was a mere difference of opinion and of religious duty and obligation among the leading members thereof, or some of them. Neither party opposed *the Church* in any way, or said or did aught against it, or contemplated any thing whatever against its communion, its doctrines of religion, or its government. No one dreamed of any change of ecclesiastical relations, or of going out of the Church. Nevertheless, intelligent men foresaw such possible consequences as did follow, because all intelligent men saw that two cannot walk together except they be agreed. The protestors acted from principle, and under what they regarded absolute compulsion, not holding themselves responsible for inevitable consequences.

The simple historic fact, therefore, is, that the Church *divided itself* into two great branches, or, if any one pleases, two Churches, or what we commonly call denominations. And the questions in issue on which the parts separated were, first, whether there was any Divine law governing the Church outside the Bible; and, secondly, whether civil officers, in their mere civil capacity, were rightful rulers in the Church. Luther and his

followers contended that the Church—their own Church—had departed from its ancient and well-established principles, polity, and policy in these things; and the other party believed that the Church—clergy and people—must be content with the actual doings of the pope and his cardinals, right or wrong, as it might seem, for that *they* were the rule of right.

So far from the protestors opposing the Church, or intimating the possibility of their withdrawing from it, the very Protest itself denied such a possibility by its earnest appeal to the Church for a General Council, to be regularly convened for the redress of the grievances complained of. They sought the remedy in the Church and by the Church.

It is a great mistake, therefore, or an abuse of language, to speak of Luther's opposition to the Church. That depends upon what is meant by "*Church.*" If by "Church" you mean a corporate institution, erected by Divine authority, with Divine laws of external government, in monarchical form, with an inspired headship, to continue perpetually by successive incumbents—if this is what is meant by "Church," then Luther opposed it. He did not, and, perhaps, it was unfortunate that he did not, and, perhaps, it would have been inexpedient at that time to do so; but the fact is, he did not raise the question of the organization of a new Church government by our Saviour at all. He raised, in all his theses and arguments, the fewest and simplest questions possible, namely, those above stated.

Luther certainly sought to befriend the Church. He regarded the Church as a Christian brotherhood, making, as in fact it had always done, its own laws of external government, and denying divine inspiration in any Church officer. He distinguished between *the Church* and *the will of the pope*, and chose to advance the interests of the former, though it might be at the expense of the latter. On this principle the early reformers devoted time, talent, labor, money, and life itself, to sustain and uphold the Church, the ancient Church, against modern misrule and innovation. While it may, therefore, be charitably supposed that both parties were endeavoring to uphold the Church, they differed greatly as to the mode of doing it. The one party sought it by means of the will of the pope, the other by the rules of Scripture and common sense.

As to the exercise of Church authority by civil officers, that

was a vitally important question in the time of the Reformation, and in many countries, even in America, in long, later years; but in all the more enlightened parts of the world, and now it may be almost said every-where, the point is given up by Roman Catholics themselves. Then the remaining point in issue is, whether the will of the pope may or may not be inquired into by men under the general rules of Scripture.

But it must be understood that, while this is the only point in issue of a fundamental character, it spreads out in many lateral branches. Many important, but subordinate, questions very naturally grew out of this fundamental tenet. Let the supreme will of the pope be established, and then seven sacraments, auricular confession, mass for the dead, ministry in an unknown tongue, etc., follow, of course, as the doctrines of every body, not because every body favors them or any of them, *per se*, but because *the pope says so*. And upon that hypothesis this is certainly a sufficient answer to all objections against them.

Protestant writers are unfair, therefore, when they require papists to defend these particular doctrines on their logical, reasonable, and scriptural merits. They have never engaged to do so. They do not assume such responsibility. No Christian holds himself bound to defend all doctrines on philosophical grounds. Romanists hold that these doctrines come to us in the form of revelation. They come from the teachings of inspired men. Logical reasoning is inquiry into preliminary questions. These determine main questions. The question with papists is, therefore, the inspiration of the popes as successive Church presidents. And how is this question to be inquired into? There is no way but to inquire into the constitution or constituent elements of Church organism. If Jesus Christ made a new Church charter, as Romanists affirm, and made it upon that principle, then that settles the question, and we have no right to make further inquiry. *How* this supposed new Church charter was formed, if one was formed at all, is a purely historic question, and must be inquired into like any other matter of mere historic fact. But it is still an open question whether any new Church and new form of Church government was formed at all. If *that* vital point cannot be first established, then, of course, all the string of questions

hanging upon it go by the board. Neither the historic nor the doctrinal questions can be opened until this preliminary *fact* be established.

This is the natural attitude of Popery and Protestantism; no more nor no less so in the beginning of the sixteenth century than now. Whether the early reformers understood these points and bearings in all their natural aspects, as well as theologians ought to now, is another question. It is certain that their monarchical and arbitrary habitudes of government, and the general twilight through which they were just then emerging out of midnight gloom, as compared with our advanced condition and greater literary light, render our opportunities far, very far, greater than theirs were then. They were wise in raising, with the popish party, the fewest questions, and those most easily understood.

It should be remembered that the course of things following the split in the Church took the natural direction. The pope and his party, deeming themselves the regular, and only regular, Church authority, excommunicated the Lutherans; that is, *they said* they were excommunicated. While Luther and his associates, deeming themselves to occupy the true and only defensible Church ground, declared themselves rightly and truly in the Church, and the other party to be in the wrong.

The pope and his officers, who sided with him, refused to cooperate with the reformers. Well, the only or chief consequence of this refusal was, that the reformers must needs manage their communion and other Church matters without such co-operation. The action of both parties tended to wider and wider separation, and wider and wider separation it was. But in all this there was no going out of the Church, nor of opposition to the Church by either party. Each division of the Church maintained the regular, proper, natural ecclesiastical descent. When formally separate and in open non affiliation, as they after a while came to be, they may be called two Churches in the sense of denominations. But that sense of the word Church, while it is certainly allowable according to the written Scriptures, cannot be allowed consistently by those who hold that the Saviour organized a new Church.

As to the logical questions, the theological and ecclesiastical, in issue between the parties, a few additional observations are

needful here, but the limits of this essay require that they be brief and to the point.

Great, and long, and widespread as has been the struggle about the rightful exercise of ecclesiastical functions by the mere civil officer, there never was any pretense of authority for it. It grew out of the civil and military despotisms of the Dark Ages, and it continued to be practiced because it was supposed to be needed. The revival of letters and general spread of light and intelligence has almost wholly dispelled this unnatural feature from the Church. This is a great gain to the Protestant cause.

As to the Roman Catholic faith, about which so much is said—what this faith *is* in its details—that is a question that no man can answer, for the reason that there is not, nor was there ever, any thing written that for any long time received the general assent of Romanists that could be called a Church creed. There is, perhaps, no system of belief among men about any thing, so changeable, so variable, and, it might be added, so contradictory, in different times and countries, as what is popularly called Romanism, or the Roman Catholic religion. These details, however, as set forth by the Council of Trent, such as seven sacraments, mass, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, indulgences, etc., are but the accidental results of the one great fundamental doctrine, that the laws of religion and of Church polity are to be found in the actual doings of the Church for the time being, and not in the Scriptures. This is the fundamental issue. The Bible is the religion of Protestants; the Church is the religion of Roman Catholics. So, when any tenet becomes distasteful or inconvenient, from changes in the world around us or otherwise, you have only to get the Church to change it.

To support this doctrine we are told the Church is a number of years older than the New Testament; that the former had existence about the time of the Saviour's death, and the latter was not written for ten to forty years afterward, and not codified and in general use in the Church for two hundred years or more thereafter; so that, during this period, Christianity must have been ministered by the Church itself, without the aid of the New Testament. The New Testament came in to assist the Church; being its junior, it is subordinate.

This argument, it is apparent, can be presented at all only upon the hypothesis of a new Church and a new religion contained solely in the New Testament, whereas neither of these things are true. There was no new Church, nor does the New Testament contain any doctrine of religious faith not contained in the old. Let this fundamental Romish error be corrected at the threshold, and there is no place to begin to build, or even to state, an argument for Romanism. But let it be conceded that Christianity is a system of religion, the faith of which is *different* from the faith of the Old Testament, and that the Church, since the time of Jesus, is a new Church, with a new and divinely prescribed constitution of government, and *then* the question arises as to how this new Church was formed, and what is its faith. In this case, and in this case only, questions, many of them, arise about the "new law" of Church government, so adroitly, and with such seeming necessity and innocence, mentioned in the fourteenth article of the creed of the Council of Trent. Supposing this new law and new Church to have been then inaugurated, the questions about Peter, his supremacy, succession, etc., arise, and are to be debated; and so, questions about the government of the Church from its supposed origin to the period when the New Testament came to its aid by being generally read in the Church. All these questions arise on this hypothesis. But let the simple truth be but suggested, and no such questions can arise.

The supposition that the Church, most of it, and for a short time all of it, for many years, was governed by laws of religion, administered without the aid of the New Testament, presents nothing embarrassing. The Church is governed by the doctrines and faith of the Old Testament now. Who departs from it? It is also governed by the New, because they agree. The religion is the same.

Many portions of the Church, especially distant from Jerusalem, could not possibly know of the appearance of the Messiah and of the death and resurrection of Jesus for some time afterward. They must have opportunity to be informed. Secondly, there was no vital necessity they should be informed of it instanter. Men have now to be informed of it. Unbelief consists, as it always did, in rejecting the Saviour. And

when informed authoritatively about these facts, the information, accepted and believed, did not in the least affect their religious faith; that is, the doctrine of an atoning Christhood. They now believed, as a fact accomplished, what was formerly read in their Scriptures, as something that would happen. They did not receive a new faith, but better information in their old faith; and the piously disposed rejoiced in the information, as men do now. They now believed in the same Saviour, incarnate and crucified, that they and their fathers formerly believed in, unincarnate and uncrucified. This is the chief difference between the old dispensation and the new.

The simple truth is, that the *new law* of Church government, so silently assumed by the great Council of Trent; the new Church, with Peter or somebody else for its first president, so placidly assumed by Romish writers, and it might well be added, so strangely assented to, or at least uncontradicted, by some Protestants, is a fiction, with not a word or intimation of historic support. The thing is not only historically untrue, but philosophically impossible. A society or corporation made in that way would not be a Church.

It is not necessary to stop here to debate that question. Plainly stated, it will not bear the slightest touch of examination. The falsity is palpable. The Church *continued* through the period of the Saviour's advent, as through any other period. It necessarily underwent considerable change in several external things consequent upon the human appearance of Christ, as also several unnecessary and wicked things consequent upon the unbelief of a great number, perhaps a full half, of the Church. But these things no more affected the being of the Church than apostasy would have wrought such a result at any other time.

The question about the new government of the new Church in the first two centuries of the Christian era is no question at all. The whole supposition is a fiction. There was no such new Church to be governed. The Church of old *kept on*, and adjusted itself to the *post-Messianic* state of things here and there, and from time to time, as occasion required.

Here is the main point and pivot upon which turns the whole question of Romanism. Let this point be brought out, and the departure of Romanism from the true Church polity is

apparent. Let this fictitious new Church and new Church government be at once denied, and there can be no argument about that which never happened.

A school-boy was once asked at table what sort of a government it was that Julius Cesar established in Mexico. He paused a moment and replied that Cesar did not establish any government in Mexico; that he was never in Mexico. And the boy was commended for his historic correctness and independence of thought. And it would certainly be well if all Protestants would as readily give a like answer when called to debate with Romanists as to *what sort* of government Jesus Christ established for the Christian Church in all time.

Let this be noted: Every dispute between Protestants and Romanists, whatever particular form it may assume, is an inquiry as to *how* Jesus made the "new law of Church government," what powers he conferred and distributed here and there. Every disputed question hangs upon this. Every Romish assumption supposes this "new Church" and "new law." Romanists do not defend their several doctrines upon their scriptural merits. The furthest they feel called upon to go is to show that they *might* be tolerated by Scripture. They hold them *because* the Church says so. The Church being established so and so, with an inspired and perpetual presidency, how can its doctrines be wrong? This is their argument. Peter was officially what he was, and what his succession is, upon the sole and simple ground that the "new Church" was so formed.

Romanism should be met at this point of divergence. This is the point where it leaves the true ecclesiastical pathway, and it is the point to which it must return. The Church continued straight on through the scenes of the incarnation, as through those of the Reformation, or any other scenes, modifying from time to time not its principles, surely, but its instruments and external modes of teaching, and such matters of mere expediency as would best adjust its labors to the condition of things and state of the world around it.

Nothing can be more obvious than this—that before the human appearance of Christ in the manhood of Jesus, all true worship and teaching must necessarily look *forward* to the appearance as something then future; and that afterward all

true worship and teaching must look *back* upon his having come. How plain or how obscure the view of the future appearance was to these or to those persons before the death of Jesus is another question. It is certain this was their faith, for it was then, as it is now, written in the Old Testament. But this no more supposes a *new* Church or a new religion than it would any other great reform and revival. It is certain the apostles never changed their ecclesiastical relations, nor did any other Jews on the appearance of Christ, save those who denied the Christship in Jesus. This latter class of Jews constituted, according to the New Testament history, probably about a full half of the entire Church. The living members of the Church, in that age, who accepted Jesus as Christ, and who we see, in the Acts and Epistles, associated with the apostles in Church fellowship and called Christians, never any of them, so far as we are informed, denied Jesus, or did or said aught against him. On proper evidence they accepted him, and *kept on.*

The Romish idea of a new Church involves the further absurdity of supposing the wholesale excommunication of hundreds of thousands, yea, of millions of Church members, without the pretense of cause, without accusation, without trial, without notice, either before or after. And this widespread and unnatural exclusion from the Church was of men, women, and children, who not only never denied Christ or the Christship in Jesus, but with most of them this was impossible—physically impossible. Their distance from Jerusalem, and even from Palestine, and the slow mode of communication, were such that they could not have heard of the death of Jesus or of his later teachings, and with many of them, with any of his teachings, or of him at all; for many of them lived two or three thousand miles from Palestine, in small, unfrequented districts.

The difference, then, between the true and the Romish idea of the Church, is this:—The former regards the Church a mere Christian brotherhood, brought into association, necessarily, by the gravitating force of the love to God and love of the brethren of which all true religion consists, and making its own laws of external government. The latter supposes a new human society, in the nature of a corporation, with a prescribed

Divine law of government; the first head officer being divinely appointed, and the association to have perpetual succession, and the corporation thus formed not being defective, because divinely formed, it is inferred that the successive headship of the Church is to enjoy the same inspiration as the first. Or, in briefer language, Protestants hold the faith of written Scripture, conducting Church government under its general teachings of right and wrong, while Romanists hold whatever the Romish Church holds, and because the Church so holds.

Then where is Romanism, when once the plainest and most palpable historic facts—facts which no argument ever undertook to deny—show its entire basis to be mythical throughout? But if we unwittingly admit its premises, we may not so easily get rid of its conclusions.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be well to notice briefly the great proof-text of Romanists, which is the platform of their ecclesiastical system. It is the eighteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Matthew: "On this rock I will build my Church," etc. This, they tell us, not only states that the Saviour was about to organize a new Church, but indicates very much as to the character of the government it was to have. The reader may safely hope to see it demonstrated, that Jesus did not only not intimate that a new Church would be made, but did clearly intimate that no such thing could or would be done. It is surprising how a most palpable blunder sometimes leads to long lines of error and embarrassment.

Neither the ashes nor the living spirit of the Apostle Peter shall be disturbed in this argument. The Saviour said that *on* something which he called *rock* he would *build* his Church. *On*, in this place, means in reference to, or in pursuance of, or in consequence of, as Webster defines it. Now what does *build* mean? He would "*build*" his Church *on* or in pursuance of something. "Will build," refers to the future. So far we all agree. All now depends on the word *build*. Webster, ed. 1857, says, "In Scripture, to increase and strengthen, to cement and knit together, to settle and establish or preserve. Acts xx, 32; Eph. ii, 22; 1 Sam. ii, 35." That settles the question. He would *build* the Church; that is, he would increase, strengthen, preserve, settle, or establish it more firmly. He would do all this to his Church, the then existing Church.

The word rendered *build* is used in Scripture about seventy times or more. It is sometimes rendered *build*, and sometimes *edify*. The terms are synonymous. A *building* is an *edifice*. To build is to edify. So Milton in Paradise Lost, when he returns the Israelites from Babylon to Jerusalem, says,

"Their sacred house they first re-edify,"

and on examination it will be found that invariably, in Scripture, when *build* is referred to, or connected with, the acts of the Almighty—something that he will do, or has done, as in the present case—it refers to some well-known thing already existing, and *never* to something to come, or be brought into existence. It never, in such case, means to found, to erect, to set up anew. It is unquestionable, therefore, that Jesus, whatever he may have meant about Peter as to the Church, he meant that he would enlarge, strengthen, and bless the then existing Church.

The excuse for a whole page of explanation of so simple a matter is, that many Protestants have suffered themselves to be wheedled into the tacit adoption of the Romish view of this passage of Scripture, and so drawn into long deep-water discussions about Peter and the like.

If, therefore, we would cure the Church of the things complained of in this branch of it, it would seem best to go back and remove the cause of them. We have seen that they all hang upon the primary idea of a newly and divinely framed Church government. Let this fundamental error be corrected, and then Peter's primacy, auricular confession, worship of saints, etc., would have to stand upon their respective merits. And then it is obvious they could not stand at all.*

But if Jesus organized a new Church, he organized its government, for it has nothing else to organize. And organizing a government means arranging the powers of legislation, judi-

* We cheerfully concur with our contributor in holding the oneness of the Old Church and the New. But in his peremptory maintenance of the position that this is the fundamental question between Romanism and Protestantism we do not concur. Romanism gains as much, and perhaps more, by the maintenance of a rigorous oneness as she loses. She finds, therefore, a justification of ritualism, successionalism, excommunication, and a supreme Pontiff. We think that both the propositions, *The Church of Christ is identical with the Old Church*, and *Christ founded a new Church*, are each in their own sense true. The question, or rather a question, between Romanism and Protestantism is, rather, *In what respects are the two Churches identical and different?*—ED.

cature, and execution, which are the natural elements of government, and distributing them among selected functionaries for the efficient exercise thereof. If he did this, it is not unreasonable to suppose he appointed a head officer, or president, of some sort. And, intending the government to be permanent, he provided for perpetual succession. The first president was inspired, or the government was defective. And the inspiration was intended to continue with successive presidents, call them popes if you will, or the government was intended to degenerate. It would be difficult to see why God might not as well inspire men to govern the Church, as to write books about it.

So it is that this fundamental error opens out all these questions about holy water, blessing bells, wax candles, numerous sacraments, etc., and renders them debatable. Admitting, tacitly or otherwise, this great fundamental errror, we are obliged to wade through the issues to which it leads.

Now a peremptory denial of the premises would supersede all these questions. Not only the conclusions, but the questions themselves, go by the board inevitably and irrecoverably.

What is commonly called Romanism, that is, the religious *errors* into which the Church, under the rule of the pope, has fallen, is, like other religious errors, an offshoot from the Church. And the foregoing explanations set forth its cause and character. These errors have been, and still are, promotive of the worldly interests of quite a large number of persons, one way or another, particularly in the darker corners of Europe, in Mexico, and in Central America. Their effects upon religion are disastrous. They substitute mere external action for piety. Devotion is performed with the hand and the ear, while the heart and personal morals are uncontrolled, if not unmoved.

In Romish interests, far more than in Romish communion, are to be found quite a number of men of the first class of talent and learning. But this, if necessary, might also be said of open and decided irreligion, and, indeed, of skepticism and infidelity. Their reasoning on the subject is, however, invariably based upon the fundamental error above pointed out. And it can but be admitted that with most of these gentlemen, as their lives and conduct very plainly show, their *religion* is but a matter of party and personal preference, which they have incidentally drifted into. Perhaps not one in a

thousand would pretend that he went there in earnest search of advancement in solid piety Nineteen twentieths of Roman Catholics are among the most ignorant people, who merely follow, encouraged by the support of intelligent leaders, and because they have been taught to believe this Church furnishes a legal release from the consequences of their misconduct.

But the light of intelligence is fast penetrating even the benighted parts of Europe and Mexico. Many years ago it was plainly seen that evangelical principles were invading the Roman Catholic Church. This invasion was first and mostly in the more intelligent parts of America and Europe. While the Church retained its name and general features, it was seen to be losing its exclusive peculiarities. Its slow, silent, but sure driftings toward Protestant Churches were manifest. These attractions were first social, but the tincture of evangelical thoughts, feelings, and religious toleration could not be avoided. Popish and Protestant families intermarried, and in legal, official, and industrial pursuits they were thrown together; and while out-and-out renunciations of either Protestantism or Romanism have been very seldom, yet these numerous, silent, almost imperceptible mixings have been invariably at the expense of the latter. The confessional was armed with its most efficient weapons of defense to prevent it, and admonitions were administered in profusion; but the response came back in unmistakable language, "Behold, how you prevail nothing."

Twenty years ago and more, yea, fifty years ago and more, these things were seen and deplored by the Romish leaders. The thing needed, obviously, was deeper and wider lines of distinction. Some newer and fresher question that would provoke opposition, debate, antagonism, must be brought into requisition.

The dogma of *Immaculate Conception* was called into requisition, and with great parade and formality it was solemnly announced from the Vatican as a grave and important doctrine. And never was a greater failure. The fulmination fell absolutely still-born not only on the outside world, but upon the Church itself. It attracted no attention; it provoked not only no opposition, but no reply. It was a flash. It did not even make a report. The necessity not only continued, but increased. The Church was *suffering the agonies of toler-*

ation, and must have relief. The challenge of Immaculate Conception was neither accepted nor rejected; but without noticing it, Protestantism continued to flourish with unexampled pace, and the more tolerant was its spirit and the more friendly was its mien. Something must be done.

The next resort was to bring forth the Church itself—its heart, soul, vitals, life—put it in armor offensive and defensive, and test its very existence. The absolute supremacy or infallibility of the pope has not only been a doctrine of the Church always, for it was this very question, and none other, that was settled by the sword between the Eastern and Western Churches, in the seventh century, in favor of Rome; but it is, and has always been, the only fundamental doctrine that distinguished it as Roman Catholic from other Christian communities. And now, behold, in 1870 we have a council of all the bishops of the Church, summoned by the pope himself, to determine by debate and solemn vote whether papal supremacy is or is not a true doctrine! That is, in other words, whether this Church is a Roman Catholic Church! Is it a myth, a pious fraud we are practicing upon ourselves and the world, or is it a reality?

The very proclamation convening such a council for such a purpose was a solemn and authoritative advertisement to the world that the Roman Catholic Church no longer existed! That is, that the name, but nothing essential of the thing, remained.

Behold how the mighty is fallen! In the days of Charlemagne, and long since, there was not a prince or emperor in Europe that did not, formally at least, owe his throne to the pope. He enthroned and dethroned princes by his fulminations, and now there is not one—no, not one, not even a subaltern—so poor as to do him any thing like the ancient reverence. Italy itself has a civil government, and Rome is its capital; and the king honors the pope as a Christian minister, and readily permits him to occupy the parsonage of his Church undisturbed and under his own protection.

The Roman Catholic Church of history no longer exists, and the Œcumenical Council of 1870 is the best evidence thereof the nature of the case admits. The Council met, with its hundreds of bishops, and for six long months absolutely *debated* the question whether the Church had a pope at all or

not! That is, whether the so-called pope was a mere episcopal president, or whether he possessed the prerogatives and jurisdiction, even *in the Church*, which were always conceded to the prince of the Vatican. As to his jurisdiction in any civil matters, the Council were not called upon to decide *that* question. The pope used to be called a potentate!

When the Council met, the general impression was that not only was the question of the pope's prerogative seriously mooted, but that the Church itself would vote against it. One of the most remarkable facts in the history of ecclesiastical jurisprudence is, that this question was actually *debated* in a great Council. To moot the question at all was to inquire whether the Roman Catholic Church, as Luther found it and left it when he died, was still in existence, and to vote against it would have been to decide that now and thenceforward the Roman Catholic Church is fundamentally and constitutionally different from what the Church of that name had always been. At one time it was ascertained that more than one third of the Council was opposed to the measure.

Things looked fearful. The admission that the pope's ancient and never-questioned prerogative—never questioned except by Protestants—was now in the hands of a mere voting majority of bishops, or that it was a question in the Church at all, was an admission that the old Church, with its constitution, no longer existed; but for the Council to have voted against the question would have been to not only depose the pope, but to set up an entirely new government for the Church.

And this very question was debated day after day, week after week, and month after month. The pope and his party were afraid to bring on a vote, and so the matter was procrastinated beyond all reasonable limits in synodical debates. And when it is considered that this debate was not about something that admitted of investigation, but one which at the first blush possessed all the light the subject admitted of, it is still the more remarkable. The ancient Church was gone forever.

After the pope and his party, by all and every means, had secured all the strength to their party possible, they secured a triumphant vote of only a moderate majority. But it is the belief of many, who had the best means of knowing, that a large majority of the talent, integrity, and piety of the Church voted

in the negative. And though, as is understood, a large number of those voting in the minority have since given in their adhesion to the majority, it can hardly be matter of doubt as to what this adhesion amounts to. It amounts chiefly to employment, and somewhat to an unwillingness to take the responsibility of leading off into open Protestantism.

And after all, what does this vote amount to? *Is* the pope infallible? Does any body so regard him? Is anybody's belief changed? Does voting make infallibility? And if it could make any body believe it, what would that belief make? It was the last frantic struggle of the expiring papal power. And it is, perhaps, remarkable that the rejoicings over the sepulcher of papal power was not among Protestants, but among Roman Catholics.

The following is an extract from a letter from Dr. Hurst, dated Frankfort-on-the-Main, February 18, 1870. The *address* he speaks of was one praying the pope to declare his infallibility.

> If the address be passed, the Catholic must ever afterward say: "I believe because the pope, now declared infallible, has ordered so, and so to be taught and believed. I believe he is infallible simply because he says so himself. True, some four hundred or six hundred bishops, assembled in Rome, did resolve that the pope is infallible; but the bishops and that whole Council, save only the pope, were subject to the possibility of error. To be raised above the possibility of erring was the right and possession of the pope alone, and hence the bishops, few or many, could neither strengthen nor weaken his testimony. That dogma, therefore, could only have the force and authority which the pope gave it, since he appropriated infallibility." Thus every thing is resolved into the pope's testimony of himself, all of which is very simple. In the midst of all this, let us remember that one thousand eight hundred and forty years ago an infinitely higher One said: "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true."

Dr. Döllinger was the foremost of the German leaders against the papal power. When his course became known, addresses and encouragement flowed in upon him from every quarter of Germany. Munich gave him freedom of the city. The Roman Catholic faculties in the universities vied with secular professors, politicians, literary celebrities, schools of all grades, industrial institutions, etc., in giving him reassuring words, and imploring him to continue the fight. Dr. Döl-

linger became the theme of conversation in all circles, and of comment in all newspapers and magazines. His portrait was as familiar and as highly prized as Bismarck's.

The following is an extract from a Roman Catholic political newspaper, the *Frankfurter Journal* of February, 1870, and is only one of hundreds of similar things published during the sitting of the Council and since. It shows the feeling in some of the highest and best Roman Catholic circles.

We would serve the cause of the freedom of the German nation, and it is alone in view of its cares and hopes that we pass opinions on civil and political affairs on this as well as the other side of the Rhine, on this as well as the other side of the Alps. And it is just from this point of view that the Döllinger movement is significant and fruitful of hope. It shows life in just those sections which seemed stiffened to petrifaction; it shows an individual conviction where there seemed to reign supreme a dogmatism which submitted slavishly to every order from the Vatican; it shows the possibility, and almost even the beginning, of a new German Roman Catholic Church polity, where before every thing had been surrendered to Rome. The most important and highly respected representatives of Roman Catholic learning and culture have declared for Döllinger. The Catholic theological faculties of Bonn and Prague (to these are now added Munster and several others) are his defenders; even political characters of great note join in the movement. The course things are taking in Rome hastens the matter. The Jesuit party in the Vatican have passed a number of canons which would have aroused the indignation of the whole intelligent world if the educated world were not so far off, fortunately, as to be content simply with astonishment. Right in the face and eyes of the century, every thing is "accursed" which in moral freedom is worthy of the century—accursed by a power which exists outwardly only by aid of the dying Cesarism in Paris, and inwardly begins to quake, as Döllinger clearly shows, by the folly of the extreme party in Rome. Döllinger's protest—mark this well—dates back of the newest revelations from Rome; since these have been made, his protest has only had a more pervasive effect. Depend upon it, the opposition this side the Alps will surely increase with the violence of the measures beyond them. The affair is an eternal development; it is a most desirable phenomenon, producing blessings which no political power could bring to Germany. . . . Truly we have needed Cesarism to give new strength to the European party of freedom, and we have needed Jesuitism, with its pernicious character, to drag Catholicism up into the light of the century.

This new order of Protestants have taken far higher ground, and made far more progress, than did the former reformation in the same time.

The reformation of the sixteenth century and this, now fully, formally, and powerfully inaugurated, are essentially the same. The former did not work against the Church, but for the Church. They both seek to reform the Church, to improve it, to make it better. That part which they cannot reach, they cannot evangelize directly. They can only set before it a good example, and infuse into it, as far as may be, the evangelical spirit. The place to begin to cleanse the Church is to destroy the papal power. This is by no means a legitimate feature of the Church, but an abomination foisted upon it. There the present reformation begins. The assembling of the Council of 1870 furnishes a fit occasion, and its doings furnish abundant reasons. They declare against the power of the pope in solemn protests. They appeal to Scripture. They declare the pope is but an episcopal president. They affirm his functions to be "*ministry*, not *royalty*." They declare, in so many words, "Nothing is more explicitly condemned in the Gospel than the superiority of one above the rest." Luther sought only to deprive the pope of inordinate and unreasonable powers. Hyacinthe denies him *any* powers above other bishops, save those of mere presidency. "HE IS ONLY THE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF BISHOPS."

The relation between the Kingdom of Italy and the Roman Catholic Church may be gathered from the following incident, which is well authenticated by the Florence correspondent of the London "Daily News." King Victor Emanuel, himself Catholic, was sick, and desired to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and for this purpose a priest was sent him from Pisa. The letter, dated November 10, 1869, continues:—

> The following may be accepted as an exact version of the relations which took place between his majesty and the Church. The priest, before absolving the king, told him that it was necessary he should make an abjuration of the offenses which he had committed against the Church. His majesty replied, "As a Christian, I have lived in the faith of my forefathers, and am prepared to die in the same; as a king, imitating the example of my forefathers, I have done what my conscience, as a sovereign, commanded me to do for my country. I have always distinguished my obligations as a king from my duties as a Christian; as king I have no abjuration to make." The priest, confused by this reply, administered the sacrament; but on his return to Pisa, and report-

ing to Cardinal Corsi, the Archbishop, what had happened, he was blamed, and enjoined, on pain of Church censures, to return to San Rossore and demand the abjuration. The priest obeyed, and, returning to the couch of the sick man, delivered his message. Then the king told him, "If you come here to speak to a Christian of his approaching end, I will listen to you with calmness and with gratitude; but if you require to speak about politics, my ministers are in the next room." The reverend priest made his way back to Pisa.

The Romish boast of great Church antiquity only shows ignorance of true Church organism. Any Church that is only fifteen hundred years old is a human made, and, therefore, a false Church. Any existing Church that is truly a Church is six thousand years old. That is to say, any Church is traceable historically upward regularly, step by step, year by year, and whatever external changes may be noted, no *new* Church, then formed, is ever seen. Nevertheless, while no *new Church* is ever found in the history of Christianity, or rather of religion, separate parts of the Church have, at different times, from accidental changes, been distinguished from other portions, and so, necessarily, spoken of and known by different names. And so the Roman Catholic Church has, in distinction from other Churches, been known by that name, as before stated, since about the eighth century.

But it does not, therefore, by any means follow that that or any Church continues the *same* except in name. While the name continues from day to day, and the general outline of its features undergo no sudden change, the Church may become modified and modified until, so far as both its government and doctrines are concerned, it is quite another Church. This, as hereinbefore explained, is pre-eminently the case with the Roman Catholic Church. While the name has continued, in common parlance, the Church, in both doctrines and government, has so varied from time to time that sameness and continued existence can be reasonably predicated of the name only.

Evangelical Christianity is, slowly it may be, but steadily and surely, permeating the Roman Church. Hitherto it has been guarded out by the civil arm where that could be wielded, and where it could not, it has been vigilantly done by every imaginable artifice. The civil arm in its especial favor is

palsied forever. The Bible is sold, circulated, and read, free as air, under the very shadow of the Vatican, as well as in every other part of Europe. There are but very few dark corners of the earth where Romish sway has any foot-hold. These little spots of local mist will soon give way before the great monarch of light and truth, where the Gospel, unchained, will be preached and enjoyed every-where.

The only possible means left for the propagation of Romish principles is wielded to great disadvantage. The ordinary preaching and pastoral oversight of Roman Catholics has no effect whatever on Protestant opinions, views, or sentiments. Neither has their literature, religious, polemical, or otherwise. The infusion of Romish doctrines into Protestant communities is now done exclusively by means of their schools. Here the social intercourse is always tinctured with their religious exercises. This semi-domestic religion is made up of superstitious fancies and fascinating recreations. This, together with flattering behavior and kind personal attention, succeeds to a considerable extent with persons of strong social feeling, not armed with much strength of mind or will. When it shall be clearly seen by all that the papal power is utterly and forever at an end, then there is nothing to look to for motive force but the schools. This Roman Catholics themselves clearly see, and hence their untiring efforts to keep them alive and active.

But while those schools tend to keep Romanism alive, and Protestant folly and indiscretion are thus used to the detriment of sound morals and religion, it is still a question of much import, not easily decided, whether, in the whole process, Romanism gains more than it loses. The influence works both ways. While Romanism is being infused into Protestants, Protestantism is being infused into Romanists. It is at no small risk, therefore, that Protestant and Roman Catholic boys and girls are permitted to live, talk, play, and sing together. Strict surveillance may do a great deal, but it cannot perform impossibilities. The essence and strength of Romanism must dilute more or less in those schools. It is true, they suffer no Protestant teachers there; but children themselves are teachers, and they teach each other much more than many suppose.

Romanism can live only under protection of the civil law,

or great popular ignorance, or both. Its peculiarities disappear on the appearance of the Bible. Both never did and never can harmonize and live together. As the Bible approaches, the peculiarities of Romanism must recede.

Now, in conclusion, what is necessary or desirable about or in regard to Romanism? It is not desirable for the good of true Christianity that the Roman Catholic *Church* should become extinct, or should lessen in numbers. There is no objection to the name *Roman Catholic Church*. Neither is there any objection to the form of government it now has. There is no objection to a pope, that is, to such an office as the Pope of Rome now holds—a mere president of a college of bishops. Any episcopal Church will be very likely, whether there is any law for it or not, to fix upon one of the bishops whom they will recognize as senior bishop. The bishops must have a president, and if they do not have a permanent one they must do as Presbyterians do, elect one whenever they meet for business. Which course is best is a question of taste and expediency. There is nothing essential or vital in it. Neither are the leading or fundamental doctrines of the Romish Church erroneous. Her doctrines of the Godhead, the Christship, atonement, the inspired Scriptures, the cross, heaven, hell, sin, holiness, pardon, the Sabbath day, and others, are generally correct. They preach the Gospel, and many of them—nay, it can hardly be questioned but most of them—preach it well.

The objection is that they hamper some of these doctrines with many curious fancies not to the use of edifying, and add others not known to Scripture. These hamperings, or fringings, of good doctrines, as well as the added ones, are put in—though many of them may not know it—for the mere purpose of keeping up an exclusive distinction and conceited superiority over other Churches. But the foundations of these conceits and fancies are *removed*—never to be re-established. And as most, if not all, the serious objections to Romanism are, and have ever been, set on foot and supported, not by Scripture and reason, but by mere papal direction, it is only necessary, in order to their entire removal from the Church, that the prerogative of the pope be taken away. Then they must dilute more and more until they entirely disappear.

As before intimated, the Romish Church, or Romish opinion and sentiment, is already very much evangelized, or semi-evangelized, in much of the best regions of it. This process of evangelical infusion and absorption must continue. Nothing earthly can prevent it. Nothing has heretofore prevented it but scriptural darkness and popish rule. Christendom is drifting solidly in that direction. Let the organization continue, but let it be improved, and improved until it shall be EVANGELIZED.

French bishops may protest against educational legislation, and, possibly, for a season their protests may avail something; scientific progress may for a time be prevented; but this is the wrong era of the world to muzzle the press, or stay the march of science, or quarrel against the Word of God. The evangelical press has found a comfortable home and good employment in Rome, and in sight of the Vatican; and among its ablest writers are found some of the most talented, influential, and pious Roman Catholics the Church has ever produced. Light is rising! The doom of priestcraft has gone forth! The papal power is dead! The Bible is again unchained!

May God let the Roman Catholic Church prosper, shorn of her abominations, cleansed of her corruptions, her strength rightly directed, and her altars evangelized!

ART. V.—MOTLEY AND THE NETHERLANDS.

The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland. With a View of the Primary Causes and Movements of the Thirty Years' War. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D., etc. Two vols. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

So assured is Mr. Motley's reputation as a standard in history, that, whenever challenging public favor with something fresh from his pen, he quite forestalls opinion and criticism as to the quality and success of his work. Who does not pleasantly remember the sudden, brilliant, and almost world-wide popularity achieved, now nearly twenty years ago, by the then quite unknown author of "The Rise of the Dutch Republic?" That work at once placed Mr. Motley in the very first rank of historical writers. For all the qualities of faithfulness,

research, erudition, originality, power of statement, picturesqueness, and epigrammatic vigor of style, he has, from the first, been esteemed altogether worthy of an honored place among such writers as Irving, Prescott, and Macaulay. In this, his initial enterprise, Mr. Motley was singularly fortunate in his theme. The rise of the Dutch Republic, all will readily admit, was one of the leading events of modern times. Moreover, the detailed history of a heroic people, in their most eventful period, can but be regarded as possessed of a charm enough of itself to make the fortune of any ordinarily competent historian. This first of Mr. Motley's works, in three volumes, reciting the achievement of Dutch independence, and bringing the narrative down to the death of William the Silent, with which tragic and untimely event the heroic period of this history may be said to terminate, was followed, a few years after, by "The History of the Netherlands," in two volumes—a series which, with less attention to details, carries the story through several anxious, weary years. And now we have the "Life and Death of John of Barneveld"—a work which, though consisting not so much in a biography of that eminent statesman as in a history of his times, and particularly at that very important, yet hitherto not amply illustrated, epoch known in the Netherland annals as the "Twelve Years' Truce," still aims especially to restore to its rightful place the fame of the great Advocate whose name, though himself long one of the foremost men of Europe, while his statesmanship by no means suffers in comparison with either that of Cavour or Bismarck, had yet, in our century, strange to say, almost faded from human recollection. Lacking necessarily the dramatic interest of his earlier volumes, for the period covered by the present work, being one almost altogether of diplomacy and debate, was, of course, largely void of heroic incident and example; wanting also, as we think, to some extent in a proper arrangement—such a one as to admit of a more continuous narrative, and so of what may be called an ampler historical perspective; and, finally, it seems to us, deficient on the score of omitting, on the one hand, such an account of the services of Barneveld, previous to the year 1609, as would seem to be necessary for a correct view of his life as a whole, and, on the other, such an account of the state of Europe at the

time of the Truce as were evidently essential to a correct understanding of the remarkable period succeeding it, the volumes before us yet, we feel sure, will, on the whole, fully sustain Mr. Motley's reputation, not only as an historian, but as the greatest authority concerning one of the chief episodes in the history of European peoples. Nor is the story all told yet. Leaving at length the narrow precincts of the Netherlands, and, in a sense, taking all Europe for his field, Mr. Motley now enters upon his record of the so-called Thirty Years' War. Most cordially do we wish him good-speed to his narrative of this next act in the drama of European history, some of whose premonitory symptoms he has already, in the work before us, so ably and so vividly described, and to the scenes of which, no doubt, his practiced and still active hand will give new life and spirit. When completed, this series manifestly will form a fine, continuous story, of which both the writer and the nation may well be proud; a narrative which, in the language of another, "will remain a prominent ornament of American genius," while it will permanently enrich English literature on the other hardly less than on this side of the Atlantic.

As already intimated, Mr. Motley has some rare qualifications for the task long since undertaken, and still in process of successful accomplishment. His powers as a descriptive writer are of a very high order. His works abound in specimens of animated narrative, and of pictorial representation seldom if ever excelled. "Not easily, indeed," says a late critic, "could we mention another historian who possesses so fully the art of bringing the actors and localities of the past back into reality and into the very presence of his readers." He has, moreover, had the advantage of access to original documents and authorities. With most exemplary patience and zeal he seems to have ransacked the archives of the Hague, Brussels, and London, rummaging among musty State-papers, and deciphering unprinted and almost undecipherable letters, and compiling from the same an important, entertaining, and very instructive chapter of universal history. Still further, he has the qualification, not only of being himself a practical and accomplished diplomatist, and of being withal personally deeply in sympathy with the movement whose history he writes—identifying himself, indeed, with the spirit of the Netherlanders with so

keen a zest as to find therein a constant *stimulus* to his industry and love of research; but, besides, he has the qualification of understanding the federal system of government, as only one who has thoroughly studied the system of the United States can understand it, and without which knowledge no one can well comprehend, much less intelligently set forth, the peculiarly complex relations of the States and general Government in the Netherlands.

Mr. Motley has been charged with writing history, not so much as a judge, as an advocate, and even as a partisan. Not that any one believes him capable of intentionally misrepresenting, or dealing dishonorably with his facts; but it is alleged that, being moved by intense sympathies, he is betrayed often into writing as an intense partisan. Of course, in order that his statements be entitled to credit, if he would have his judgments possess any value for his readers, the writer of history must manifestly be unbiased, disinterested, impartial. Not only must he nothing extenuate, but he must set down absolutely nothing in malice. He must be always interested to know the exact truth; so to look upon all sides of his subject as to present facts in their proper relations to each other, and to form opinions which shall evidently be the result of judicial and discriminating inquiry. He must, in a word, consult documents, and balance witnesses over against one another, not so much for the sake of proving or fortifying any particular position or preconceived opinion, as to elicit truth, and to arrive at enlightened and reliable judgments. We have yet to be convinced that Mr. Motley has seriously offended this canon of historical criticism—the law of judicial and discriminating impartiality. It is true that his statements are sometimes to be taken with several grains of allowance—the ardor of his feelings leading him to lay on them a stress calculated, perhaps, to convey a partially false impression. But that his sketch of Charles V. is a "burlesque," and his portrait of Philip II. "a grotesque caricature," there is no sufficient reason to believe. In devout sympathy with his theme, Mr. Motley kindles with the same often into a fervor which to the cold critic of the printed page may seem a little overdone; but that he writes with the spirit of the demagogue or partisan we are hardly prepared to admit. True, from his portrait of that

unique monster of iniquity, Philip of Spain, "few of the combined vices of Tiberius, Claudius, and Domitian are absent," finding in no "dwarf Laurin, or sprite Rubezahl, or elf-king, or gnome-king, any image nearly so despicable." This, however, is, we are convinced, the fault, not of the writer, but of his subject. We may not always agree with our author in his selection and grouping, or even in the general coloring of his facts; yet must we concede to him, we think, absolute candor and historic truth, so far as the facts themselves are concerned.

In the mean time we are not of those who hold that enthusiasm in an historian is a mortal sin; that fervor is incompatible with faithfulness or dignity; that to be "judicial" one must write with perfectly cool faculties; that his pages must be as leaden and bloodless as those of an almanac, a dictionary, or an encyclopedia. Let the historian, like any other writer, write warmly, *con amore*, as if he cared for what he is writing about. What if his words do pulse with, and his descriptions are somewhat colored by, the ardor born of his intense love of truth, devotion to justice, detestation of tyranny, and zeal for the rights of man. A slight overplus of feeling, under such circumstances, were far more pardonable than the impartiality of indifference.

But Mr. Motley has by no means been insensible to the peculiar temptations he was under in this connection. He well says:—

> It is difficult to contemplate his (the Prince of Orange's) character at this period without being infected with a perhaps dangerous enthusiasm. It is not an easy task coldly to analyze a nature which contained so much of the self-sacrificing and the heroic; and it is almost impossible to give utterance to the emotions which naturally swell the heart at the contemplation of so much active virtue without rendering one's self liable to the charge of excessive admiration. Through the mists of adversity a human form may dilate into proportions which are colossal and deceptive, and thus our judgment unwittingly be led captive. But when, especially, the cause of the champion is that of human right against tyranny, of political and religious freedom against an all-engrossing and absolute bigotry, it is still more difficult to restrain veneration within legitimate bounds.

While as it regards those conspicuous enemies of mankind with whom our author has had to deal, he, with equal propriety, observes, "To extenuate would be base, to exaggerate, impossible."

We have already more than hinted that Mr. Motley had been singularly happy in the choice of his theme. The grounds of popular interest in that memorable movement in the Netherlands, in the sixteenth century, in favor of constitutional freedom and national independence, are deep and permanent. In the first place, no one can well help being interested in whatever seriously concerns or affects humanity. Besides, the spectacle of a brave nation, inspired by an unconquerable love of liberty, rising against an overwhelming despotism, and indomitably resisting its encroachments, will always speak to the heart from generation to generation. Haarlem, Leyden, and Alkmaar—names hallowed by deeds of heroism such as have seldom, if ever, illustrated human annals—breathing, as they do, a trumpet-tongued and perpetual defiance to despotism, can but always stir the pulses of every truly patriotic heart.

The Dutch Republic came into being under circumstances of peculiar and thrilling import. The splendid dynasty of Charles V., as has been well said, "was erected upon the grave of Liberty." Under the reign of his infatuated successor, the world was permitted to behold the gradual but triumphant resurrection of that spirit over which the sepulcher had so long been sealed. From that mere hand-breadth of territory known as the Province of Holland—that slender strand of "ancient thicket and morass"—there rose, three hundred years ago, a power which, for scores of years, waged a determined and unrelenting warfare with the most potent empire on earth. Itself, from the outset, an organized protest against ecclesiastical tyranny and universal empire, it is seen, during the very progress of the aforesaid struggle, to become a mighty State, and at length, having meantime bound about its own slender form a zone of the richest possessions of earth, to step forth and virtually dictate its decrees to this same terribly puissant empire of Charles.

Again. It has been very well said that such is the relationship between the whole human family, that, even while struggling for itself, no nation can avoid at the same time also acquiring something for all mankind. If in no other way, nations, as individuals, teach by example; and to the Dutch Republic the world must be regarded as indebted for practical instruction in that great science of political equilib-

rium, which becomes important in proportion as States, closely pressed, jostle each other in their feverish, and often fatal, struggles for pre-eminence; and withal for those shining examples of disinterested human genius and virtue, of patriotic self-sacrifice and devotion to human rights, which, truly, can but greatly encourage all lovers of human progress, as well as believers in the capacity of nations for self-government and self-improvement. Whatever may be the final issue of any contest, a glorious precedent, once established, never loses its power. If fighting for man, the hero "conquers though he dies." Though as a nation, long since dwindled to abject feebleness and insignificance, yet none the less, from that once bleak, but most valiantly defended, territory of Holland, the light of freedom is destined ever to stream forth upon struggling humanity in Europe and throughout the world.

To all English-speaking people especially, the history of that long agony through which the Republic of Holland was ushered into life must have a peculiar interest, since it must be regarded as really a portion of the records of that great Anglo-Saxon family which is essentially the same, whether in Friesland, England, or Massachusetts, and which, however or wherever scattered, still traces its political existence back to this same fatherland, and to this same parent spring of human liberty.

For America the spectacle is one of still deeper import. No other nation, for example, is so well qualified to profit by the results of this memorable Netherland movement; while certainly by none upon whom so large and heavy a responsibility for the maintenance of free institutions rests as upon us, can the lessons of history, and the fate of free States, ever be too deeply pondered. No other nation, either, can, on the score of its own struggles and sacrifices for independence, be said to have as much in common with the Dutch as this, our great Western, Republic. Originating, as that did, "in the opposition of the rational elements of human nature to sacerdotal dogmatism and persecution, in the courageous resistance of historical and chartered liberty to foreign despotism," can we, indeed, in whose Anglo-Saxon veins flows so much of that ancient kindred blood, received from a race that could never brook any tyrant's insolence, fail to look with most affectionate interest upon the trials and triumphs of this elder commonwealth.

More than this. The antecedents of these Netherlanders, political and religious as well as ethnic, may, in a sense, be considered our own. This very Netherland struggle of the sixteenth century was, in reality, a work done for us as truly as our own war of the Revolution, or our more recent resistance against the slaveholders' rebellion. It is not, indeed, that we here meet so early with the name of "The Republic" that we turn with so strong a relish to, and linger with such unabated interest over, the history of the Low Countries. Venice had her republic; so had Florence, and Geneva, and Athens, and Rome. But these brave and sturdy burghers are seen, amid their dunes and ditches, arraying their breasts, like one of their own broad, strong dykes, against, and successfully resisting, an oceanic tide of papal and imperial influence which must have otherwise swept over all Europe, precluded the possibility of the "Mayflower" enterprise, and so, perhaps, barred forever the gates of this western world against the spirit of rational human freedom.

It has been objected to Mr. Motley, in certain high quarters,* that he writes of the Low Countries as though "in them was the center of interest in the sixteenth century; as if not only the history of military affairs, but every-where in politics and thought, the Low Countries were right in the foreground, starting and proclaiming the prospectus of independence." This critic takes occasion, at considerable length, to remind us that, in his judgment, to Geneva is, for the most part, to be traced the mainsprings of such lives as that of Barneveld, and the ideas embodied in the institutes of the Dutch Republic. It may not be denied that, as a center of letters, culture, and education, Geneva, long associated with the very highest ideas of genius, eloquence, and learning, was a source of intellectual life to all Europe. But though thus, in a sense, the school-house of the Reformation, its power was yet mainly indirect; whereas the Netherlands, guided not so much by ideas as by a stern, practical necessity, as a matter of fact, bearded the lion, so to speak, in his den; engaged in a hand-to-hand, life-and-death grapple with the monster tyranny, and finally flung him headlong.

It has been well said that the two political powers which were

* The "London Quarterly Review."

overshadowing civilization in the sixteenth century were the imperial system as administered by Charles V., and the hierarchical system as represented by such a ruler as Leo X. Now, whatever the value of Geneva, as an example of the possible existence of Christianity without the Roman papacy, and of civilization without the imperial system—exploding, truly, a mass of political and ecclesiastical superstitions, and instead, giving us a genuine religious zeal and discipline, a rational and logical statesmanship—the great Netherland revolution derives its proper significance and singular importance from the fact that, under God, it resulted in the practical, if not permanent, overthrow of this twofold despotism—in shattering the scepters and in subverting the thrones of Imperialism and Papacy.

To the thoughtful student of history, besides, it will, we think, appear that to the Netherland Protestants we are indebted largely for having specially consummated the work of the Reformation. In France this great movement had at length been checked, and was being effectually held in suspense by the miserable Machiavellian policy of Catherine de Medici—that of balancing one party against another, so as by neutralizing every other power, to succeed in establishing and aggrandizing her own. In Germany this same movement, half-complete, had also been quite suspended by the religious peace of Augsburg. Here, it should be remembered, only the princes thus far, not the people, had "protested" against, and conquered, Rome; and hence to the princes, not to the people, had inured the benefits of victory—the spoils of the churches, and liberty to worship according to conscience. "The princes had got the Augsburg Confession and the abbey lands into the bargain; the peasants had got the Augsburg Confession without any abbey lands, and were at liberty, meanwhile, to believe exactly what their masters were themselves pleased to believe." This was not only the German-Lutheran, sixteenth-century idea of religious freedom, but nearly, if not quite, all that the distinctively German-Lutheran Reformation may be said to have amounted to. In the mean time, the life even of this movement was rapidly dying out. Where there had been enthusiasm there was apathy. Where there should have been combined and generous effort, there was parsimony and cowardice. Having grown fat and contented on the spoils of the

Church, these German princes seem to have become quite indifferent to the interests of spiritual religion alike at home and abroad—lending an utterly deaf ear, for example, to their struggling brethren of the United Provinces, battling there though they had been, year after year, knee deep in blood, amid blazing cities and on inundated fields, breast to breast with Italian and Spaniard, and with the ax, the fagot, and the rack of the Holy Inquisition distinctly visible behind them. Having degenerated into a mere politico-ecclesiastical party, the German Reformation had, toward the close of the sixteenth century, become practically effete; while, such even as it was, it was being rapidly and effectually undermined by the steady and stealthy encroachments of the Jesuits. To the Netherlands, accordingly, this great contest was, under God, transferred; here, during the rest of the century, to be fought out, and so fought out as to bring the fruits of it down to the people, and to identify the same forever with the rights of man.

We are supremely interested, then, in the history of this Batavian Republic, not because of our fondness of its name merely, much less because of any broad domain it ever possessed. It is not physical magnitude, or geographical extent, that gives localities their historical importance. Physically considered, what is Calvary as compared with Mont Blanc? and yet of how much more import the former to the historian, the philosopher, and the poet? The peninsulas of Italy and Greece, and the hills of Palestine, are intrinsically of but little account, yet have they been written about more than all the world besides. It is manifestly the moral issues, the human interests associated with places; the relation they sustain to the progress or civilization of mankind that invests them with importance—that causes them widely and permanently to occupy the consideration of thoughtful men. Waterloo is of no consequence in itself, yet, as it was the scene of a contest that largely decided the fate of Europe, the historian would be at utter fault who did not give it a conspicuous place in his narrative. So the Netherlands, as one of the decisive battle-grounds of the Reformation—as the scene of one of those Waterloo contests that have effectually paved the way for our modern free institutions—free thought, free speech, liberty of con-

science and religious toleration—command our thoughtful study and glowing admiration.

But who were these Netherlanders? What was their extraction, and through the discipline of what schools and schoolmasters did they become what they were? It is always interesting and instructive to trace the feeblest beginnings—the early rise and progress of great and powerful communities or States.

I. The countries called the Netherlands, or Low Countries,* embracing the modern kingdoms of Belgium and Holland, and inclosed between France, Germany, and the sea, occupy the north-west corner of the vast plain which extends from the German Ocean to the Ural Mountains. "Three great rivers—the Rhine, Meuse, and Scheld—had deposited their slime for ages among the dunes and sand-banks heaved up by the ocean around their mouths. A delta was thus formed, habitable at last for man. It was by nature a wide morass, in which oozy islands and savage forests were interspersed among lagoons and shallows; a district lying partly below the level of the ocean at its highest tides, subject to constant overflow from the rivers, and to frequent and terrible inundations by the sea." Here within a half-submerged territory, dwelling largely upon mounds raised by artificial means above the almost fluid soil, lived a race who eventually chained the tyrant ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, and forced them to fertilize and render commodious a country thus wrested, as it were, from their own destructive grasp. A race engaged thus for generations in stubborn conflict with the angry elements was unconsciously educating itself for its great struggle with the still more savage despotism of man. Strange as it may appear that such a "low," "nether," land as this, belted about by its shaggy, stunted forests, and quaking, for the most part, beneath the level of the ocean, should have ever tempted the cupidity, or been deemed worthy of the arms, of the all-accomplished Roman; yet, for some reason, foreign tyranny seems ever to have lusted after this meager territory, while, at the same time, the genius of liberty has here also inspired as noble and heroic a resistance to oppression as ever it aroused in Grecian or Italian breasts.

* Low-land, Nether-land, Hollow-land, or Holland.

II. As to the aboriginal inhabitants of this land, history does not positively speak. Cesar, who has saved from oblivion the heroic savages that, with such ferocious but unfortunate patriotism, fought against his legions in defense of their miserable homes, informs us that he found here two powerful races, Celtic, and Teutonic or Germanic. The Belgæ, of Celtic extraction, and constituting, perhaps, the bulk of the population, were largely devoted to agriculture; and though in many respects a superior race, were yet, it appears, singularly unchaste—many tribes living in most revolting and incestuous concubinage.

The Germans embraced two remarkable tribes. On the north dwelt the great Frisian family; while on a certain Rhine island, formerly depopulated by a flood, there had settled a company of exiles—an expatriated portion of a powerful German race called the Chatti, and known themselves as the Batavi, from their island home: *Bet-auw*, or "good meadow." These Batavians, as, indeed, their proper nationality itself sufficiently indicates, were pre-eminently a warlike race, said by Tacitus to have been the bravest of all the German tribes.* Their cavalry, at one time renowned, in the Roman army, upon every battle-field of Europe, were the favorite troops of Cesar, and with reason, for it was their valor, it is said, that turned the tide at the battle of Pharsalia. For many years the Batavian legion constituted the imperial body-guard, while their warriors, so numerous and influential were they in the Roman army, at one time really held the balance of power in the empire. Hardy, resolute, indomitable, could the many valuable but contrasted characteristics of this Belgo-Germanic people have been early and effectually fused into a whole it would be difficult, indeed, to point out a race by nature more richly endowed for progress and dominion. Had Providence permitted such a fusion, a world-empire might have been the result, different, in many respects, from any which has ever arisen. As it was, out of such elements as these was wrought a nation which, in the distant future, after a long and desperate conflict, was destined not only to trample out of existence every vestige of the authority of its oppressor, but to take its rank among the leading nations of the earth.

* German, Ger-mann, Heer-mann, war-man.

It should be observed, however, that in this composite nation the Batavian or Teutonic stock greatly predominated over the Celtic, and, doubtless, constituted the real pith and marrow of the Netherland people. William the Silent himself may be regarded as having his prototype in that great Batavian hero, Claudius Civilis, than whom no more gallant, gifted, or patriotic military chieftain ever took the field. Alike of ancient German stock and of noble race, and withal trained in the arts of war and peace, in the service of a foreign and haughty world-empire, both were naturally characterized by such positive and heroic elements as determination, concentration of purpose, self-denial, constancy in calamity, consummate political craft, personal fortitude, and passionate patriotism. After having served for twenty-five years in the Roman armies, Claudius Civilis, by his courage, eloquence, and talent for political combination, succeeded in effecting the first great confederation of all the Netherland tribes, Celtic and German, and with these attempted what proved to be the impossible task of throwing off the Roman yoke—a contest, however, containing, in many important respects, a remarkable foreshadowing of that future conflict with Spain, through which, some fifteen centuries later, the Batavian Republic was finally to be founded.

III. The development of the political character and polity of the Netherlanders is specially interesting; for to no people in the world more than to the stout burghers of Flanders and Holland, it has been well said, belongs the honor of having audaciously and perennially battled in behalf of human rights. The "free Frisians," whose name, indeed, is synonymous with liberty, were ever ardent lovers of freedom. The Feudal system never took root in their soil. "The Frisians," says their ancient statute book, "shall be free as long as the wind blows out of the clouds and the world stands." The primitive Batavians also were ardent republicans. Rome made them her allies, not her slaves. Neither priest-ridden nor king-ridden, their chieftains were elected in the great assembly of the people, and by universal suffrage. Under their subsequent imperial masters—first the Roman, then the Frank—of course these old Batavian forms faded away—the administrative authority over the provinces being vested, not in the great popular assembly, as in the ancient German epoch, but in

governors or satraps, creatures of the king, and appointed at the distant metropolis.

The monarchy of the Franks in the sixth and seventh centuries, embracing all the Netherlands, was followed by the empire of Charlemagne. Upon the breaking up of the latter in the ninth century, certain nobles, having wrested the sovereignty of the little territories, over which they had been appointed respectively to preside, from the feeble descendants of the former emperor, proceeded to erect the same into petty dynasties, owning only a very limited species of allegiance to the now loose, disjointed empire. The whole country thus became broken up into patches and shreds of sovereignty, one of which, the territory of Holland, that narrow sandy hook of land destined in future ages to be the cradle of a considerable commonwealth, falling to Count Dirk, who, as the first of the long line of the Counts of Holland, became the great ancestor of Philip II. No less than seven of these trifling dynasties—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overessel, Groningen, Drenthe, and Friesland—were crowded together upon that little desolate corner of Europe: that obscure fragment of Charlemagne's broken empire which was afterward to constitute the United States of the Netherlands, one of the most powerful Republics of history.

Meantime, the aforesaid functionaries, having now become sovereigns, and as such armed with an hereditary right to tax and own the people, most heavily laid the rod of oppression upon the latter—every petty baron becoming a burglar, and even the bishop, too often, a consecrated pirate—the people, meanwhile, shorn and butchered like sheep, esteeming it a privilege to sell themselves into slavery, or to huddle themselves, in their mud-built, straw-thatched hovels, beneath the castle walls of some little potentate for the sake of his wolfish protection. Strange to say that here at last, in these squalid abodes of misery and ignorance, the fair genius of liberty is to descend to awaken mankind from its sloth and cowardly stupor. Five long centuries, however, are first to succeed—five dismal centuries of feudalism, during which there is little talk of human right, but much mustering of physical forces. Impregnable castles dot the level surface of the country, and mail-clad knights encamp permanently upon the soil. The fortunate fable of divine

right is invented to sanction and perpetuate this order of things, while the sword, as the representative of brute force, bears universal sway. Commerce, however, at length, begins to leaven the lump, and, gradually, to change the aspect of society. Clusters of hovels became towered cities. Fishermen and river-raftsmen became ocean adventurers, distinguished for the intrepid spirit with which they pushed their voyages into distant and unknown seas. Needy Flemish weavers became mighty manufacturers, and petty traders merchant princes. In a word, the once half-drowned Holland, by her extended commerce, has been plucked up, covered with a beneficent net-work of watery highways, and put in connection with all the furthest ends of the earth. More than this, gold, wresting power from the sword, has qualified the honest burgher at last to confront the haughty baron without fear. The mighty power of the purse extorts municipal liberty, and the age of rapine, violence, and bloodshed passes away. There is as yet nothing like an organized, civilized republican polity; yet the democratic instincts of the ancient German savages are beginning to revive in the breasts of their cultivated descendants. To his naturally bold and hardy character is being added, with the lapse of years, a spirit of enterprise, together with such enlarged and liberal views as are constantly fitting the ancient Netherlander more and more for taking part in the great concerns of the community. No claim to any thing like human rights as yet is thought of; yet, as a matter of fact, as they increase in wealth and importance, the cities make their own laws, extorting from time to time charters, the concession of important political privileges, all calculated to establish the independence of the citizen, all fragments of that larger liberty that is to come by and by.*

Hard on the heels of the cities press the footsteps of the outlying communities. By degrees the better class of citizens and traders build better and stronger houses outside the castle

* Early in the fourteenth century the six chief cities, or capitals, of Holland, including Dort, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, and Amsterdam, not, to be sure, as aggregations of individuals, but as wealthy and powerful corporations, wheeled into the feudal ranks and assumed feudal powers and responsibilities—having acquired the right to send their deputies to the estates of the Provinces, and constituting, accordingly, henceforth, with the nobles, the parliamentary power of the nation.

gates. The nobles, anxious to increase their own importance, favor the progress of the little borough. The population thus collecting divide themselves into guilds. These, in time, are erected into bodies corporate, created by charters granted by the sovereign. Thus organized, and inspired with civic life, the communities of Holland and Flanders begin to move rapidly forward, and to assume the appearance of prosperous little republics. And thus in those lands which a niggard nature had apparently condemned to perpetual poverty and obscurity, the principle of human freedom, without which there is no national prosperity or glory worth contending for, was taking deepest and strongest root.* Already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Friesland was a republic, except in name. Holland, Flanders, and Brabant had acquired a large share of self-government. The principal commercial cities enjoyed almost republican freedom. In a word, the great commonwealth, at a later period, to be evolved out of the memorable combat between centralized tyranny and the spirit of civil and religious liberty, was already foreshadowed. "The elements of which that important and powerful republic were to be compounded were germinating for centuries—love of freedom, readiness to strike and bleed in her cause, and a manly resistance to despotism, however overwhelming, having been the leading characteristics of this race in all regions and periods, whether among Frisian swamps, Dutch dykes, the gentle dales and hills of England, or the pathless forests of America."

True, the Netherlanders had their vicissitudes and tribulations. In fact, through the whole Burgundian period,† and

* "The people, conscious of their power, gradually extorted from their rulers so many concessions, that the provinces formed, in reality, a democracy, and were only nominally subject to the monarch of France and his nobles. When the rest of Europe was subject to despotism, and involved in comparative ignorance and barbarism, the courts of the counts of Flanders was the chosen residence of liberty, civilization, and useful knowledge; and when the ships of other nations scarcely ventured beyond the sight of land, those of the Flemish merchants traversed the ocean, and Bruges and Antwerp possessed the commerce and wealth of the north of Europe."

† In 922 Charles the Simple, successor of Charlemagne, created by letters patent the first Count of Holland, and the dukedoms of Brabant, Luxemburg, Limburg, and Gueldres. Before the thirteenth century the countships of Flanders, Zeeland, and several other provinces and cities, were established. The

even until the rise of the republic, liberty here, save several brilliant but fitful, transient illuminations, seemed to remain under an almost perpetual eclipse. And yet, through all those dark years, this people resolutely struggled on toward the light, wresting from a series of petty sovereigns a gradual but practical recognition of the claims of humanity. Often baffled and defeated, the combat is as often renewed. Though often crushed, liberty rises again and again, and always with redoubled energy rearing age after age, her invincible bulwarks against the despotic principle. Under the yoke of that reckless, graceless despot, Charles the Bold, the Netherlanders were bowed quite to the earth, yet the moment that mailed hand is removed by the tyrant's death, with one fierce bound of enthusiasm the nation, spurning their chains, exact, at the hands of the gentle Mary, all their ancient, solemnly-sworn privileges, claiming, withal, what is known as the Great Privilege—that Magna Charta of the Netherlands—a very reasonably liberal constitution, guaranteeing the provinces twice the liberty enjoyed at that day anywhere else upon the earth, and though subsequently grossly violated, and even abolished, by Maximilian, yet, really, becoming the foundation of the future republic. Under all the circumstances—occupying a soil which, as we have seen, had been redeemed with infinite perseverance and toil from the waters; born to certain chartered rights and municipal liberties, earned by hardly less self-denying and persevering effort, can we be surprised that these Flemings were not swift to lay these down at Cesar's feet which they had never received from him; that when, accordingly, Philip II. assumed with characteristic audacity to trample on these—attempted to crush out every spark of freedom and patriotism in the Netherlands, this people, almost

most powerful of these potentates was the Count of Flanders, whose dominions, in 1383, fell to the house of Burgundy; and in 1437 Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, by inheritance, purchase, through force and fraud, became master of the entire Netherlands. For upward of a century this house and its heirs remained undisputed sovereigns of this soil. Philip the Good was followed by his son, Charles the Bold, whose daughter, the beautiful Mary, by the archduke, afterward emperor of Austria, became the mother of Philip the Fair, who in turn, by Joanna of Spain, became the father of Charles V. Through the females of this house, it will be seen, the Netherlands became a possession of the House of Hapsburgh, and thus passed ultimately under the supreme authority of Philip of Spain.

as one man, and largely irrespective of religious creed, rose in defense of these imperiled rights—buckling on the sword, indeed, for a struggle of forty years, nor sheathing it until they had effectually lowered the crest of their haughty oppressor.

IV. And yet, as ardent as was their love of liberty, as strong as was their instinct of local independence and self-government, and as jealous accordingly as they were of any encroachments upon their ancient, time-honored privileges, it may be doubted whether the instinct of political freedom alone would have sustained these Netherlanders in that long and fearful contest; whether the bonds which united them to the Spanish crown would have ever been broken, but for a still stronger passion by which so large a portion of the people were animated. While the house of Burgundy was rapidly curtailing the political privileges of the Netherlands, little seeds, long since sown, were already silently germinating, which, in the process of their future gigantic development, were effectually to undermine the foundations of tyranny and overshadow the world.

It will hardly be necessary to say that, in order to a proper comprehension of the great Netherland revolt, a rapid survey of the distinctively religious phenomena exhibited in these provinces were important.

The Celts, we are informed, were the slaves of Druidic superstition. Though knowing but little of that wild theology, yet, in view of its evidently sanguinary rites, "the imagination shudders to penetrate those shaggy forests, ringing with the death shrieks of ten thousand human victims, and with the hideous hymns chanted by blood and smoke-stained priests to the savage gods whom they served." The German, in his simplicity, rose to a far purer belief than either the sensuous Roman or the superstitious Gaul. He believed in a single supreme, almighty God—*All-Vater*, All Father—a divinity too sublime to be incarnated, too infinite to be inclosed with temples made with hands; the Great Unseen, to be revealed to the reverent eye of faith alone. Thus, within that little river territory, amid those obscure morasses of the Rhine and the Scheld, three great forms of religion—the sanguinary superstition of the Druid, the sensuous pantheism of the Roman, and the elevated, but dimly groping, creed of the German—stood for centuries face to face, until, having mutually debased and destroyed

each other, they all faded away in the pure light of Christianity.

Christianity was introduced into the Netherlands about the middle of the eighth century. The first to receive it were the Frisians, nearest blood relation of the Anglo-Saxons, and into which German tribe the old Batavian element had melted, not, however, to be extinguished, but rather to live a renovated existence. This people now occupied the northern portion of the country, including the whole future territory of the Dutch Republic. Subjugated by the Franks, the conqueror took possession of Utrecht, and founded there the first Christian Church in Friesland.* The proper conversion of the Frisians to Christianity was mainly the work of their brethren from Britain. An Anglo-Saxon missionary, Willibrod, having destroyed the images and abolished the worship of Woden, founded Churches in North Holland, and was rewarded for his zeal with extensive domains about Utrecht, and by subsequently being consecrated the first bishop of all the Frisians. Thus arose the famous episcopate of Utrecht. The precise date of these important transactions is unknown. It is known, however, that previous to the reign of Charlemagne the conversion of this people had become so general that churches and monasteries already existed in various parts of the country.

This people, meantime, who had so steadfastly refused the feudal chain, were now by no means eager to receive the Papal yoke. Heresy was a plant of early growth, and seems always to have found a congenial soil in the Netherlands—the land in which all the early sects were to be cradled—finding there multitudes of converts and thousands of martyrs. From the first, many, waging with the power and depravity of the Church an unequal and perpetual warfare, laid down their lives on the

* An amusing story is told of the way in which a bishop's indiscretion just at this juncture effectually neutralized the apostolic blows of the conqueror. When the captive pagan chief had already immersed one of his royal legs in the baptismal font, it occurred to him to inquire, "Where are my dead forefathers?" "In hell, with all unbelievers," was the bishop's imprudent reply. "Very well," said the king, removing his leg, "then will I rather feast with my ancestors in the halls of Woden, than dwell with your little starveling band of Christians in heaven." Entreaties and threats were unavailing. He positively declined a rite that was to cause, as he thought, an eternal separation between himself and his kindred; and he died, as he had lived, a heathen.

altar of their faith, fertilizing thus with their blood the future fields of the Reformation.

The Reformation early took deep and vigorous root in the Netherlands. Persecution followed. Too shrewd a politician not to recognize the connection between aspirations for religious and political freedom, the hand of the Emperor Charles was ever uplifted to crush, if possible, both heresies at once. To this end imperial edicts, written in blood, supplemented by the papal Inquisition, were issued and promptly enforced. The first victims to Lutheranism in the provinces were two Augustine monks, who, July 1, 1523, were burned at Brussels. These fires, once enkindled, were not suffered to go out. Burning reformers was so much easier than arguing with them; the scaffold was so much more convenient and conclusive than a syllogism, that the ax and the fagot, under the auspices of both papal and imperial decree, were kept constantly at their deadly work.

But the time comes when Charles V., after having done what he could, consistently with his cherished political interests, to crush out the reformation in the Netherlands—inflicting on that unhappy land, indeed, a curse which required a war of eighty years to remove—abdicates in favor of his son; and now the long and tremendous tragedy of Philip II. begins.

At the accession of the latter, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Netherlands, or Flanders, as the country was then usually called, comprehended seventeen provinces or States, which, under the various denominations of duchies, counties, and lordships, maintained each an independent existence under the rule of their own respective princes. In their institutions these States bore a striking resemblance to each other, especially in the extent of the immunities conceded to the citizens as compared with those enjoyed in most of the countries of Christendom. When brought together under one scepter, they acknowledged fealty to the sovereign only on condition of his solemnly promising to recognize their constitutional privileges. They combined as one nation usually only for purposes of defense. Meanwhile, at the time the scepter passed from the palsied hands of Charles V. into those of Philip II., no more prosperous or promising nation existed—"its broad plains teeming with the products

of an elabrate culture; its cities swarming with artisans skilled in all kinds of ingenious handicraft; its commerce abroad upon every sea, and bringing back rich returns from distant climes;" the great body of its people well advanced in the arts of civilization, and rejoicing in an abundance of all things needful in order to their welfare. What wonder that, in this active development of their powers, the inquisitive, restless mind of this people turns to those great problems in religion which were then agitating also the neighboring countries of France and Germany, and with so much force that all the efforts of Charles to check this spirit of inquiry has proved quite unavailing? In the last year of his reign the emperor had literally confessed the total failure of his endeavor to stay the progress of heresy in the Netherlands. "Well," says an eminent historian, "had it been for his successor had he taken counsel by the failure of his father, and substituted a more lenient policy for the ineffectual system of persecution. Such, however, was not to be the policy of Philip."

The Emperor Charles, having from the first greatly desired to regard the Netherlands not as separate provinces but as a whole, most cordially hated all those "antiquated charters and obstinate" privileges that seriously interfered with his ideas of symmetry. These charters were certainly sufficiently limited. The natural rights of man were topics as yet never broached. Up to this hour no one ever doubted that sovereignty was heaven-born. Rights hitherto were conceived of as special, not general; plural, not singular. "Liberties," not liberty; "privileges," not maxims, were all that, as yet, had been dreamed of. They were practical, not theoretical; historical, not philosophical, in their character. Still, such as they were, to those plain Netherlanders, always passionate for nationality, municipal freedom, and for religious reformation, they were *facts*, not abstractions; positive acquisitions, absolute possessions, purchased for them by the blood and toil of generations of brave ancestors, and accordingly, however open to criticism upon broad humanitarian or philosophical grounds, amounting, in their judgment, to a solid, substantial dyke against that arbitrary power which was ever fretting and chafing to destroy its barriers.

Hardly now was Philip seated upon his ancestral throne,

when, notwithstanding his most solemn oaths to the contrary, it became but too painfully manifest that he fully intended to succeed to the traditions of his father—that his policy contemplated nothing less than an onslaught upon the religious liberty of the country, and an attempt to reduce the same to a state of servile subjection to Spain. Hardly had the bonfires ceased burning, and the bells ceased ringing in honor of the young king's accession, from whom so much had been expected, when stringent and unequivocal instructions were issued, to the effect that all the ancient edicts against the Protestants—some of which had latterly been allowed somewhat to slacken—be immediately and literally fulfilled. Heresy and heretics were at once to be trampled out of existence. All enemies of the ancient religion were to be executed in the most summary and universal manner.

Four years pass, and now, under the auspices of Inquisitor Titelmann, the scenes of outrage and terror, the frantic persecutions, and the wholesale martyrdoms that transpire, beggar description. The prisons are swarming with victims, the streets throng with processions to the stake. The noblest and best of people, utterly without legal warrant or any form of law, are constantly being dragged from their homes, and even the sacred precincts of the church, and, under the pretext of heresy, consigned to death. The new religion was banished from all the cities, every conventicle was broken up by armed men, the preachers were hanged to the nearest lamp-post, and their unfortunate disciples either beaten with rods, reduced to beggary, or slain upon the scaffold. In some instances, under this scourge, whole cities became as silent "as if the plague-banner had been displayed from every house-top;" while in certain great manufacturing and industrial marts, such was the panic that prevailed, instead of the tide of human life which had just now throbbed there so vigorously, there reigned only the silence and darkness of death. These enormities, however, could not always continue without a reaction. Involving so manifest and flagrant a violation of good faith on the part of the king, so complete a subversion of all the constitutional rights and established usages of the land, these outrages could but give rise to murmurs of dissatisfaction and distrust, alike on the part of Protestants and of

Catholics, on the part of the nobles as well as burghers, affording a most unmistakable and warning presage of the coming storm.

At this juncture there appeared upon the scene one who, from this time forth, was destined to rise upon the history of his country with daily increasing grandeur and strength. The chief of a house of high rank, and which had already done good service for humanity by being among the first to embrace the principles of the Reformation; connected by blood and marriage with more than one of the royal families of Europe; born of William of Nassau-Dillenburgh and Juliana Stolbergh, a woman of many and rare virtues; bred largely at the court of the Emperor Charles, with whom he was a special favorite, and one of the most accomplished courtiers and diplomats of his age—a generous, stately, magnificent, powerful grandee, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, now appears as that great central personage about whom, more naturally than any other, the events and characters of this period group themselves, and who, with each succeeding year, was to become more and more the vivifying source of light and of national life to a whole people. Having while in France, as the representative of Philip, negotiating a treaty of peace with Henry II., accidentally become privy to a plot, on the part of these two monarchs, to extirpate Protestantism by exterminating all Protestants, William the Silent—so called, not because of any natural taciturnity on his part, but because of the rare prudence with which he carried himself on becoming possessed of the aforesaid important secret—horror-struck and indignant at this royal revelation, and naturally feeling compassion for so many virtuous men and women thus wantonly devoted to massacre, Catholic though he was at the time, yet generously determined to protect, if he could, this multitude of innocent persons from a horrible death. And thus this purely accidental, or rather providential, purpose on his part seems to have been the occasion, under God, of the Prince of Orange becoming identified with, and subsequently one of the most distinguished champions of, that religious reformation that culminated finally in the enfranchisement of conscience, and especially in so breaking the back of the great Catholic league in Europe as thereafter to render Protestantism possible anywhere.

Forbearance had ceased to be a virtue. Under the wise, prudent, and patriotic counsels and generalship of the Prince of Orange, who had finally felt constrained to resign all the offices he held under the crown, and identify himself fully with the cause of the suffering provinces, the latter determined to settle the points in dispute between themselves and their sovereign at the point of the bayonet. Tired of edicts and blood councils and inquisitions, they give Philip unequivocally to understand that his whole machinery of "placards" and scaffolds, of new bishops and old hangmen, must cease—that their day was over; that the Netherlands are free provinces, surrounded by free countries; and that, at whatever cost, they are going to vindicate their ancient charters. Above all, they give his majesty to understand that the canons of Trent, spurned by the whole world, including even the Catholic princes of Germany, are spurned also by them. It were better, they say, to die at once than to live in perpetual slavery; better to fall with arms in hand than to be tortured and butchered by the Inquisition. Better, indeed, the sanguinary rites of the Belgic Druids—"the yell of slaughtered victims from the wild-wood without mercy" of the pagan forefathers of the nation—than this mission of massacre, which had been the policy of the government toward them for the past half century. If war must be waged then war it is, and on the issue they will cheerfully stake their all. And thus, while the flames of popular frenzy are rising lurid and threatening above the housetops of every town and village in the land, the impending conflict opens—that longest, darkest, bloodiest, but most important episode in the religious reformation in Europe. When that curtain which now falls is lifted again, what scenes of carnage, disaster, and bloodshed will be disclosed; what battles and sieges; what deeds of unfaltering but valiant tyranny, of superhuman and successful resistance; of heroic self-sacrifice, fanatical courage, and insane cruelty—what a spectacle of human energy, of human suffering, and of human strength to do and to endure! In the mean time, what amazing results will have come to pass. The little one will have become a thousand. Forty years! Workmen have fallen, but the good work has gone on.

With a success truly astounding, when we consider the

power and resources of Spain, probably at that time the first power of the world, the Dutch patriots, so far from having been crushed by the long course of oppression to which they have been subjected, have laid the foundations of their commonwealth, and of civil and religious liberty, securely, even on those shifting quicksands which the Romans hardly knew whether to call land or water. They have, withal, now become a great naval power—perhaps the greatest in the world. Their "militia of the ocean," or, as they used to be called, their grim "beggars of the sea," making known their requests through the mouths of their cannon, became in their day quite invincible—as renowned, indeed, for their prowess, as successful in their reprisals. Nay, their fleets, armed with seventy thousand hardy, daring seamen, sweeping the remotest seas of Spanish commerce, had not a little to do in so impoverishing and crippling the Spanish monarch as to lead him, in 1609, cheerfully to acquiesce in the Twelve Years' Truce. Enriched, in a word, with the spoils of every clime; conquering, by its private enterprise, an empire almost as wide as the globe; nay, actually girdling the world, from New York to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Cape to New York again, with its innumerable dependencies, and, finally, crowned with the divine jewels of science, literature, and religion, these seven meager provinces upon the sandbanks of the North Sea have now, in spite of their long agony, come to sing the siren song of freedom, luxury, and power.

ART. VI.—MISSIONARY CONFERENCES.

Proceedings of the Union Missionary Convention, held in New York May 4 and 5, 1854. New York: Taylor & Hogg.

The Missionary Conference in London. Evangelical Christendom, December, 1854.

Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, held in Calcutta September, 1855. London: Dalton.

Outlines of the Benares Missionary Conference. "Calcutta Christian Observer," March, 1857.

Proceedings of the South India Missionary Conference, held at Ootacamund April, 1858. London: Missionary Societies.

Conference on Missions, held in 1860 *at Liverpool.* London: James Nisbet & Co. 1860.

Report of the Punjaub Missionary Conference, held at Lahore in December and January, 1862–63. Lodiana: American Presbyterian Mission Press.

Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad, 1872–73. Madras: C. Foster.

WITH the rapid growth of the Christian Church during the present century, and especially during the past twenty-five years, there has been an ever-increasing interest in the cause of Missions. Missionary societies, organized before this latter period, have been quickened with new life, and stimulated to larger efforts and nobler plans. Churches that had been accustomed to give liberally in this direction have learned to give more. Science has made the world larger by discovering new countries, and smaller by shortening its paths, while God has prompted those

> "whose souls are lighted
> With wisdom from on high"

to put forth more earnest and untiring efforts for the salvation of those who are sitting in the darkness of heathenism.

In keeping with this increased interest and enthusiasm, and as one of the results of the growing union of all branches of the Christian Church in Europe and America, the desire has arisen for general meetings for the agitation of the great subjects connected with the missionary enterprise, and for expressing sympathy and pledging assistance in this incalculably great work. Such meetings have been held from time to time, and although none of them have been ecumenical, several of them have been far from local in their influence, and all have an interesting history.

The first of these assemblies was the Union Missionary Convention, which met in New York May 4, 1854. It was

occasioned by the visit to America of that tireless worker and well-known Indian missionary, Rev. Dr. Duff. His thrilling utterances in behalf of foreign Missions, and his spirited appeals to the various Churches, influenced several persons in New York and Philadelphia to issue a call for a missionary meeting. On the appointed day one hundred and fifty members of the Convention met in the lecture-room of Dr. Alexander's Church in New York. Of this number eleven were missionaries, and eighteen were officers of various missionary societies and boards. The session was a very brief one, continuing only a day and a half, and, as a matter of course, the discussions were limited in number and in time. The greatest harmony prevailed, and a most excellent spirit was manifested throughout. The Convention is spoken of as a complete success, and, beyond doubt, it was productive of great good. It took up, and pronounced opinions upon, the following practical questions:—

1. On the subject of concentrating or scattering laborers in a foreign fold, the Convention resolved that, while judicious itinerancies should be encouraged, it was equally proper and desirable to seize on commanding stations, and concentrate powerful agencies there.

2. On the subject of interference, the Convention gave as its opinion that the efficient pre-occupation of any portion of the field by one evangelical society should be respected by others, and left in their sole possession.

3. On the important question of raising up missionaries, the Convention considered that much depended on a deeper missionary spirit in pastors of Churches, and on the efforts they put forth in their respective fields of labor "for impressing parents, teachers, and the young with the duty and glory of personal dedication to the work of the Lord."

The next Missionary Conference met in London, England, in the autumn of the same year, the session continuing two days, October 12, 13. This Convention, like that at New York, dealt with general missionary subjects, and its discussions were necessarily limited. Members of the leading missionary societies of Great Britain were present, and this the first gathering of the kind in England tended greatly to an

increased interest in the cause of Missions, and suggested the utility of a more largely attended Convention.

India, as one of the most gigantic mission fields to which God has as yet led his Church—having a wide territory, a dense population, numerous mission stations, and a large number of devoted missionaries—has perhaps witnessed more of these gatherings than any other country on the earth. And although to the casual observer of the antipodes these meetings may have seemed local and unimportant, still, when it is kept in mind that in the great Indian peninsula *one fifth* of the world's population rushes forward with accelerated pace in the paths of heathenish darkness; and when it is remembered how many, since the gloomy days of Carey, Ward, and Marshman—worthy pioneers of any glorious cause—have given themselves to the evangelization of this mighty country; and how, by ties which can never be over-appreciated or forgotten, the Land of the Veda is joined to England and other countries of Europe, and America as well, the importance of these Missionary conferences becomes apparent.

Of these Indian gatherings, the Bengal Missionary Conference, which led the way, met in Calcutta September 4, 1855. It continued four days, holding eight sessions in all. Fifty-five members were present, and fourteen papers were read on practical questions connected with the extension of the Redeemer's cause. Delightful harmony prevailed, and much benefit was derived by those who were privileged to be present. A very full and interesting report of this meeting has been published.

The next Conference of this kind was held by the missionaries of the North-west Province at Benares, the great center of Hinduism, January 6–8, 1857—three months before the commencement of the great mutiny. Thirty-six members, representing seven Churches and Societies, participated in the proceedings, and fourteen valuable papers were read. The Conference was pronounced most interesting and profitable. It is to be regretted that the resolutions adopted, and a few brief notes from a private pen in the "Calcutta Christian Observer," constitute the only account now remaining of this meeting. The proceedings were printed at the Allahabad Mission Press; but the mutiny broke out just as the volume

was completed, and not a single copy was preserved. The manuscripts and printed proofs were also destroyed by the mutineers, who would have gladly swept every missionary from the face of the land had they possessed power to do so.

The South India Missionary Conference was held at Ootacamund, a lovely station in the Nilgherry Hills, in April and May, 1858. It differed from the previous conferences in the wide range of topics introduced, and in the length of time devoted to their examination. It continued from April 19 to May 5, and was attended by thirty-two missionaries. Twenty-seven papers were read, and thirty historical accounts presented. The subjects discussed included not only such leading topics as "Native Agencies," "Missionary Education," "Vernacular Preaching," and the like; but also more special topics, as "Industrial Exhibitions," "Caste," "Public Morals," "Government Education," etc. The deliberateness with which these questions were examined is sufficient to recommend, in no ordinary way, the conclusions reached. The published proceedings of the Conference constitute a large volume, which is a valuable acquisition to the missionary literature of India, and of especial interest to the many Christian laborers in the Madras Presidency. It has now been out of print for several years.

The Liverpool Conference deserves careful consideration in connection with this subject, as it was beyond doubt the greatest gathering of the kind ever held upon Christian soil. It met in the city just named March 19 1860, and continued four days. A number of the officers and members of the missionary committees in London and Edinburgh were of the opinion that after the many years of continuous missionary labor carried on in heathen lands, after the many struggles endured and triumphs achieved, it would be profitable for the directors, secretaries, and missionaries of all the societies and Churches to come together and confer with each other concerning the interests of their common work. As was stated, "It was felt that it must prove a lasting benefit for them to examine in detail the working of their various missionary agencies, to compare their different plans, and to throw into a common stock the results of that valuable experience which they had hardly earned upon the very fields of heathenism.

It was felt that while all must find abundant means of adding to their own knowledge through the information given by brethren, all must be cheered by the tokens of missionary success, all must be stimulated to greater zeal in the service of Christ, the common Lord, and all must be bound in closer and more loving sympathy with brethren toiling for the same great end."

Being thus impressed with the importance of such a gathering, invitations were issued and the preliminary arrangements made. The invitations met with a hearty response from leading members of almost all the missionary societies and committees, the officers of twenty-five or more taking part on the occasion. The Christians of Liverpool extended a cordial welcome to the assembly, and at the appointed time one hundred and twenty persons came together to carry out the proposed plan. The four days were busily occupied in discussing the various questions relating to the work of missions at home and abroad. Two sessions were held each day, morning and afternoon, of about three hours and a half each, preceded by a morning prayer-meeting, and followed by a missionary *soirée* at night. The first meeting was held Monday evening, March 19, in Hope Hall, at which Major-General Alexander, of her Majesty's Indian Army, was selected as the Chairman of the Conference, and Rev. G. D. Cullen, Rev. Drs. Steane and Mullens, and H. Carre Tucker, Esq., were appointed Secretaries, and also Editors of the Proceedings. On the following day, at 10.30 A.M., the first regular session began.

In whatever manner it be viewed, this Conference—which to the Earl of Shaftesbury seemed "something like an ecumenical council of the dominions of her Majesty, Queen Victoria" —was a grand success. The attendance, while it was almost entirely made up of Englishmen, was large, and represented a number of most interesting mission fields. Of those who participated in the proceedings, thirty-seven at least were missionaries. These had come from all quarters of the globe, and their presence showed how wide-spreading and permeating had been the influence of Christian England. One was from the far-distant islands of the South Seas, and one from among the Indians of Upper Canada. Two had been laboring amid

the tropic heat of the West Indies and the swamps of the Gulf of Guinea; another had spent years of solitary toil among the Buriats of Siberia. Two had come from Caffreland, and one from the city of Damascus. Two distinguished medical missionaries had spent years in China, while more than twenty of the number had resided in the various provinces of India. The knowledge which had been gained by an experience of half a century in these various portions of the great vineyard was summarized and presented to this large body of Christian workers, and the words of these thirty-seven missionaries could not but be of interest and profit to all.

As was eminently proper in a meeting intended to benefit the home Church, as well as to aid the cause of missions, the lay element was not wanting. The choice of so distinguished a soldier as Major-General Alexander as Chairman of the Convention was most appropriate. The Conference was also honored with the presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes, who made several brilliant addresses; Sir Donald Macleod, a most exemplary Christian; Major Davidson, Colonel Dawes, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hughes, all of India. There were also present T. D. Anderson, Esq., Mayor of Liverpool; Thomas Cleghorn, Esq., Sheriff of Argyleshire; Robert Young, Esq., of Edinburgh, and many others, distinguished for their liberality and Christian activity. The presence of such earnest men as these added much to the interest of the occasion. One other nationality at least was also represented, for among the missionaries was one who had been brought from India's darkness into the glorious light of the blessed Gospel—Rev. Behari Lal Singh, of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta. Like Rev. Sheshadri Naryan, of Bombay, whose presence at the recent session of the Evangelical Alliance was the occasion of so much enthusiastic rejoicing, he stood forth as one of the first-fruits of what we hope may prove a great spiritual harvest in India. He addressed the Conference several times in a most interesting manner.

The conclusions reached by the Conference were embodied in the form of "Minutes," prepared at the close of each discussion in accordance with the papers and addresses which had preceded. The following extract from the excellent

Minute on "Missionaries and their Plans" may serve as a specimen of these brief but very important statements:—

The members of this Conference consider, that in all systems of missionary labor the gravest importance should be attached to the position and the personal character of the European missionary himself. It appears to them a wise general rule that every missionary, on going abroad, should at once endeavor to attain a thorough knowledge of the language, manners, customs, and religious views of the people to whom he is sent, and that he will best do so by entering into close, constant, and personal intercourse with them. They consider that he should strive to adapt all his plans to the circumstances and condition of his sphere of labor; but that, whatever forms his plans may assume, his aim should ever be, as directly as possible, to convey the Gospel of divine grace into the minds and hearts of those whom he instructs. Among those plans they regard the work of preaching the Gospel to the people in their own tongue as one of primary importance, whether carried on by European or native agents. While recognizing the necessity of maintaining fixed stations in important localities, they consider that a missionary should not tie himself down to pastoral work, except in the infancy of a mission, and that he should always aim to make his labors tell upon the heathenism of the country. While he preaches constantly in a fixed station, they think it well that at favorable seasons he should itinerate in the more retired and ill-instructed districts. Such itinerancies they reckon as of high value in spreading sound scriptural knowledge, and preparing the way for a future extension of the mission by the establishment of new stations; but to be effective they should be systematic, limited to a comparatively small district, carefully carried out, and repeated again and again.

Minutes were also adopted, after careful discussion, as follows: "On the Means of Exciting and Maintaining the Missionary Feeling at Home;" "On Missionary Education;" "On the Means of Securing Increased Liberality to Missionary Work;" "On Native Agents;" "On the Best Means of Obtaining well-qualified Missionaries;" and, "On Native Churches." These Minutes give a general index to the deliberations of the body. Special subjects were also taken up, as "European Missionaries Abroad," "Medical Missions in China," "Indian Converts in the Mutiny," "Female Education in the East," "Missions in Turkey," "Mutiny in India," etc.

The Convention closed with a public meeting, held in the Philharmonic Hall, Friday evening, March 23. It was presided over by the distinguished Earl of Shaftesbury, whose

address on the occasion was most eloquent. Other able speakers followed, among them Major Davidson, Lieutenant-Colonel Edwardes, Drs. Mullens and Lowe, Canon Stowell, Rev. G. D. Cullens, and the Mayor of Liverpool. Perhaps no more enthusiastic missionary meeting than this has ever been held in England—certainly not in Liverpool. The large hall was densely crowded, and the most happy feeling prevailed throughout. The delightful exercises of the evening were a fitting *finale* to the memorable proceedings of the days that had just passed.

The published Report of the Convention is all that could be desired, and it has deservedly had a large sale. It gives not only the Minutes of the various sessions, but also the papers as read, synopses of the several addresses, full reports of the general prayer-meetings, the *soirées*, and the public meeting at the close. It is furnished with an interesting appendix, which contains, among other things, a well-arranged catalogue of modern works on Christian missions. The whole is excellently prepared, and to those who participated, and to others as well, is full of interest.

Coming again to Hindustan, the next Conference after the Ootacamund was held at Lahore, in the Punjaub, a city fifteen hundred miles to the north-west of Ootacamund. This assembly convened December 26, 1862, and closed on the following New Year's day. Thirty-three clerical and thirty-eight lay members were present. Of the missionaries in attendance eleven were of the Church of England, seven of the American Presbyterian Church, five of the American United Presbyterian Church, four of the American Reformed Presbyterian Church, three of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and three of the Church of Scotland. Sir Donald Macleod was Chairman of the Conference. Eleven sessions were held in all, the closing one being a general public meeting, at which interesting addresses were delivered by Sir Herbert Edwardes, Dr. W. Butler, and others. The discussions were thorough and deliberate, and the Conference was a great blessing to the cause of missions in the Punjaub and North India. As may be said of all these Conventions, the published Report is a model of excellence and worth, and will be profitable for years to come.

The General Missionary Conference, which met in Allahabad during Christmas week, 1872, was no doubt the outgrowth of the previous Indian Conferences, of which we have briefly spoken. The idea of such a general gathering suggested itself to several persons (one of them an influential layman of the Punjaub) about the same time, and after some correspondence on the subject, the American Presbyterian Synod, which met in Allahabad near the close of the year 1871, appointed a committee to present the matter before the missionary public. In January, 1872, a circular of inquiry was sent to all parts of India, eliciting in the main very favorable responses. Accordingly a committee of arrangements was appointed, consisting of representatives from all the Presidencies and Provinces of India. This committee met at Allahabad (the capital of the North-west Provinces) in October, 1872, and in accordance with the many suggestions received and the judgment of its members, arranged the programme for the Conference. It was thought that the Christmas holidays, being in the pleasantest part of the Indian year, would be the most appropriate time for the meeting, and the city of Allahabad, on account of its central position and general accessibility, was selected as the most suitable place for holding the Conference. The American Presbyterian Mission kindly tendered their chapel and the use of their mission compound—a beautiful *campus* on the bank of the great Jumna river—which afforded, with a number of tents and a large boarding-hall, ample accommodations for all who attended.

Preliminaries having been thus fully arranged, the Conference assembled December 25, 1872. An opening prayer-meeting was held at three o'clock P. M., which was well attended. The first session began on the following day. After a season of prayer, the Conference met at ten o'clock, and having perfected its organization, proceeded to business. It had been arranged that one of the senior missionaries connected with the largest societies represented should preside each day. This plan was found eminently satisfactory, and gave the Conference the following chairmen, who presided in the order of their names:—Rev. J. H. Morrison, D.D., American Presbyterian Mission, Umballa; Rev. J. S. S. Robertson,

Church of England Missionary Society, Bombay; Rev. J. Wilson, D.D., Free Church of Scotland Mission, Bombay; Rev. R. C. Mather, LL.D., London Missionary Society, Mirzapore; Rev. J. Trafford, Baptist Missionary Society, Serampore; Rev. J. L. Humphrey, M.D., American Methodist Mission, Nynee Tal; Rev. C. Harding, M.A., American Board of Foreign Missions, Bombay.

The Committee of Arrangements had invited the Bishop of Calcutta to preside on the first day, but his lordship not being able to attend, it was agreed that Dr. Morrison should have the honor, as the invitation to the Conference had been given by the American Presbyterian Mission. The united terms of service of these devoted missionaries amounted to no less than *two hundred* years, varying from forty-four to fifteen, and averaging nearly thirty years. The following able corps of Secretaries and Editors was appointed:—Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D., Free Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta; Rev. J. Barton, Church of England Missionary Society, Madras; J. Murdoch, LL.D., Christian Vernacular Education Society, Madras; and Rev. A. Brodhead, D.D., American Presbyterian Mission, Allahabad.

The daily programme was about as follows:—At 7 A. M., special prayer-meeting; at 8.15, the regular prayer-meeting; from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M., the morning session; from 3 to 5, the afternoon session; and from 7.30 to 9.30, the evening session. The time was thus well improved, and especially so during the sessions. Half an hour was allowed for the more lengthy papers, and in the discussions which followed each speaker was limited to ten minutes.

A large number of the most interesting subjects connected with missionary work was discussed. Merely to enumerate these is all that can be attempted, and the enumeration may serve to show how important were the deliberations of the Conference. The first papers which were read most appropriately treated of "The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit." The subject of "Preaching" was carefully considered under the topics: "Bazar Preaching," "Preaching to Hindus," "Preaching to Mohammedans," etc. Under the subject of "Education and the Educated Classes," papers were read as follows: "High Mission Education;" "The Place of Educa-

tion as a Missionary Agency;" "The Brahmo Somaj;" "The Educated Classes of Bombay;" "Female Education;" (Missions to Women: Zenana Missions in Calcutta, and Christian Girls' Boarding Schools.) Two papers were read upon the interesting subject of "Medical Missions." "The Native Church" was a fruitful theme, and elicited papers upon "The Training of Mission Native Agents," "The Mode of Gathering Native Congregations," "The Native Church in South India," "The Native Church in Bengal," "The Indian Church of the Future," "Relations of Missionaries to the Native Church," "Relations of Missionaries to Converts in Secular Matters," and, "The Christian Village System." One of the most interesting of all the discussions was upon "The Press," in the course of which papers were read upon "Biblical Translations in Bengal," "Christian Vernacular Literature," "Colportage in India," and, "Sunday-schools and Sunday-school Literature." Several miscellaneous subjects were considered, such as, "Utilizing Christian Power in India," "The Claims of European Residents," "Hinderances to the Spread of the Gospel in India," and "Progress and Prospects of Indian Missions."

A mere glance at this list of themes would lead a person to repeat the criticism which has been passed upon the Conference, namely, that it attempted too much; but when it is remembered that all the papers which were read upon these subjects had been carefully prepared, and that but comparatively little time was occupied with *extempore* speaking, the criticism loses its force. The list of subjects was comprehensive indeed, but the discussions elicited were correspondingly thorough and interesting.

One of the most delightful exercises connected with the meeting was the united communion service held on Sunday morning, December 29. The occasion was a memorable one, and was marked by the presence of the most blessed harmony and good will. It was felt by all that the Divine approval was resting upon the Christ-like scene. The sacrament was administered in accordance with the forms of the Church of England, with the exception that the posture in which the elements were received was left to the option of each communicant. Persons approached the table and ate and drank stand-

ing, sitting, or kneeling. Though there was this diversity, it did not detract in the least from the interest of the service. It was an occasion which gladdened the hearts of those who participated in it, and a sight which must have rejoiced the angels looking down upon it. It was a silent expression of the broad charity animating the breasts of these servants of God, and a prophecy of that approaching time when we shall see eye to eye and be brethren indeed.

The Conference closed its pleasant session Wednesday evening, December 31. The interest continued to increase to the very last, and many would gladly have tarried longer. The closing addresses were full of affection and brotherly kindness; and after watching out the Old Year and welcoming in the New, and reconsecrating themselves to the service of God, these missionary workmen went out from the place to their distant fields of labor, feeling greatly strengthened and encouraged.

Various denominations of the Church of Christ were represented in this historic gathering. The total number of members was one hundred and thirty-six, of whom one hundred and five were ordained missionaries, two chaplains, seventeen laymen connected with missions, and twelve laymen not thus connected. Nineteen societies and boards were represented. The Church of England Missionary Society very properly headed the list with twenty-five representatives; the American Presbyterian Mission came next with twenty-one; the American Methodist Mission had eighteen; the London Missionary Society thirteen; the Free Church of Scotland Mission twelve; the Baptist Missionary Society ten; the American Board four; and other smaller societies twenty-one. The number of foreign members connected with missions was ninety-six; of native members twenty-eight. There were thirty-eight Americans, thirty-two Englishmen, nineteen Scotchmen, three Irishmen, three Germans, and one Norwegian present. The united terms of service of these missionaries amounted to at least *thirteen hundred years*, exclusive of the many years of honest toil on the part of the native members. There were those present who had been laboring in India for nearly fifty years, and those who had landed upon its shores but the week previous. The Rev. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., of Bombay, the eminent

representative of the Free Church of Scotland, had the honor of being the eldest missionary present, having come to India in the year 1828. Next to him was the affable and hardworking Dr. R. C. Mather, of Mirzapore, the translator of the Hindustani Scriptures, dating his service from 1834. Along with these were grouped several other venerable and strong men, such as Dr. J. H. Morrison and Dr. Joseph Warren, of the American Presbyterian Mission; J. Murray Mitchel, LL.D., of Calcutta; and James Kennedy, M.A., of the London Missionary Society, all of whom came to India in 1838. The presence of these veteran workers who have come to know no other home save India, and who have grown old after the happiest fashion doing the Master's work, was most encouraging; and their words of counsel and cheer were gladly received.

All parts of India were represented in the Conference. The members had come from Bengal in the south-east, from Madras in the south, from Bombay in the west, from Oudh and Rohilcund in the north, from the North-west Provinces, and from the distant Punjaub. Some had traveled more than a thousand miles to be present, and not a few had been a week on the road; albeit Allahabad is in the center of India, and approached on all sides by railways. Of the native members there were Bengalis, Hindustanis, Mahrattis, and Taurils; one Punjaubi, one Parsee, and one Travancore Syrian.

The assembly was also graced by the presence of a number of ladies, both English and American. They were wives of missionaries who had spent years of wearisome labor for the degraded women of India, and there were young ladies who had but recently given up their homes and friends to become embassadors for Christ in this darkened land. The foundress of a certain "Woman's Foreign Missionary Society—a small, quiet, business-like New Englandish woman—was present, listening carefully to every discussion and heartily enjoying the meetings. There was present also an authoress, who had spent more than "Six Years in India," writing hymns and books in the Hindustani language, and other elect ladies. This feminine element was one of the pleasantest features of the Conference, and tacitly at least, and universally, there was hearty appreciation of the honest work done by these devoted laborers. Christian women, industrious and sunshiny amid the

dreariness of a heathen land, are always highly esteemed, and all the more by those best acquainted with the difficulties which beset them in their arduous work.

Like the published Minutes of the Liverpool Conference, the report of the Allahabad Conference is a most interesting and valuable volume. It embraces more than five hundred pages, and is brimful of missionary thought and utterance. It is ably edited, and has already had a wide circulation, several hundred copies having been ordered by one of the American Societies for home use. Its missionary map of India, with tables of populations and religions, and various interesting statistical appendices, make it all the more valuable.

Some mention of the missionary statistics collected at this Conference will certainly be of interest to those who are praying and working for the redemption of India. The Baptist Missionary Society (English) began its labors here in 1793, but the missionary effort for India, as such, can properly be said to date only from the beginning of the present century. The London Missionary Society began work here in 1805; the Church of England Missions in 1813; the Wesleyans in 1817; the Church of Scotland in 1828; while, with the exception of the American Board, (which pioneered the way in 1813,) none of the American Societies date earlier than 1834. Of the three largest societies supported by the European continent, (Germans and others,) the Basel dates from 1834, the Leipzig from 1841, and Gossner's Missionary Society from 1843. From this it is evident that of the twenty-seven regular Societies now carrying on missionary operations in India, nineteen, or more than two thirds, have been engaged less than forty years.

The first missionary census was taken in 1850, the second in 1861, and the third in 1871. The following table indexes the advancement made during these years:—

	1850.	1861.	1871.
Foreign Missionaries	339	479	488
Native Ordained Agents	21	97	225
Communicants	14,661	24,976	52,816
Native Christians	91,092	138,731	224,258
Pupils in Schools—Anglo-vernacular	14,189	23,640	41,280
Do. do. Vernacular	38,661	36,486	54,241
Do. do. Girls' Schools	11,198	15,969	26,611

Regarding these statistics, it may be said, in taking up the first item, "Foreign Missionaries," that it is remarkable, and also lamentable, that the increase during the last decade was so very small. An increase equal in rate to that of the preceding decade, 1850–61, would have given six hundred and seventy-five missionaries for 1871 instead of four hundred and eighty-eight. This evidently shows that, from some cause or other, the home Churches have relaxed their efforts and diminished their enthusiasm in sending missionaries to India; and as the number of missionary stations have steadily increased, and every department of work has been enlarged, it is also evident that the laborers in this great field have been overworked. In this connection, however, it should be stated that the lack of greater increase has been owing to the diminished efforts of the English societies. The American societies have almost universally increased the number of their representatives and enlarged their work.

The large increase in native ordained agents is most encouraging, and nowhere more so than in India. It is earnestly hoped that these native preachers and helpers may soon exceed the foreign missionaries in numbers. The growth of the native Church, from less than a hundred thousand in 1851 to near a quarter of a million in 1871, is most gratifying, and we hope prophetic of a grand future. In all parts of the empire; from all classes, rich and poor, high and low, speaking all the many languages of the land, from the Urdu, or "court language," to the simplest and rudest dialect, these converts have been gathered and brought into the great fold. From 1850 to 1861 the rate of increase was about fifty-three per cent. From 1861 to 1871 it was *sixty-one* per cent. Let him who cowardly declares that it is useless to labor for the conversion of the heathen ponder upon these facts. In connection with the schools, it should be remembered that these are all *Mission Schools*, and presumably in every one of them the Gospel is taught, and the pupils are instructed in the great truths of the Christian religion.

There are no less than twenty-four mission presses in India, including those in Ceylon and Burmah. In the course of the last ten years, these have published near *three thousand five hundred* separate works in *thirty-one* languages and dialects.

The most important of these have been in the following languages:—

English	375	Hindi	214
Canarese	581	Bengali	206
Tamil	568	Urdu	189
Malayalim	395	Oriya	131
Singhalese	289	Gujerati	125

The number of copies of "books and tracts" printed is as follows:—

Entire Bible in Vernacular Languages	31,000
New Testament, Old Testament, and other portions of the Bible	1,284,503
Christian books	2,842,495
Christian Tracts in Vernacular	5,707,355
School books	3,375,040
Other books	200,279
Total	13,440,672

From these summarized statements some idea may be formed of the missionary work which is being carried on in India; and in the presence of these and many similar facts which might be mentioned, no one is justified in calling the work spasmodic, narrow, or contracted. *It is a great, grand effort for the salvation of two hundred million souls*, and it is touching the heart of the country *every-where!*

Concerning the general character and results of this great gathering we cannot do better than quote the following, which appeared in one of the leading journals of India soon after the close of the Conference:—

First among the good results already apparent, we place the exhibition of Christian unity which India has just witnessed at Allahabad. . . . The recent Conference has demonstrated that Christians of a dozen denominations and of many different nationalities may meet together in love and peace, may take sweet counsel together, and may linger before a common mercy-seat until their hearts seem to blend into one. This is Christian unity in its practical aspect, and such a manifestation of its vital reality among the scattered Christians of India is worth more than can be expressed in words.

Another good result of this Conference was the intellectual stimulus given to the missionaries by contact with so many minds all engrossed with a common purpose. It is the bane of work in India that each individual seems to be condemned to a state of mental isolation, and unconsciously the mind begins to move in fixed grooves, and year by year its natural activity is lessened.

. . . None but those who have had practical experience in missionary work, who have worked alone month after month without counsel and without fellowship with any Christian friend, can appreciate the intense delight with which some of the missionaries at Allahabad mingled with their brethren, and listened to their instruction and advice.

It was spiritually profitable. God was in the midst, and there was more than a mere cant expression in what a native missionary said at the close of the Conference, that the Master himself had presided over the assembly. There was a peculiar power in the simple words in which this was expressed, and many realized that Jesus was in the midst of a truth. We merely repeat the personal testimony of many when we say, that scores of the Master's laborers went away from that Conference with renewed spiritual vigor, with a more active faith, with an unwonted spirit of hope, with a new love and zeal glowing within their breasts, and with new thoughts about God's gracious purposes toward India.

One cannot close these missionary volumes, nor discuss this subject, without asking, Will there ever be an Ecumenical Missionary Conference? The New York Convention was American, the Liverpool gathering exclusively English, and the Allahabad Conference entirely Indian; might there not be a general Congress to which delegates from every mission field might come? Innumerable difficulties present themselves at once, and many persons are ready to pronounce such a proposal chimerical in the highest degree. Difficulties, however, do not always imply impossibilities, as has often been demonstrated, and the successful and memorable meeting of the Evangelical Alliance of 1873 shows the possibility at least of a World's Missionary Congress. There are, perhaps, but three places in which it could be held—emancipated Rome, cosmopolitan London, or the Metropolis of the Western world, New York. Could such an assembly meet in the seven-hilled city and be there baptized with power from on high, the redemption of Rome and all Italy would be advanced as it has not been for centuries. London, with its surging millions, would still have room for such a Conference, and would find it a blessing. New York may be said to be too remote from mission fields for a Missionary Congress, but it is really nearer China and Japan than London is, and only ten days further from Western Asia, Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Islands, than the capital of Great Britain. Besides, at the present

time America is supporting about one third of the world's two thousand foreign missionaries, and is every year enlarging contributions to this grandest of grand causes. Its metropolitan city would be happy to accommodate such a meeting, and the gracious results which would follow are beyond all computation.

Such an assemblage as this, wherever held, would do more than any thing has as yet done toward putting the great Church of Christ squarely in front of the non-Christian world; an outlook upon the nations would be secured wider than we now know; and opportunity would be given—and most favorably, too—for planning the great attack upon the strongholds of Satan in pagan lands, which, if we are loyal to God and our trusts, must be a part of the history of the nineteenth century.

Whatever of this there may be in the future, it remains, at least, that the Missionary Conferences already held have been successes, and have helped in no inconsiderable degree to advance the cause of our gracious Redeemer upon the earth. They have been spiritual oases in the midst of parched deserts; they have gladdened the hearts of God's workmen, and bound them more closely together; they have aroused the Church and inspired it with increased activity in missionary enterprises; and, directly and indirectly, they have been great blessings. May the precious influences which they have left behind, and the comforting assurance that we are all "workers together with Him" who has provided a glorious salvation for the entire race, nerve our hearts and strengthen our souls for continued struggles against a falling Satan!

Art. VII.—PASSAGE OF ISRAEL THROUGH RED SEA.

Where Was It?

In a journey performed in the spring of 1874 through Egypt, the Desert, and Palestine, undertaken almost solely for the sake of biblical investigation, one of the points of special interest was to find the place where Israel crossed the Red Sea, and where the host of Pharaoh were drowned.

It had seemed to us that the theories proposed by some of our writers on this subject were not made with a sufficient regard to the biblical account of the same: some placing it at the Bitter Lakes, some twenty miles to the north of the present termination of the Red Sea; others placing it eight or ten miles south of Suez, where the sea is about ten or twelve miles wide. Still other theories have been proposed which are too absurd for special consideration; as, for example, that they passed over the Gulf of Akabah, and another that it was Lake Menzaleh.

Object of this Essay.

It is not our object to enter upon a refutation of these theories, but rather to closely follow the biblical account, and thus ascertain the most probable point at which Israel crossed. We do not regard it as possible to demonstrate, beyond a doubt, the precise point of crossing. At this distance of time, and considering the changes which the conformation of the sea *may* have undergone during the last three thousand years, in a region where the sands of the desert are ever moving with powerful winds, and where the bed of the sea and its bars may have been changed by mighty storms and earthquakes, it becomes us to be moderate in insisting upon a particular view. We, however, believe that a careful analysis of the biblical data, and of the present advanced state of the geographical knowledge of the region, will fix the place, with a good degree of certainty, at or near the present city and port of Suez.

The Biblical Narrative of the Crossing.

This is found in Exodus xiii, 17–22; xiv, 1–9, 13–15, 19–26. We herewith present them in a literal translation from the Hebrew:—

And it came to pass, when Pharaoh sent the people away, that God did not lead them by the way of the land of the Philistines, because that was near; for God said, Lest the people repent when they see war and return again to Egypt. But God led them around by the way of the desert of the Red Sea; and being harnessed [fully armed] the children of Israel went up from the land of Egypt. And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him, for he had made the children of Israel positively swear, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall bring up my bones from there with

you. And they broke up from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the desert. And Jehovah went before them by day in the pillar of cloud to show them the way, and by night in the pillar of fire to give light unto them, in their going by day and by night. He did not withdraw the cloudy pillar by day and the fiery pillar by night from before the people.

And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and they shall turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, before [or east of] Baal-zephon, over against it they shall encamp by the sea. And Pharaoh shall say of the children of Israel, They are bewildered [at a loss] in the land—the desert hath shut them in. And I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, and he will pursue after them; and I will be honored over Pharaoh and all his host; and the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah. And they did so. And it was made known to the king of Egypt that the people fled: and the heart of Pharaoh and his servants was turned against the people, and they said, What is this we have done, that we have sent Israel away from our service? And he harnessed up his chariots, and took his people with him; and he took six hundred chosen chariots, even all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over all of them. And Jehovah hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel; and the children of Israel went out with an uplifted hand; and the Egyptians pursued after them, and overtook them encamping by the sea. All the horses and chariots of Pharaoh, and his horsemen and his army, at Pi-hahiroth, on the east of Baal-zephon.*

Now Israel, seeing the Egyptian host, murmured against Moses. But Moses replied:—

Stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah, which he will work for you this day: because the Egyptians whom ye have seen today, ye shall see no more forever. Jehovah will fight for you, and ye shall be quiet. And Jehovah said unto Moses, Why dost thou cry unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they break up the camp: [with the view of marching forward:] and do thou lift up thy rod and stretch forth thy hand upon the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go into the midst of the sea upon dry land. And the angel of God removed from going *before* the camp of Israel, and went *behind* them; and the pillar of cloud removed from before them, and stood behind them, and went between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel, and it was a cloud and darkness, [to them,] and it made the night light, [to these,] so that the one came not near to the other all

* This ninth verse shows where Pi-hahiroth and Baal-zephon were, namely, *upon the sea*, עַל־הַיָּם. Baal-zephon corresponded with the present city of Suez, and Pi-hahiroth was east of it, perhaps near where the canal now enters into the gulf.]

that night. *And Moses stretched out his hand upon the sea; and Jehovah caused the sea to flow back by a strong east wind all that night, and he made the sea dry land, and divided the waters. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground: and the waters were a wall to them both on their right and on their left.* And the Egyptians pursued, and came after them, all the horse of Pharaoh, and his chariots, and horsemen, into the midst of the sea. And it came to pass in the morning watch that Jehovah looked out upon the camp of the Egyptians in the pillar of fire and cloud, and put the camp of the Egyptians into consternation, and he turned off [or took off] the wheels of his chariots, and they drove them with difficulty: and the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for Jehovah fights for them against the Egyptians. And Jehovah said unto Moses, Stretch out thy hand over the sea, and let the waters return upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots and upon their horsemen. And Moses stretched out his hand upon the sea, and the sea returned at the turning of the morning [that is, at daylight] to its ceaseless flow; and the Egyptians fleeing, the waters met them; and Jehovah shook out the Egyptians into the midst of the sea. And the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen, even all the strength of Pharaoh which came after them into the sea; *there was not even one of them left.*

Such is the inspired account of this wonderful event in the history of Israel. We have quoted it thus fully as a basis for the remarks which follow. We now advance to the question,

Where did Israel Cross the Sea?

We must answer this question by asking and answering several other questions: first such as, *What was the number of the people of Israel? In what part of Egypt did they live?* or, *Where was the land of Goshen?* etc.

What was the Number of the People of Israel?

In the forty-sixth verse of the first chapter of Numbers we have the sum of the males given who were over twenty years of age, namely, 603,550. So also Exod. xii, 37; xxxviii, 26; and Num. ii, 32. This includes all the tribes except the tribe of Levi. This tribe had of males over one month old 22,000. Thus the proximate sum of males in Israel was 625,000. The number of women and children under twenty years was twice as many, making the entire population 1,876,650. Then we

are to add the mixed multitude mentioned in Exod. xii, 38, and we have a company not much less than 2,000,000 of people.*

In what Part of Egypt did Israel Reside? or, Where was the Land of Goshen?

From Gen. xlv, 10 we learn, that Joseph informed his father, Jacob, that when he came down to Egypt he should dwell in the land of Goshen; and from xlvii, 6 we learn, that Pharaoh said to Joseph, "In the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell:" and in verse 27 it is said, "And Israel dwelt . . . in the *country* of Goshen; and they had possession therein, and grew and multiplied exceedingly." Goshen, therefore, was not a city, but a *country* of Egypt. It was doubtless on the east side of the Nile, extending easterly from the Nile to the desert, embracing all the cultivated land on the east of the Delta, in the vicinity of Belbeis, which is about twenty miles below Cairo, on the fresh-water canal which runs to Ismailia and Suez. That this was its true location we may infer from Exod. xiii, 17: "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the Philistines, *because* [כִּי] *that was near;*" also from 1 Chron. vii, 21, where it is said the men of Gath came down to take the cattle of Ephraim while Israel yet sojourned in Egypt.

Again, in Gen. xlvi, 29, Joseph is said to have gone up to salute his father Jacob after he had come into Goshen, which is every-where said of one who makes a journey from Lower Egypt into Palestine.

Again, the speedy passage of the Israelites out of Egypt shows that Goshen was not far removed from the Red Sea. It is also to be remarked that in Gen. xlvii, 6, it is called "*the best of the land.*" Such it has ever been, down to the present day. In the remarkable document, translated by De Sacy, containing a valuation of all the provinces and villages of Egypt in the year 1376, this province is valued higher than any other, with one exception.

This province is at present called *Chackieh.* Its capital is

* See Dr. Adam Clarke's estimate, Commentary on Exodus xii, 37. He makes the number of Israel more than 3,000,000 souls.

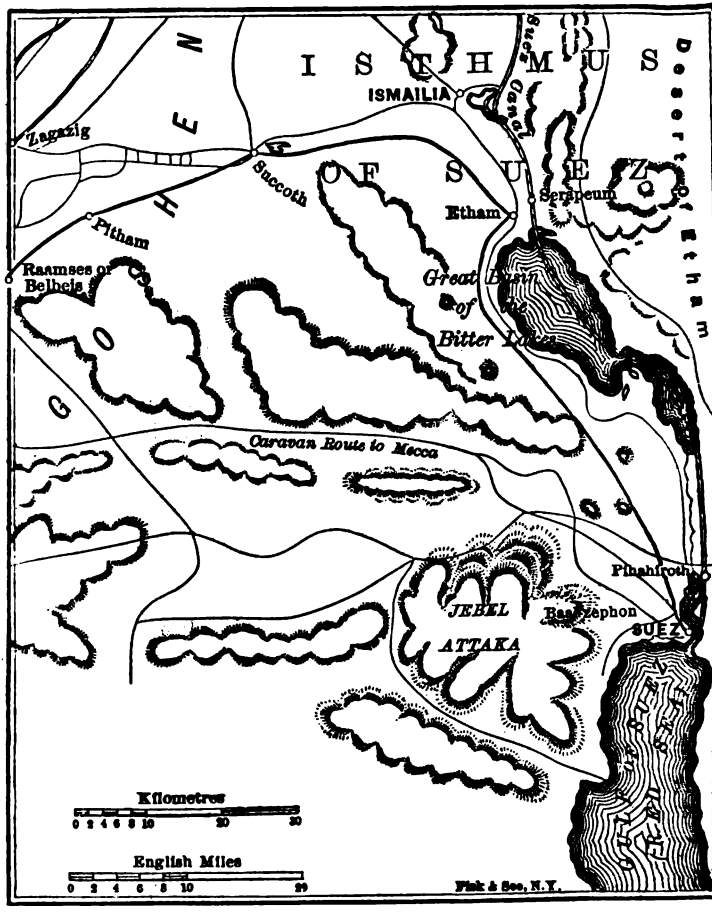
Zagazig. Its principal towns are Belbeis and Ibrahimieh. The railroad from Suez to Cairo passes through Zagazig, running first northerly to Ismailia, forty miles, and then westerly to Zagazig, thirty miles. About eight miles south of Zagazig is Belbeis, on the fresh-water canal leading from Cairo to Suez, which we take to be the ancient Rameses, the ancient capital of Goshen, and the head-quarters of the Israelites.

From Rameses Israel departed under Moses. (Exod. xii, 37; Num. xxxiii, 3, 5.) Rameses was not only a city, but a division of the province, and probably included Heliopolis, which is about eight miles below Cairo. Josephus says that Pharaoh gave Heliopolis to Jacob and his children. (*Antiq.*, ii, 6.) This place was also called *On*, and the Septuagint places it near to *Rameses*, meaning probably near the town or city, which was about twelve miles north of Heliopolis. Rameses was about twenty miles north-easterly from Cairo, and about twenty-five miles from Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt. Belbeis also is the same as the old Onion, built by Onias, out of the ruins of the temple, *βουβάστιως ἀγρίας*. (See Josephus, *Antiq.*, xiii, 3.) And Makrizi identifies it with the old Rameses.

It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that Israel was in the immediate vicinity of Memphis. It is not necessary to suppose that Pharaoh held his court at the capital alone. Kings anciently, as in modern times, held their courts at other places, as the Emperor William, of Germany, held his court at Versailles, in France, in 1870–1, for several months.

The city of Pithom, also mentioned in connection with Rameses, was probably a few miles to the east. Herodotus speaks of Pithom, (ii, 158,) and, after him, Stephen of Byzantium, under the name of *Πάτουμος Αραβίας*, and as on the road to Heroopolis.

A further consideration, which demonstrates that this part of Egypt was the ancient Goshen, is the fact that the children of Israel, consisting of two millions of people, with their flocks and herds, made the journey to the Red Sea in three days. See Num. xxxiii, 5–7: "And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth. And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the desert; and they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pi-hahiroth, which is eastward of Baal-zephon," that is, Suez.



The distance of Rameses to Suez in a straight line is about fifty English miles. But the children of Israel did not go in a straight line to Suez or to the Red Sea. We are told that when they came to Etham, in the edge of the desert, that the pillar of cloud turned and led them toward the Red Sea, which they reached on the evening of the third day. They went, then, undoubtedly, in the usually traveled road, which ran to Heroopolis, or the Bitter Lakes, which must have made the journey about ten miles longer, that is, sixty miles. This would make their journey twenty miles per day, which must

have been performed with no small difficulty by such a multitude. It is not usual for small caravans to go farther. Twenty miles was about the average made by our party in the journey through the desert. Disciplined armies do not usually march over twelve or fifteen miles per day. All theories, therefore, which place the land of Goshen more distant, and farther into the interior, must be taken as incorrect.

JOURNEY OF ISRAEL FROM RAMESES TO THE RED SEA.

The first day's journey ended at Succoth. The word Succoth means *tents* or *booths*, and this name may indicate something of the evanescent character of the place. The name has disappeared. Josephus says it was Letopolis. (*Antiq.*, ii, 15, 1.) It must have been about twenty miles north-east of Rameses.

The second day they came to Etham, in the edge of the desert. Etham is the name of the desert lying between Egypt and the Philistines' land, and extending southward along the eastern shore of the Red Sea, or Gulf of Suez. (See Exod. xxxiii, 8.)

On the morning of the third day they set forth. But the pillar of fire did not go farther in an easterly direction toward the land of Canaan, but strangely turned southerly toward Suez. On the evening of the third day they found themselves, after a long and tiresome march over yielding desert sands, on the western shore of the Red Sea. There was Mount 'Atakah on their right, presenting a solid wall of rock, and the sea was on their left and in their front, and the armies of the Egyptians were pressing upon their rear. Well did Pharaoh say, "*They have lost their way,** *the desert hath shut them in.*" (See Exod. xiv, 3.) Pharaoh thought they are now an easy prey. Consternation seized the camp of Israel, and they murmured against Moses. But Moses replied, "*Stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah.*" The pillar of fire removed, and took its position in the rear of Israel as the darkness of the night shut in. On the side toward the Egyptians it was darkness, but on the side toward Israel it shone as a burning flame. Thus the Egyptians quietly waited till the coming morning watch, little thinking of the sad fate which awaited them. There is a depression, corresponding with the bed of the sea, extending north-westerly

* The Niphal participle נְבֻכִים, *wandering about*, not knowing where they were; the English version, "entangled in the land," is too indefinite.

several miles, with Mount 'Atakah on the Egyptian side, a bare wall of rocks rising some six hundred or eight hundred feet in height. There is also a similar wall of limestone cliffs on the eastern, or Arabian side, also extending northerly, leaving a valley between these hills of about eight miles wide. In the middle of this valley there is a depression running toward the north-west, in which are built the fresh-water canal, the railway, and the Suez canal. These run north-westerly forty miles, to Ismailia. The canal then turns more directly northward, and strikes the Mediterranean at Port Saïd.

This depression contained also the *ancient* canal, which united the waters of the Nile with those of the Red Sea. This was first carried out by Pharaoh Necho, 610 B. C. According to Herodotus, he was the first to attempt the construction of a canal to the Red Sea. Necho's canal tapped the Nile at Bubastis, near Zagazig, and followed almost the line of the modern canal to Heroopolis, the site of which was between the Bitter Lakes and Lake Timsah, the ruins of which are found at the present day.

It has been often suggested that the Bitter Lakes once formed a part of the Red Sea, the valley having been filled up in the course of ages by the moving sands of the desert. This one can easily believe who rides through the Suez canal on a windy day. It was our lot to see such a day on our journey through the canal, on the 12th of May, 1874. Clouds of yellow sand filled the air, and blew over our boat, and into our faces, like drifting snows.

The old canal was thus frequently choked up, and navigation entirely stopped. From the days of Pharaoh Necho to those of Mohammed Ali, when the waters of the Red Sea were driven back by the south winds, portions of this old canal were filled with water, and flowed back nearly to the Bitter Lakes.

We are now prepared to give an approximate answer to the question, Where was Pi-hahiroth? The meaning of the name, to our mind, suggests the place. The word or syllable פִּי is the Egyptian article, and חִחִירוֹת=the Coptic ⲁϫⲓ-ⲥⲟⲩⲧ —that is, *the meadow place*, or the place where water plants grow, such as flags and rushes. We observed such a place as this on the east side of the canal, not far from where it enters into the

sea. This place is described as *before* or *east* of Baal-zephon. We saw it as we rode along on our camels, and it seemed to be many acres in extent, and we saw no other place in this region of this character. West from Pi-hahiroth was Baal-zephon. The word בַּעַל is a frequent prefix, probably derived from the idol-god Baal, and when thus prefixed to the names of places it indicates, perhaps, that they were devoted to his worship. Hence we have Baal-hazor, Baal-hamon, Baal-meon, etc. The term צָפוֹן=צָפוֹן=north, and the name is thus appropriate as being at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, or of the deep waters of the gulf, about three miles south-westerly from Pi-hahiroth, and corresponding with the present site of Suez. These places are not mentioned elsewhere in Scripture, except in connection with this event.

We come finally to inquire, Where was Migdol? מִגְדּוֹל=a *tower*, a *castle*, which is always, in Oriental cities, built upon the highest hill. The hill upon which the house of the governor is built, in Suez, struck us as the probable place of this ancient castle. It is a conspicuous house from all parts of the valley, and especially from the sea. In later times this place is mentioned by Jeremiah, xliv, 1, and xlvi, 14, as inhabited by Jews; also by Ezekiel, xxix, 10, and xxx, 6, as the *northern* extremity of the land of Egypt, as Syene, or Assooán, was the *southern* extremity, and thus the expression from Migdol to Syene—the whole land of Egypt—as from Dan to Beer-sheba indicated the whole of the land of Israel. Here was the head-quarters of Israel's camp. They were to encamp between *Migdol* and the sea.

There is now another natural feature which comes in as a factor in the solution of this problem of the crossing, and that is the *bar or flats, which extend from Suez southerly about three miles to the other shore.*

On our second visit to Egypt, in May, 1874, we examined this elevation in the bed of the sea with great care, measuring its course and depth from shore to shore. Its course from the Suez Hotel is southerly about 15° east; the water depth at low water was five feet, the width about one mile, and the distance from Suez to the other shore from three to three and a half miles. On the western side of this bar are built the railway and the docks for the East India ships. Between this

bar and the western shore is the harbor, with a depth of water sufficient to float ships of the largest size. On the east side of the bar is the upper harbor, the average depth at low water being from eight to ten feet.

Now the question arises, whether this bar above described is not the most probable place of Israel's crossing. In chap. xiv, 21, it is said, "Moses stretched out his hand upon the sea; and Jehovah caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and he made the sea dry land, and divided the waters." Of course an *east* wind was necessary to drive the waters from the bar, as the bar runs northerly and southerly. It happened on the day of our visit, in the afternoon and the following night, that a powerful east wind blew from the desert over the sea. This bar became entirely bare and dry from Suez to the other shore, so that with the compass I was able from the roof of the Suez Hotel to take the exact bearing of this bar all the way to the other shore.

The wind blew all that night (ver. 21) until the morning watch, (ver. 24,) or about two o'clock A. M. Then it ceased. The waters were as a wall heaped up on the right and left, and thus also were a defense to Israel, preventing the Egyptians from flanking them on the east and north. Israel entered at once upon the dry bed of the sea, and in three hours were safely over on the other shore. The Egyptians followed on after them—Jehovah in the darkness fought against them —took off their chariot wheels, and they fell into confusion and consternation, and just at daylight, when they were all in, that is, at the turning of the morning, (ver. 27,) "Moses stretched out his hand, and the sea returned, at the turning of the morning, to its ceaseless flow, and Jehovah shook out the Egyptians trying to meet it into the midst of the sea, and the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen, with all the host of Pharaoh coming after them. There was not one of them left." (v. 28.) Such is the account of Pharaoh's overthrow and of Israel's deliverance. The Divine purpose was accomplished. Israel was saved and their enemies drowned. Thus the military power of Egypt was effectually broken. The whole conception and carrying out of the plan was of the Lord.

The crossing at or near Suez, therefore, seems to us the

most probable. North of Suez the sea would have been too narrow. South of Suez it would have been too wide, as at Cape 'Atakah, where it is ten or twelve miles wide. *We think Suez is the only place* where two millions of people could cross the sea in three hours. The distance of ten miles would have been too great, and a physical impossibility. For the same reason this vast multitude could not have gone on their march to the sea to the west of Mount 'Atakah and approached the sea to the south of this mountain. A distance of eighty miles in three days through a rough and trackless desert would have been also a physical impossibility. We have heard of only one objection against this view. It has been said, "*The passage at Suez belittles the miracle.*" Not at all. We have presented the miracle just as it is presented in the Scriptures. We acknowledge it may belittle some people's erroneous conceptions of this miraculous crossing. That is true. But we must follow the Scriptures closely. The crossing was a miracle, or, more correctly, a series of miracles. The cloudy and fiery pillar which led Israel was miraculous. The holding of the waters in heaps on either side of the bar, while Israel was in the midst of the sea, was miraculous; and the letting of these waters return upon the hosts of Egypt the moment when Israel was over—that, too, was miraculous. It is true, God used the natural means of the wind and the bar, yet there was also much of the miraculous.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, January, 1875. (Philadelphia.)—1. American Baptist Ministry one Hundred Years Ago. 2. Professor Tyndall's Belfast Address. 3. The Parousia. 4. Scientists and Theologians: How they Disagree, and Why. 5. Hildebrand. 6. Dramatic Element of Pulpit Oratory. 7. Origin of the Human Race.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1875. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Lord's Supper. 2. The True Relation of the Holy Spirit to the Sinner in Conversion. 3. Τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον—The Good News. 4. Recovery from Sin. 5. The Unity of the Christian System. 6. Foreign Missions. 7. The Bible and Tradition.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, January, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Milton Badger. 2. The American Home Missionary Society. 3. The Financial Aspects of the Benevolent Work of the Churches. 4. Receipts and Funds of the Co-operative Congregational Societies. 5. Bushnell's Forgiveness and Law. 6. The Basis of True Culture. 7. Congregational Necrology.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1875. (New Haven.)—1. Central Asia. 2. Herbert Spencer's Proposed Reconciliation between Religion and Science. 3. The Pardoning Power. 4. Matthew Arnold's "Literature and Dogma." 5. Grote and Curtius. 6. Dr. Bacon's "Genesis of the New England Churches." 7. The Genesis of Rights in Natural Law. 8. The Heroic Age of America, and its Legacy.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of George Bruce Upton. 2. Diary of Dr. Ezra Greene. 3. The Wilcox Family. 4. Greenland, N. H.—Early Ministerial Records. 5. Pedigree of Gorges, with Notes. 6. Nantucket in the Revolution. 7. Marriages in West Springfield, 1774–96. 8. Letter of Richard Price to President Stiles. 9. Judges of Probate, County of Middlesex, Mass. 10. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 11. The Old English Church in Canton, Mass. 12. Transfer of Erin. 13. The Townshend Family. 14. Brookfield Minute-Men, 1774. 15. Destruction of the Town of York, Me.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1875. (Boston.)—1. The Great Middle Region of the United States, and its Limited Space of Arable Land. 2. The Native Races of the Pacific States. 3. Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America. 4. The Wage-Fund Theory. 5. An Episode in Municipal Government.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1875. (New York.)—1. Preaching to the Conscience. 2. The Modern Theory of Forces. 3. The Buddhist and Christian Ideas of Hell. 4. The Anointment of Jesus by Mary of Bethany. 5. The True Theory and Practice of Education. 6. The Inspiration of Paul. 7. Calvinism in Doctrine and Life. 8. Enthusiasm in Sacred Oratory. 9. The Philosophy of Evolution. 10. Draper's Religion and Science.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, January, 1875. (Gettysburg.)—1. Chronology of the Hebrew Testament. 2. The Essential Elements of True Manhood. 3. Rev. Theophilus Stork, D.D. 4. The Heavenly Citizenship. 5. Prof. Tyndall's Address. 6. The Lord's Day, or Christian Sabbath. 7. The Past Success of Modern Missions. 8. Gladstone on the Vatican Decrees.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, January, 1875. (St. Louis.)—1. Reason and Revelation. 2. Japan and the Japanese. 3. The Suffering and Salvation of Infants. 4. History of Marriage. 5. The Atmosphere. 6. Infant Baptism.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Universalist Conventions and Creeds. 2. "The Safest Creed." 3. The Present Condition of Mohammedanism. 4. Obstacles by Learned Men to Science. 5. Antioch in Syria. 6. German Rationalism. 7. The Opinions of John Wesley.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, January, 1875. (Andover.)—1. The Natural Sources of Theology. 2. Natural Basis of Our Spiritual Language. 3. New Testament Use of Σάρξ. 4. Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer. 5. The Physical Value of Prayer. 6. On Certain Erroneous Theories of the Significance of Sacrifice. 7. Rothe on the Limitations of Divine Foreknowledge. 8. Dr. Biesenthal on Matthew ii, 23. 9. The House of Pudens. 10. Dr. Bushnell's Forgiveness and Law. 11. Notes on Egyptology—New Theory of the Exodus by Pasha Brugsch.

On page 198 Mr. George F. Wright, in noticing Prof. Cowles on the Pentateuch, argues that the genealogies of Genesis may be considered abridgements, because other Scripture genealogies have occasionally omitted a few names. He says:—"He [Prof. Cowles] concedes an abridged genealogy in Exod. vi, 16–20. Why not inquire if similar abridgements be out of

the question in Gen. v, 3–32, and xi, 10–26? We are inclined to look with favor upon the language of a writer in the British and Foreign Evangelical Review: 'Most of those [tables of genealogies] which afford any opportunity of being tested by fuller historical notices are proved to be abridged. May not a different principle lie at the basis of these two tables likewise than the bald historical one? Gaps and intervals of the widest kind may occur, though the truthfulness of each separate figure remain unimpeached. For instance, in regard to the tables of the antediluvians, may it not have been the most eminent for piety who were chosen on the one hand, and the most notorious for ungodliness on the other? . . . In short, let these slight tracings of the men before the flood tell of God's covenant rather than of man's pedigree, and they come to be possessed of new and more vital interest.'"

The replies to this are, 1. The form of the Genesis genealogies excludes any break or omission. When a writer says, "*A lived to such an age and begat B; and after he begat B he lived so many years and begat sons and daughters*, no possible interpretation can allow that there is an intermediate person begotten between A and B, whose name is omitted. 2. No one can read the entire genealogies, we think, without feeling that the author's purpose was *chronological*. His very purpose is to measure the times, and tell us how long it was from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham. 3. When two or three names are omitted in a century the line is virtually still identified. But when ten or twelve names in line are made to span the chasms of millions of years the result is preposterous. It is impossible to go before the tribunal of the public commonsense with such a defense of the genealogies with any success. We may as well admit at start their unhistorical character, whatever inferences may result from that admission.

And the inferences would seem to be serious. Matthew safely begins his pedigree with Abraham. But Luke runs his list upward to Adam, son of God. What then shall we say of the historical inspiration of Luke after we have admitted that he quotes as historical an unhistorical document? Our readers who remember our former expressions on this subject know that, personally, we have an answer, though an answer provisional, and subject to correction from farther discoveries.

We believe that the genealogies of Genesis and Luke are historical, correctly and fully giving the names from Adam to Abraham; but that the paleolithic man lies in that line we doubt.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1875. (London.)—1. Paparchy and Nationality. 2. Cox's History of Greece. 3. "The Adornment of St. Paul's." 4. The Bible's Place in a Science of Religion. 5. Early Christian Inscriptions of France. 6. The Greville Memoirs. 7. Europe and Peace. 8. Erasmus—His Character.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1875. (London.)—1. The Evangelical Alliance. 2. Daniel the Prophet. 3. Ismailia. 4. The Church and the Empires. 5. Homer's Iliad in Translation. 6. Mr. Gladstone's Ecclesiastical Opinions. 7. Bushnell on Forgiveness and Law.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE—(Journal for Historical Theology.) Edited by Dr. Kahnis. (Second Number, 1875.) 1. CHRISTOFFEL, The Life and Writings of Cardinal Casparo Contarini. 2. KOHLER, The Endeavors of the Evangelical Princes of the Sixteenth Century for a Moral Regeneration of Social Life.

The Old Catholic movement of our days has called new attention to the lives and writings of prominent men of former centuries, who aimed at a similar reformation of the Church of Rome, and who on that account may be regarded as forerunners of the Old Catholics. Pastor Christoffel, of Winterfengen, in the Swiss canton of Basel, represents, in the above article, Cardinal Contarini as one of the foremost representatives of Old Catholic tendencies at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He tells us, in the introduction to his article, that while studying the history of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, to which he has for years devoted all his leisure hours, he had learned to admire Contarini as one of the noblest champions of the Church of Rome, whose character appeared all the nobler if compared with the other spokesmen of the Church of Rome, Eck, Faber, Murner, etc. He began, therefore, several years before the present Old Catholic movement of Germany arose, to make the life and the writings of Contarini a subject of special studies. The essay in the present number of the Journal for Historical Theology is the first-fruits of these studies. It gives a full account of the life of Contarini,

and sets forth his religious views as much as possible in his own words, without any critical remarks. The author expresses the hope that the Old Catholics of our day may look upon Contarini as one of their forerunners, and one of the noblest representatives of their views and aims, and that they may learn from him to avoid the dangers which became fatal for him. To evangelical Protestants, on the other hand, he represents the life of Contarini as an interesting example how the doctrinal system of Rome, with all its corruption and abuses, mirrors itself in the soul of a good and pious man. It is this ideal Catholicism, he says, which, notwithstanding the rotten basis on which the Church of Rome rests, still attracts and holds noble and sincere Christian minds, and which explains how the gigantic edifice has been able to weather so many storms. A translation of two essays of Contarini, "On the Reformation of the Church," and "On Justification by Faith," are included in the article. Of special interest in this article is the account of the work of a committee on the Reformation of the Church, which Pope Paul III. appointed in accordance with the recommendation of Contarini. The report which this committee presented to the Pope was drawn up by Contarini, and was soon published in Germany. It is specially valuable, as a testimony of the fearful corruptions which at that time prevailed in the Church of Rome. The reformatory measures which it proposed were exceedingly weak and insignificant, and bear no comparison with the much more thorough reforms that have already been adopted by the Old Catholics of Germany. After the death of Contarini, even the very moderate reformatory movement which he had encouraged and protected was persecuted with fire and sword. The germs of Protestantism, which in many parts of the peninsula began to promise a rich harvest, were almost every-where rooted out. The author of this article, Christoffel, has treated more fully of the sufferings and the martyrdom of the Italian reformers and Protestants in a special work entitled "Lebens und Leidensbilder Evangelischer Märtyrer Italiens." (*Lives and Sufferings of Evangelical Martyrs of Italy.* Berne, 1869.)

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE population connected with the Oriental Greek Church of Russia was, in 1871, according to the "Statistical Year-Book of the Russian Empire," (vol. ii, 1871,) about 58,000,000, divided as follows: European Russia, 53,139,000; Poland, 30,000; Caucasia, 1,919,925; Siberia, 2,875,000; Central Asia, 131,000; Finland, 34,000. Turkey numbers about 12,000,000 inhabitants belonging to the Greek Church, of whom 4,275,000 belong to Roumania, and 1,295,000 to Servia; Austria, according to the census of 1871, 3,050,000; the Kingdom of Greece, 1,440,000; Montenegro, 125,000; Germany, about 3,000. The number of Rascolniks, or sectarians, in Russia which acknowledge the doctrinal basis of the Greek Church, but reject the liturgy of the Russian Church as corrected by Patriarch Nicon, (1654,) is given in the "Statistical Year-Book of the Russian Empire" as 922,079 in European Russia, 4,552 in Poland, 58,876 in Caucasia, 64,505 in Siberia, 42,443 in Central Asia. But this number embraces only those who publicly profess themselves as Rascolniks; the number of those who secretly belong to the large number of sects is much larger. They are variously estimated at from 5,000,000 to 15,000,000. Lengenfeldt, in his recent work on Russia, (*Russland in 19th Jahrhundert.* Berlin, 1875,) assumes their number to be about 11,000,000; while Hepworth Dixon, in his work on Russia, claims to have heard from a Russian minister that they count fully 17,000,000.

The Greek Church of the Servian nationality in the Kingdom of Hungary had, in 1874, to choose as its head a new patriarch of Carlovitz. According to the Hungarian Constitution, each religious denomination of the kingdom administers its own Church affairs, the legislative functions being exercised by an autonomous Church Congress. Formerly the Servian Church Congress, which elected the patriarch, was composed of twenty-five clergymen, twenty-five military men, and twenty-five other laymen. The Commissioner of the Government was generally an influential general, who, with the aid of the twenty-five military members of the Congress, always knew how to secure the election of the candidate of the Government. The abolition of the military frontier, and the organization of the Greek Church of the Roumanian nationality into a separate ecclesiastical province, has caused a great change in the composition of the Church Congress, to which Art. IX of the laws of 1868 guarantees, among other autonomous rights, that of electing the patriarch. As it now consists exclusively of representatives of the Servian nationality, its actions are closely connected with the tendencies of the Servian nationality in Hungary, and were, therefore, watched with great eagerness. The Congress again, as in former years, consisted of seventy-five delegates, twenty-five clerical and fifty laymen.

Among the latter there were this year only three military men; but, on the other hand, ten doctors of law, who had graduated at the Universities of Vienna and Pesth, and were the prominent leaders of the Congress. The Hungarian Government had made great efforts to prevent at the elections for the Congress the success of the candidates of the national Servian party, and to secure the nomination of a man of moderate views on the nationality question. As the national Servian party generally favors the extension of the rights of the Church Congress and a development of the Church Constitution on the broad basis of self-government, the Hungarian Government found it in its interest to ally itself closely with the hierarchical party, which desires to clothe the bishops with as large powers as possible. The result of the elections was, however, unfavorable to the Hungarian Government. Of the seventy-five deputies, only three belonged to the strictly hierarchical party, ten others to a compromising middle party, while all the others were stanch partisans of the national party. The candidate of the Hungarian Government for the headship of the Church was Bishop Gruitsch, the administrator of the patriarchate; the Court of Vienna favored the coadjutor-bishop Augyelitsch, the head of the clerical party; the national Servian party, in fine, was known to support Arsenius Stojkovitsch, the former administrator of the patriarchate, and at present Bishop of Ofen. Bishop Gruitsch had, in 1848, been the greatest enemy of the Magyars, and by inflammatory speeches had stirred up the insurrection of the Servians against the Magyars. During the ministry of Bach he had to suffer much from persecution, and had to live for many years retired in a convent of Livonia. When he finally succeeded in obtaining a diocese in Slavonia, he endeavored to atone for his national tendencies in 1848 by an excessive loyalty. His pastoral letters were chiefly remarkable for the emphatic recommendation of submissiveness to the Emperor and the lawful authorities. He found it all the easier to re-enter into friendly relations with the Hungarian Government, as he has an excellent command of the Magyar language, having been educated in a Magyar country. He has broken off all connection with the national Servian party. The coadjutor-bishop Augyelitsch is regarded as the best authority in all questions of the Oriental Church law. He is a determined opponent of all the innovations which the creation of an autonomous Church Congress has introduced into the administration of the parishes, of the consistories, and the exarchial assemblies. He desires to maintain the full authority of the bishops, not only in all questions strictly ecclesiastical, but also in the administration of Church property. Being thoroughly conservative in all his views, he knew how to obtain the unbounded confidence of the Vienna Court. Bishop Stojkovitsch is a firm and enthusiastic advocate of all the peculiar tenets of the Oriental Church, but he regards the participation of laymen in the administration of temporalities as entirely compatible with the character of the Oriental Church. He kept entirely aloof from the intrigues of the bishops and the clerical party against the authority of the Servian

Church Congress, and thus gained the affection of the national party. Having been appointed administrator of the patriarchate at the death of Patriarch Mashirevitsch, he gave as president of the preceding Church Congresses, by the judicious exercise of his powers, universal satisfaction. In consequence of the intrigues of the clerical party against him, he was relieved from the administration of the patriarchate, although the emperor of Austria expressed to him on this occasion his satisfaction, and conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold. The Hungarian Government, being afraid of the popularity of Bishop Stojkovitsch, endeavored to prevail upon him to declare an election even before the opening of the Congress; but Stojkovitsch refused to comply with this demand, unless the emperor personally should request him to do so. The opening of the Congress was to take place at Carlovitz on July 11, but was postponed to July 12. The Hungarian Government had appointed as its commissioner Councilor Hüber, a German Hungarian, and a native of a Servian district of Hungary. The interest which the entire Servian nation takes in the Church Congress had brought to Carlovitz a large number of visitors from all parts of Turkish as well as Austrian Servia. On the day of opening the administrator of the patriarchate, Bishop Gruitch, having been led by a deputation into the hall of the Congress, moved that a deputation express to the royal Commissioner the respects of the Congress, and invite him to open the Congress. When the Commissioner had made his appearance he addresssd the Congress at first in the Hungarian, after that in the Servian language, and then read the royal rescript also in both languages. The rescript designated as the first business of the Congress the election of a patriarch, after which the Synod would meet to dispose of several subjects referred to it, and to elect bishops for the vacant sees; subsequently the Congress would continue its transactions on Church, school, and property questions. Full accounts of the proceedings of the Congress were published in a lithographed paper specially established at Carlovitz for the purpose, and published in the German language under the title of "Carlovitzer Correspondenz." Immediately after the verification of the elections the Congress proceeded to the nomination of the patriarch. In accordance with the general expectation, Bishop Stojkovitsch was the first choice, sixty-three votes being cast for him and seven members abstaining from voting. The Government refused to sanction the election. The royal rescript, which is dated Ebensee, July 22, merely stating that upon motion of the Prime Minister of Hungary, and in agreement with the Hungarian Minister of Public Worship and with the Government of Croatia, the royal sanction could not be given to the election of Bishop Stojkovitsch. After the reading of the royal rescript, the Church Congress adopted a resolution expressing regret that for the first time in the history of the Austrian Servians the royal sanction had been denied to a patriarch who had been elected by a unanimous vote. The members of the Congress were at first inclined to resign in a body, as they were not

willing to elect any of the other bishops of the Servian Church. At length, however, they agreed to proceed to a second election, and to cast their votes for the metropolitan of the Greek Church of the Roumanian nation, Archbishop Ivacskovitsch, who, although the head of the Church of another nationality, was yet a native Servian, and a personal friend of Stojkovitsch. He was accordingly elected on July 31 by fifty-six votes, the candidate of the Government, Bishop Gruitsch, receiving only seven votes. The new election inspired all the more confidence, as Bishop Ivacskovitsch, as head of the Church of the Roumanian nationality, had already had some experience in the administration of a similar position. Before the separation of the Church of the Roumanian from that of the Servian nationality he had been Bishop of Arad, and when that diocese became a part of the Roumanian Church province he had remained its bishop, and although of the Servian nationality, had gained the confidence of the Roumanians to such an extent that they elected him, in 1873, their metropolitan. Although the Hungarian Government was by no means pleased with the result of the second election, it deemed it best this time not to withhold its sanction, and accordingly Bishop Ivacskovitsch was, on August 18, the birthday of the emperor, installed as patriarch of the Servian nationality by pompous solemnities. The Synod of the Servian bishops, which could now be convoked under the presidency of the patriarch, filled the vacant sees of Temesvar and Carlstadt by the election of priests Voinovitsch and Zsiokovitsch, both of whom were confirmed by the Government. The Church Congress re-assembled on October 5. The leader of the national party, Dr. Miletitsch, objected to a proposition of the patriarch to invite the royal Commissioner to the meetings of the Congress; the objection was, however, withdrawn when the patriarch assured the Congress that he, and not the commissioner, would preside at the Congress. The Commissioner laid before the Congress the report of the Episcopal Synod on the statute concerning the organization of the Church Congress, which the Hungarian had referred to the Episcopal Synod for its opinions. The majority of the Congress were anything but pleased with the report of the bishops, and especially objected to their demand that not only all dogmatical, ritual, and liturgical questions should belong to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Episcopal Synod, but also all questions of Church discipline. A committee of fifteen members was elected to examine the report of the bishops, and to propose to the Congress a proper course of action. While the committee was unanimous in the rejection of some demands of the bishops, it was not altogether opposed to a compromise. The leader of the compromising party, Dr. Maksimovitsch, prepared a new draft of a statute for the composition of the Congress, and the Congress expressed its concurrence with the desire for a peaceable solution of the difficulties by rejecting the motion made by Dr. Miletitsch, to make the statute of 1871 the basis of the discussion. While the bishop demanded that the Congress should regulate the autonomy of the Church only in agreement with the Synod, thus making

it dependent upon the concurrence of the Synod, the middle party conceded that the Congress should act on important questions only after hearing the opinion of the Synod. After long negotiations, in which the Hungarian Government took an active part in favor of the bishops, an agreement was attained in virtue of which disciplinary questions of a purely ecclesiastical nature were added to the subjects which are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the bishops. The Congress adjourned on October 26.

The national Congress of the Greek Church of the Roumanian nation, in the Kingdom of Hungary, met on October 21 at Hermannstadt, in order to elect another metropolitan and head of the Church in the place of Archbishop Ivacskovitsch, who had been elected by the Servian Church Congress Patriarch of Carlovitz. An important innovation in the Greek Oriental Church was the convocation by Bishop Pavel, of Szamos Ujvar, of a diocesan Synod, one third of the members to be clerical and two thirds lay deputies. This is believed to be the first diocesan Synod of the kind in the Greek Oriental Church.

The Synod of the Greek Church of Roumania met in November, and remained in session for about six weeks. It passed a resolution to ask the Government to place the entire system of public instruction under the control of the Church. The Minister of Public Worship conceded to the bishop the right of examining and approving the school books, but the question whether the Church was also to control the appointment of the leaders was referred to the Legislature.

The Church of Greece in 1874 received a new head by the election of the Archbishop of Messania as Metropolitan of Attica and President of the Holy Synod. (See Greece.) Of other new episcopal appointments the "Aion," of Athens, of August 5, (17,) says that "after long and careful consideration royal decrees were day before yesterday issued, by which were designated, out of nine candidates proposed by the Holy Synod, three persons to fill vacant sees. Stephen Argurides, aged about fifty-five, a select preacher, a graduate of the Rizarean School, was appointed to the See of Messania; the Archimandrite Callinicus Terzopoulos, aged about forty-five, a graduate of the Hieratic School, to the See of Argolis; to that of Patras, Averkios Lampyres, aged fifty, for a long time past Secretary of the Holy Synod. The latter spent four years in Germany pursuing his studies after graduating at the theological school of the University."

The sentiments of the Church of Russia on the question of closer relations between the Eastern and Anglican communions is set forth in the following reply from Isidor, the President of the Holy Synod of Russia, to the Committee of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States:—

To the Well Beloved in Christ, and the Right Reverend Committee of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

Your letter addressed to his excellency the Procurator-General, Count Tolstoy, having been presented by him to the consideration of the most holy governing Synod of

Russia, together with the report and the concurrence of the House of Bishops, approved by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, in reference to the establishment upon a true Catholic basis of a spiritual fraternity between the American and orthodox Churches, especially in the Territory of Alaska, was received by the most holy Synod of all the Russias with the utmost pleasure as a new proof of respect shown by the representatives of the Episcopal Church, and of their estimable purpose concerning the union of the Churches. The most holy Synod on their part will make it an object of their constant care that a spirit of Christian tolerance and fraternal love and esteem, in accordance with the precepts and usages of our Church, shall continue to pervade all the relations existing between the members of the Orthodox Church and those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and particularly in the Territory of Alaska.

As to the hypothesis of a reciprocal participation in the solemn performance of the sacrament of the Eucharist, the Eastern Church firmly adheres to the principles and convictions so clearly stated in the messages sent in 1723 by the orthodox patriarchs of the East in reply to the Anglican bishops. It considers a previous agreement in faith as absolutely indispensable to the practical mutual participation in the sacraments, inasmuch as the first is the only possible ground-work or basis for the last. In order to attain this most desired end a thorough study and investigation of the differences in the doctrine of both Churches would be absolutely requisite, and to promote this a great principle of co-operation will undoubtedly be found in the spirit of peace and charity which animate both Churches, the Orthodox as well as the American, and in those prayers for the peace of the whole world, and for the union of the holy Churches of the Lord, which arise to the God of truth and mercy from the orthodox Churches, and which are most certainly shared in the American Churches.

Having been authorized by the most holy governing Synod, I assume the duty of presenting their answer to the House of Bishops of the American Episcopal Church, and beg you to accept the assurance of the highest esteem of your brother and co-servant in Christ Jesus, ISIDORE,

First Presiding Minister of the Governing Synod of all the Russias, and Metropolitan of Novgorod and St. Petersburg.

According to an account given of the Greek Church of Turkey by an English clergyman long familiar with Eastern Church affairs, an increased importance is now attributed to the study and the preaching of the Bible. He says:—

In sermons, letters, speeches, this is the topic which is dwelt upon more frequently than I have ever before known. A new movement in this direction seems to have taken its first impulse from the sermon preached by the former Protosyncellus of the Œcumenical Patriarch on the occasion of the enthronization of the latter. The preacher innovated (in the eyes of some offensively) by discarding compliments, and reminding the chief pastor of the dangers and the defects of the great Church over which he was appointed to watch. "Thou canst not but see that the word of God doth *not* dwell in us richly;" that was the key-note of his strain. That preacher has been recently sent to Choritza, in Western Macedonia, as archbishop; and one good effect of this appointment has been to call forth from the organ of the Armenian Church an exclamation of delight, because a truly spiritual pastor has been appointed to tend that flock. It is to be hoped that such expressions of sympathy, besides showing a true bond of union between believers of communions unhappily still separated, may also rouse the old Armenian Church to a godly jealousy.

A large amount of information on the present condition of the Greek Church of Russia may be obtained from the annual reports of Count Tolstoy, the representative of the Russian Government at the Holy Synod. As the Russian language is comparatively but little known outside of Russia, a priest of one of the Russian Churches in Germany,

Tatchalov, in Wiesbaden, has published extracts from them in German. The third of these reports, (*Kurzer Auszug aus dem Allerunterthanigsten Bericht des Grafen D. Tolstoy an Seine Majestät den Kaiser von Russland.* Wiesbaden, 1874,) which refers to the condition of the Church in 1872, is especially rich in information on the reorganization of the literary institutions of the Church. Of the four ecclesiastical academies, those of St. Petersburg and Kiev have been fully, those of Moscow and Kasan almost fully, reorganized. At the four academies there were twenty-eight ordinary and twenty-eight extraordinary professors, and fifty other lecturers. The chairs of eight ordinary and eight extraordinary professors are as yet vacant. Several lecturers were sent, at the expense of the State Government, to foreign institutions, (in 1872 one was sent to Germany and one to Greece,) in order to complete their studies in special branches. The larger portion of the middle and lower institutions have likewise been reorganized. The annual report also gives a list of all the theological works published in 1872. The Holy Synod continued the publication of the Bible in the Russian language, and the larger portion of the Old Testament has now been finished. The number of theological publications is steadily and considerably increasing.

Another interesting work on the Greek Church of Russia has recently been published in Germany in the French language. It is entitled, *Lettre à Monsieur le Professeur H. de Treitschke, à propos de quelques jugements sur l'église de Russie par N. N.* Liepzig, 1874. The author is an intelligent Russian, who in 1873 attended the lectures of the German historian Treitschke, at Heidelberg, and who desires to correct the assertion of Treitschke, that the Russian emperor is the head of the Greek Orthodox Church of his States. The author says that, in the opinion of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Christian Church has no visible head, Christ alone being its head. The Russian Church, originally placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, had subsequently its own patriarchs, which dignity was in 1589 established with the consent of the four Oriental patriarchs. The patriarchate was abolished in 1721, and the Holy Synod took its place; and as this change also received the consent of the Oriental patriarchs, the Holy Synod has the "canonical authority of a patriarch." The Imperial "procurator" is not a member of the Synod, and has not even a deliberative vote, but only the right of vetoing resolutions of the Synod, occupying about the same position which in other States is held by the Minister of Public Worship. The Holy Synod consists exclusively of ecclesiastics; in 1872, of three metropolitans, three archbishops, and two archpriests. The number of convents is given by the author as 532, (383 male and 149 female,) with 25,960 monks and nuns. The number of churches is about 40,000. The priests now elect the superior of districts, (corresponding to the deans of the Catholic Church,) and are allowed to assemble in district conventions.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Dr. Sevin, lecturer on Theology at Heidelberg, the author of several works on the Synoptical Gospels, has published a second (greatly enlarged) volume of his work on the "Chronology of the Life of Jesus." (*Chronologie des Lebens Jesu.* Tubingen, 1874.) The researches are entirely based on the first three of the so-called Synoptical Gospels. With regard to the fourth gospel, the author agrees with those German critics who believe in insolvable discrepancies between it and the three first gospels, and who, on that account, reject it as spurious. After rejecting several chronological positions which have hitherto been held by most of the theologians, he undertakes to fix the dates of some prominent events. Pilate, according to him, was deposed before Easter, 36; Caiaphas soon after; John the Baptist was not put to death before 33. The fifteenth of Nisan, which, according to the Synoptical Gospels, was the death-day of Jesus, was, in the years 30 and 34, on a Friday; hence, he concludes Jesus was crucified on April 23, 24.

Three valuable essays on the "History of the East in Ancient Times" (*Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients.* Halle, 1874) have been published by Dr. Brandes, Professor of History at the University of Breslau. The first essay treats of the list of Assyrian eponyms which have been brought to light by the discovery of cuneiform inscriptions, and are of incalculable importance for a more accurate knowledge of the ancient history of the East than was formerly possible, shedding in particular a flood of light on many chronological statements of the Old Testament.

A new Introduction to the New Testament has been published by Professor Hilgenfeld, of Jena, (*Historische Kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* Leipzig, 1875.) The author is well known as one of the prominent representatives of the radical Tubingen school, and as the editor of the *Zeitschrift fur Wissenschaftliche Theologie.* A feature of this book which makes it of great interest to all theological students, though they may not approve of his negative critical views, is the thorough acquaintance of the author with the entire immense literature on the New Testament. There are few, if any, theologians living who exceed him in this respect.

Of another work on the Introduction to the New Testament, which has for years held a high rank in the theological literature of Germany, the "History of the Holy Writings of the New Testament," by Professor Reuss, of Strassburg, (*Die Geschichte der heil. Schriften des Neuen Testamentes.* Braunschweig, 1874,) the fifth edition has appeared. Differing from most of the other authors on the subject, Professor Reuss treats the Introduction to the Bible more as an historical than an exegetical subject. He divides his work into five books: the history of the origin; of the collection, (canon;) the preservation, (text;) circulation, (translations;) and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

A theological work of great importance is the publication of the Acts of the Council of Trent, by the late Father Theiner, of Rome. The work has the title, *Acta Genuina ss. Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini ab Angelo Massarello Episcopo Thelesino ejusdem Concilii Secretario Econscripta, nunc primum integra edita ab Augustino Theiner. Accedunt acta ejusdem concilii a card. Gabr. Paleotto archiep. Bononiensi digesta, secundis curis Expolitiora.* Vols. I and II. Agram, 1874. It is a remarkable fact that the Papal See has ever since the conclusion of the Council of Trent been opposed to the official publication of its acts, and that the latter had to remain for longer than three hundred years in the Papal library, until the learned librarian, Father Theiner, much against the wish of the Papal authorities, made it possible to make arrangements for their publication. The expenses for the publication, which appears at Agram, the capital of Croatia, are borne by one of the wealthy prelates of Croatia, Bishop Strossmeyer, a friend of Father Theiner, and well known for his energetic denunciations of the Jesuits at the Vatican Council. Father Theiner was on intimate terms with the leading Old Catholic Theologians of Germany, though, like Döllinger, he did not favor a formal separation from the Church. His friend, Bishop Strossmeyer, has, though with great reluctance, finally submitted to Papal infallibility, though he retains his opposition to the Jesuits and the ultramontane party.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Aids to the Study of German Theology. 12mo., pp. 184. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Price, $2.

In fluent style, renouncing all technical terms, and believing that German thinkers need representation rather than translation, the present writer, beginning with Kant, traces the course of German theological speculation though a succession of leading thinkers to the present day. Kant was, in theology, the demolisher of *Rationalism.* In saying this he gives his own definition of *Rationalism*, which, we are free to state, is not ours. The *Rationalists*, in his view, are the Lardners and Paleys, who base Christianity on historical evidence, and undertake to *prove* a religion by the logic of the understanding. This Rationalism begins, indeed, with Leibnitz and Paley as the friend of religion; but it ends, so he thinks, with Semler and Paulus, in making a victim of its *protégé.* Reason, professing to prove religion, assumes to be its master, and closes with being its destroyer. Kant's theory of religion professed to represent the intuitional theology; and while its scheme of redemption was singularly like Christianity in its theoretic type, it rejected

the historical Christ, not as false, but as of no value. He, therefore, sunk Rationalism, but real Christianity with it.

Next Schleiermacher arose and restored a form at least of the Christian faith. He made Christian consciousness, the moral heart, the center of his system. Christianity, he taught, was a central life rather than a dogma; and hence all dogmas and all phases of belief that refer themselves to this common center are within the circumference of religion. This view he put with such force and power as to unite an immense body of adherents of the most diverse views with a sort of coherence, insomuch that he is in fact at the present time the religious power in German theology.

The next generically great thinker is Hegel; and to Hegelianism the author seems to look for the placing of Christianity above the need as well as the reach of Rationalism, whether the Rationalism of Paley or of Paulus. He attempts to give us an outline of Hegelianism, but he does not clearly reveal to us "the secret of Hegel." He seems disconcerted, but not disheartened, by the fact, that the Hegelian school forks off into two great branches, of which while Tholuck and his co-thinkers belong to one, the ornaments of the other are Strauss and company. We do not sympathize with his apparent hope that Hegelianism is to place Christianity beside geometry as intuitively positive, and not needing the props of history. This position Christianity may yet occupy, but will not travel to it by the Hegelian route.

We give a few items about German opinions:—

IMMORTALITY.—This doctrine, as we have seen, was received by Schleiermacher purely on the authority of Christ; he found no place for it in the nature of things. Olshausen has gone still further. He has denied the possibility of a soul existing apart from the body, and therefore has maintained that, previous to the resurrection, the spirit of man can only live in union with the particles of the body, either in the grave or scattered throughout the universe. Weisse and Rothe refuse to admit a universal immortality, but considor eternal life as the exclusive possession of the redeemed. There is, of course, a sense in which every Christian holds the same, but with these theologians eternal life is that which in the future will supply the place of this natural existence, and without which there could be no future life at all. With the exception, however, of these extravagances, there is, on the whole, a preponderance of orthodox opinion regarding this doctrine.—Pp. 63, 64.

CONDITIONS OF THE INCARNATION.—It will be remembered that Schleiermacher made the incarnation of Christ the result of human sin. In this he is followed by few. The general tendency of German theology is to regard the incarnation as something which would have happened even if man had never fallen. Indeed, the only writers of any eminence whom we know to have taken a contrary view are Müller and Thomasius.—P. 66.

VICARIOUS ATONEMENT.—The doctrine of a vicarious substitution is almost unknown in Germany. We say almost, because there is one branch of the

school of Schleiermacher which in this respect has separated itself from the parent tree, and approached more nearly to the English stand-point; the representatives of this small party are Delitzsch and Ebrard. These theologians have adopted the common English view, that the death of Christ was an expiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world.—Pp. 69, 70.

Fraternal Camp-Meeting Sermons. Preached by Ministers of the various Branches of Methodism at the Round Lake Camp-Meeting, New York, July, 1874. With an Account of the Fraternal Meeting. Phonographically Reported by S. M. STILES and J. G. PATTERSON. With an Introduction by Bishop PECK. 12mo., pp. 498. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

The Round-Lake Camp-Meeting is the greatest Feast of Tabernacles of our modern times. It originated in the inventive head and noble heart of a Methodist layman; it was energetically prosecuted to a result which will leave, we trust, its lasting impression upon our common Methodism and our common American Christianity.

The prominent point in the whole movement was "fraternity," irrespective of geographical section, ecclesiastical organization, or race. North and South shook the brotherly hand. Episcopal and Congregational Methodism ignored their externalities. Caucasian and African forgot complexions. And the time is coming, we trust, when the black, and the red, and the brown shall, on some similar pentecost, commemorate the fact that all are one in Christ Jesus.

There were Lee, and M'Ferrin, and Kavanaugh, and Doggett, and Deems, from the Church South. There were Greene, and Gardner, and Douglass, from Canada; and Dare, from Australia. There were Murray, and Bates, and Alexander Clark, of the non-Episcopal Methodist Churches; and there were Bishop Campbell, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Bishop Jones, (and for a short time Bishop Clinton,) of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. With a perfectly spontaneous heartiness these brethren were welcomed and heard, all the more enthusiastically because they were *not* exactly of our stripe; the pleasure of seeing and listening being enhanced by the facts, both of the freshness and novelty of the opportunity, and by the blessedness of expanding our hearts and rounding out the circumference of fraternal feeling. How warmly the noble Southrons were received we all know. And these pages show, too, with what cheers and shouts the African Bishop Campbell was interrupted. Of what color is the regenerated soul? To what race will belong the resurrection body? Of that same color and race is the true Church of Christ on earth.

A movement so happily inaugurated may well become a permanent institution. It may well become successional and œcumenical. Should it enter the hearts of our friends of the Church South to respond by appointing a fraternal festival within the Southern States, and to issue their invitations, we doubt not that they would gather a goodly embassage from all sections of American, and perhaps universal, Methodism.

Helps to Prayer: A Manual, designed to aid Christian Believers in Acquiring the Gift, and in Maintaining the Practice and Spirit of Prayer in the Closet, the Family, the Social Gathering, and the Public Congregation. By D. P. KIDDER, D.D. 12mo., pp. 399. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1874.

Dr. Kidder has published a manual of prayer admirably adapted to the spirit and wants of our Church. It furnishes us forms of prayer with no purpose of formalism, but as suggestives and awakeners to the spirit of prayer. The larger share of the volume is devoted to a discussion of the nature of prayer and self-examination, recognizing that intellective *thought* has to do with these solemn exercises, yet treating them as deep emotional movements of the soul. How to pray within ourselves with both the spirit and the understanding, as well as how to lead the prayer of others through the channels of a sincere and acceptable devotion, is a holy *art* deserving the most serious study and cultivation. Ministers and people will find in this book a guide and a prompter well worthy of occupying their solemn hours in stirring up the gift within them.

Holiness the Birthright of all God's Children. By Rev. J. T. CRANE, D.D., of the Newark Conference. 16mo., pp. 211. Second edition, enlarged. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

We believe that most Methodists, not inspired with partisan feeling will agree that Dr. Crane should be allowed the privilege of restating himself. His own opinion is, that his views are essentially Wesleyan. How truly so, every reader who is likely to study his book is competent to form his own opinion. His book is, therefore, issued, like others of our publications, with the understanding that it does not commit the Church or the publishers to his explanation of Wesleyan doctrine.

One thing, however, we can unequivocally recommend, and that is the *spirit* of Dr. Crane, both personally and in his book. And that spirit has stood in so powerful a contrast with that of his assailants as to form in itself a lesson and an example.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Three Essays on Religion. By JOHN STUART MILL. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1874.

We have here Mr. Mill's latest views on religion, in three essays, entitled respectively "Nature," "Utility of Religion," and "Theism." As a confession of faith they will, doubtless, have an interest for Mr. Mill's friends, and they may also have interest as a psychological study; but it can hardly be claimed that they throw any new light upon the subject. Indeed, we suspect that the verdict of Mr. Mill's friends will be, that it would have been much better for all parties if they had been left unpublished.

The three essays were not intended to form a connected argument, and hence we cannot complain of their lack of harmony. The last essay stands out of all relation to the others, and it would be hard to reconcile some of its views with those of the others. The first essay is occupied with the aspects of nature, and is an argument to prove that the action of nature is at war with all the dictates of human morality, and cannot possibly be the work of a Being at once good and omnipotent. In the second essay, upon the Utility of Religion, the author shows that religion has always had some most pernicious effects upon the development of humanity. Viewing the moral law as the token of a higher Will has resulted in consecrating superstition and impeding progress. Religion has been followed by many good effects, but they are all owing to the force of public opinion, and not to its supernatural elements. These, so far as they have operated, have been only mischievous. He thinks, therefore, that the evils of supernatural religion can be avoided and all its good secured by displacing it with the religion of humanity. The idea of immortality is a mischievous one, since it fosters selfishness; and as morality becomes all the purer the less there is of this element, it is proposed to substitute for a personal immortality an ideal one in the grateful recollections and improved fortunes of the race. With this all noble natures will be satisfied as soon as they have got used to it. Those of coarser feelings, who cannot enter warmly into this ideal blessedness, will, indeed, complain; but that is only a sign of their low grade of development. The essay at this point is hardly compatible with the close of the one on Theism, where Mr. Mill argues for retaining the hope of immortality because of its elevating and inspiring power. "The beneficial effect of such a hope is far from trifling. It makes life and human nature a far greater thing to the feelings,

and gives greater strength as well as greater solemnity to all the sentiments which are awakened in us by our fellow-creatures, and by mankind at large. It allays the sense of that irony of nature which is so painfully felt when we see the exertions and sacrifices of a life culminating in the formation of a wise and noble mind, only to disappear from the world when the time has just arrived at which the world seems about to begin reaping the benefit of it. The truth that life is short and art is long, is from of old one of the most discouraging parts of our condition."—P. 249. Mr. Mill, the man, wrote this paragraph; Mr. Mill, the positivist, wrote the other.

Both essays, the one on Nature, and that on the Utility of Religion, remind one on every page of M. Comte, to whom, indeed, Mr. Mill announces his obligation. Comte has made us very familiar with the religion of humanity and the doctrine of an ideal immortality. He never tired, either, especially after the death of Madame Clotilde, of inveighing against the wretched order of nature. Mr. Mill follows in his wake, and arraigns nature as an awkward contrivance in which neither justice, nor mercy, nor morality is regarded. It is made a subject of complaint that nature's forces "go straight to their end without regarding what or whom they crush on the road." "'Shall gravitation cease when you go by?' may be a just rebuke to any who should be so silly as to expect common human morality from nature. But if the question were between two men instead of between a man and a natural phenomenon, that triumphant apostrophe would be thought a rare piece of impudence." "In sober truth, nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are nature's every-day performances."—P. 28. Man is tortured. The lower orders of life are divided into devourers and devoured. "Nature, red in tooth and claw, with raving, shrieks against" any creed which unites a belief in divine goodness with one in divine omnipotence.

In the essay upon Theism Mr. Mill tempers the violence of his expressions very much; and though he still holds to the conclusion, he seems to feel that it is not such a dreadful world after all. It is hard, indeed, to tell what kind of a world would satisfy Mr. Mill, although we may be very sure that a world made after his own planning would not suit him, to say nothing of others, as well as the present one. In the complaint that nature's laws move straight on, there seems to be a demand that law itself should cease lest we should be hurt. The intractability and hostility of nature

should cease at once, and whenever, by lack of foresight, or laziness, or ignorance, man collides with nature, he must view it as omnipotent barbarity that he is not tenderly rescued from the danger, and saved from the necessity of working and of exercising prudence, foresight, intelligence. If the end of creation is to produce only pleasant sensations, Mr. Mill's demand would be justified; but it is certainly meaningless if the development of intelligence, of moral character, and even of that feeling of humanity upon which Mr. Mill lays such stress, is to be received as an end of creation. For man, at least, the ministry of pain and the hostility of nature are necessary to raise him above the lowest forms of animated existence. In the case of the lower animals, the difficulties alleged rest upon the assumption that their pains are similar to, and equal to, ours; and there is a multitude of physiological facts which make this assumption very improbable. It is more than likely that pain is reduced to the minimum necessary to preserve their existence. But we cannot discuss the question here. It is plain that in arguing this question of the compatibility of the existence of evil with the goodness and omnipotence of God, we cannot bring convincing argument on either side; and there is all the more room for subjective sympathies and antipathies to influence our judgment. Besides, too, to make our decisions final we must be able to overlook the whole, from its beginning to its end. Unless we are omniscient it would be more modest, as well as more rational, to conclude that our human wisdom is at an end, instead of falling to improving the universe. The question is no new one. It was worn to rags two thousand years ago. The facts alleged are also no revelation. In the face of them the intelligent theist has taken up his faith, and in their face he will hold it fast.

In the essay upon Theism Mr. Mill discusses the various arguments for a Divine existence. He finds them all worthless, with the exception of the argument from design. This, he admits, is a valid argument, although its force is a good deal weakened by the probability that some theory of development may be true. He concludes that, at present, the most probable view is, that the order of the world is the result of contrivance; it is far enough from being proved, but it is more probable than any other view. The discussion in general exhibits far less penetration than we had a right to expect from Mr. Mill. Thus, in his examination of the argument for a first cause, he says our longing for causality is satisfied when we have referred phenomena to matter and force. Having called the various forces of nature by the one name, force,

it never seems to occur to him that any thing more can be said. But, as a matter of fact, science deals only with conditioned forces. Not one of them is self-active and independent. But just as surely as this is a fact, just so surely are we forced to plant another and unconditioned force behind all the conditioned ones of science. The same lack of penetration is evident in his discussion of the possibility of viewing Will as the primal force. It would be interesting to compare his attempt to play off the physical forces against volition, with the statement (p. 200) that matter is "purely a set of human sensations, either actual or inferred as possible."

The result, he says, is skeptical. The attitude of the thinker toward both religion and atheism is skepticism. Still, there is some hope; and, besides, "all unnecessary dwelling upon the evils of life is at best a useless expenditure of nervous force." Hence it would be well to cultivate a hope of immortality; for the opposite view, in spite of the ideal life in the grateful recollection of the future, is cold and paralyzing. It is a very sad book and a very dreary one; and no one seems to feel it more than the author himself. It gives us no new facts and no new arguments; but it does serve to show how very dreary earth becomes when it is cut off from heaven. B.

The Moral System. With an Historical and Critical Introduction, having Special Reference to Bishop Butler's Analogy. Pp. 83. Designed as a Text-book for Academies and Colleges. By E. H. GILLETT, Professor in the University of the City of New York. 8vo., pp. 218. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Price, $1 25.

We wish the author had adhered to the title formerly used, "Moral Science." It is more definitive and less presumptuous. It asserts that knowable certainties, or science, are as truly in morals as in matter; that entities are as real, and laws as inexorable, in ethics as in atoms, and concedes that the moral system must be further beyond our grasp and delineation than the system of astronomy is beyond the few known facts we call its science.

No education can be complete, none should be begun, without an inculcation of the principles of this highest and surest of sciences. Mr. Gillett undertakes to provide a text-book in language freed from the nebulosity that often renders the study of Bishop Butler a task, and in matter designed to meet objections which have resulted from the development and direction of thought since his time. His opportunities have been admirable. The various chapters of which the book is composed were subjected

to the scrutiny of the young men of to-day in the class-room. Thus tested, they were amended and enlarged as exigencies developed.

We congratulate the author on a real success, and commend the work, not only to professional educators, but for family reading, where high intelligence prefers to feed on fundamental fact.

H. W. W.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Assyrian Discoveries. An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh during 1873 and 1874. By GEORGE SMITH. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 471. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

We have in our day not only "merchant princes," but editor princes. Whatever ignoble things may be justly charged upon the "New York Herald," it was a princely act to send Stanley to discover Livingstone in the wilds of Africa. And still more princely was it in the London "Daily Telegraph" to send George Smith to unearth the Noachian Deluge, buried with the registered bricks of Assyria. For, deep as is our reverence for the indefatigable Livingstone, we entertain a far profounder interest in the Deluge.

The discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet of Egypt and that of the cuneiform alphabet of Assyria within a few years of each other were a curious pair of twins. It was a Frenchman, Champollion, that opened the way to the first; it was a German, Grotefend, that inaugurated the second. It was a bilingual inscription on a stone discovered at Rosetta that inaugurated the first; it was a trilingual inscription discovered on a column in Behistun that enabled Sir Henry Rawlinson to verify and enlarge the discoveries of Grotefend. Of these two primitive nations, the buried history—buried in the mysterious inclosure of an undecipherable alphabet—is now supposed to be wonderfully "resurrected." Egypt and Assyria, for ages dead, now "still live:" Egypt, the land of rocks, with her history on adamantine obelisks; Assyria, the rockless, alluvial land, recorded her story upon sun-burnt bricks. Both are vast libraries. It will take years of labor and thousands of expense to achieve the entire reading. And what confers a wonderful interest upon the reading is the fact, not only of a resurrection of primitive history, but of the bearings of that resurrection upon the records of our Christian faith.

To M. Botta, the French consul, in 1840, belongs the honor of inaugurating the work of Assyrian excavation. He sunk a well at Khorsabad, which brought him into the chambers and halls of Sargon, King of Assyria. His brave exploit aroused the English ambition of Layard, who, in 1845, commenced a series of excavations, furnishing the most magnificent results, which he published with signal effect upon the public mind. The discovery of the Behistun inscription enabled a noble band of scholars to rob the dead alphabet of its mystery, and to prosecute with encouraging success the work of mastering the literature of the age of Nimrod and his successors. In this work the names of Oppert, Hincks, Norris, Fox, Talbot, Lenormant, Menant, and George Smith, have attained various degrees of distinction.

Mr. Smith, it seems, felt endowed with a certain natural predestination to be an Orientalist, especially in the connection of oriental discovery with the Bible. In what various ways does that wonderful old book stimulate the human mind! He made a series of discoveries in deciphering the tablets deposited in the British Museum; and especially in 1872 he accomplished his most brilliant feat, the finding and translating the tablets containing the Assyrian accounts of the Deluge. He clearly ascertained that this tablet was but part of a whole, the remainder of which was yet beneath the Assyrian surface. His published translation excited attention, and the "Daily Telegraph" sent him to Assyria after the rest of the bricks. This volume is the very valuable result of his mission.

The discoveries thus far furnish us with a clear view of the pagan theology of Nimrod's days, with an ample description of the Deluge, and with various contacts of the unearthed records with different points of sacred and profane history. Our space obliges us to omit all notice of the last of these three.

The pagan theology, while in some degree bearing reference to the moral sense, is puerile and sensual. The goddess Ishtar of the celebrated city of Erech has a series of amours, described with luxuriant detail, but unfit for Mr. Smith's pages. The Nimrodian theology is thus given by Mr. Smith:—

"The Babylonians believed in a spirit or soul in man, which they called a '*vadukku*,' and the *vadukku* or ghost of Heabani on being called out of the earth makes speech, apparently being addressed to Heabani himself, indicating a notion of a dual nature in man. The abodes of the dead were supposed to consist of two

regions: one in the sky, presided over by Anu, the god of heaven, and Bel, the god of the earth; and the other beneath the world, presided over by Hea, the god of the ocean and infernal regions. In the upper regions, or heaven, were the abodes of the blessed. There the departed wore crowns; they drank beautiful waters, and consorted with the gods; but the notions of glory and honor at that day come out in the description of the inhabitants of this happy region: they are the kings and conquerors of the earth, the divines and priests, and great men; in fact, the strong and successful among manhood. On the other hand, the description of the infernal regions is most vivid and powerful, and is almost the same as that in the splendid inscription of the descent of Ishtar into Hades, where we read:—

1. To Hades the land of my knowledge;
2. Ishtar daughter of Sin, her ear inclined;
3. Inclined the daughter of Sin, her ear;
4. To the house of the departed, the seat of the god Iskalla;
5. To the house from within which is no exit;
6. To the road the course of which never returns;
7. To the place within which they long for light:
8. The place where dust is their nourishment, and their food mud;
9. Light is never seen, in the darkness they dwell;
10. Its chiefs also like birds are clothed with wings;
11. Over the door and its bolts is scattered dust.

"This dark region, where the inhabitants in their hunger devour filth and thirst for light, is guarded by seven gates, and surrounded by the waters of death; it is the home of the weak and conquered ones, of wives who stray from their husbands, and men who abandon their wives, and disobedient children. These are represented as weeping in misery and corruption in their dark and eternal prison-house,—the place from which there is no return."

By the power of Shea, who here corresponds to Pluto, the lord of Hades, the ghost of Hebani was delivered from this hell, and, rising out of the earth, soars up to heaven. These religious ideas are remarkable on account of their close similarity to those of later religions and subsequent races, and their importance is increased by their antiquity, as at the latest they date more than two thousand years before the Christian era. The heaven, or region of the blessed, was called *Samu*, and was divided into various sub-regions, having different names, the highest being the "Heaven of *Anu*," the supreme celestial god. Hell, on the other hand, was generally called *matnude* or *arâlle*, but has various other titles.

It is the legend of the Deluge which Mr. Smith holds to be his great discovery. His present journey has induced him to present to his readers a chapter of fifty-eight pages, unfolding this matter with great fullness. The narrative forms a part of a great national poem, analogous to the Iliad of the Greeks. Izdubar, identified by Mr. Smith with Nimrod, is afflicted with a direful disease resembling leprosy, and he learns that he must obtain a cure from the Noah of the Assyrian Deluge himself, who has been translated to Hades. This Noah's Assyrian name is Hasisadra, represented by the Greek Xisithrus, as given by Berosus in his version of the Assyrian history of the flood. Izdubar starts for Hades in the far East, and must pass thither through direful adventures among the giants on his route The narrative of the journey, as Mr. Smith infers, shows that the age knew nothing of geography, as the popular fancy peopled sections of country at no great distance with a myriad of mythical beings. Arrived at Hades, Izdubar receives from Hasisadra the history of the flood. The points of resemblance are too great to leave a doubt of its identity with the Deluge of Mosaic history. We can best illustrate this identity by quoting a few lines from Mr. Smith's version from the columns, and fragments of columns, which he found and arranged. The lines, and fragments of lines, are given in poetic form, marked with numerals:—

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FLOOD.

20. "Surippakita son of Ubaratutu
21. . . . make a ship after this . . .
22. . . . I destroy? the sinner and life . . .
23. . . . caused to go in? the seed of life all of it to the midst of the ship.
24. The ship which thou shalt make,
25. 600? cubits shall be the measure of its length, and
26. 60? cubits the amount of its breadth and its height.
27. . . . into the deep launch it."
28. I perceived and said to Hea my lord
29. "The ship making which thou commanded me,
30. when I shall have made
31. young and old shall deride me"
32. Hea opened his mouth and spake and said to me his servant:
33. ". . . thou shalt say unto them,
34. . . . he has turned from me and
35. . . . fixed over me
36. . . . like caves . . .
37. . . . above and below
38. . . . closed the ship . . .
39. . . . the flood which I will send to you,
40. into it enter and the door of thy ship turn.
41. Into the midst of it thy grain, thy furniture, and thy goods,
42. thy wealth, thy women servants, thy female slaves, and the young men,
43. the beasts of the field, the animals of the field all, I will gather and
44. I will send to thee, and they shall be inclosed in thy door."

DESCRIPTION OF THE STORM.

40. The raging of a storm in the morning
41. arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide.
42. Vul in the midst of it thundered, and
43. Nebo and Saru went in front, ...
44. the throne bearers went over mountains and plains,
45. the destroyer Nergal overturned,
46. Ninip went in front and cast down,
47. the spirits carried destruction,
48. in their glory they swept the earth;
49. of Val the flood reached to heaven
50. The bright earth to a waste was turned,

COLUMN III.

1. the surface of the earth like . . . it swept,
2. it destroyed all life from the face of the earth . . .
3. the strong deluge over the people reached to heaven.
4. Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people.
5. the gods feared the tempest and
6. sought refuge; they ascended to the heaven of Anu.

COMING FORTH FROM THE SHIP.

37. On the seventh day in the course of it
38. I sent forth a dove, and it left. The dove went and turned, and
39. a resting place it did not find, and it returned
40. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and turned, and
41. a resting-place it did not find, and it returned
42. I sent forth a raven and it left
43. The raven went and the corpses on the water it saw, and
44. it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return.
45. I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation,
46. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain,
47. by seven herbs I cut,
48. at the bottom of them I placed seeds, pines, and simgar,
49. The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning.
50. the gods like flies o'er the sacrifice gathered.

These extracts must serve our readers as "specimen bricks." On the whole, Mr. Smith remarks:—

"The legends of Izdubar close with the description, by the *vadukku* or 'ghost,' of the burial of a warrior, which shows to some extent the customs of the time—a time when personal prowess and courage in battle were esteemed as the greatest glories. In connection with these legends are numerous other shorter stories of the same class, one of the most curious of which is part of the description of the creation, which I found in the north palace at Kouyungik. It is, however, too mutilated for translation. I believe that the legends current in Babylonia in the time of Izdubar were the foundation for the Chaldean accounts of the origin of the world, the antediluvians, the flood, and various other stories of primitive time.

"There are in the British Museum fragments of inscriptions stated to have been written in the time of Izdubar, and I think

the myths and wonders related of his reign, while they prove the ignorance and superstition of the time, do not warrant us in regarding his reign as unhistorical. The history of Izdubar is poetical and exaggerated, and, like all early histories, abound in miracles; but I believe it contains a basis of truth, and that this monarch really reigned and founded the Babylonian kingdom."

Life of Andrew Hull Foote, Rear-admiral United States Navy. By JAMES MASON HOPPIN, Professor in Yale College. With a Portrait and Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 411. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

This is the story of a noble life, worthy to be read by all lovers of good men. Andrew H. Foote was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in September, 1806. He was early charmed with the sea, and avowed his intention of entering the navy. He spent a few months at West Point, and was then transferred to the navy, beginning his sea-service in December, 1822, on board the "Grampus," one of Commodore Porter's squadron, sent to clear out the pirates which at that time infested the West Indies and the waters adjacent. Advancing by the regular gradations of the service, he received a captain's commission in June, 1861, having meanwhile performed bravely and skillfully the various duties assigned him on ship and shore. In 1849, in command of the "Perry," and stationed on the coast of Africa, he contributed greatly to the suppression of the slave-trade. In 1856, in command of the "Portsmouth," he was sent to China to protect American commerce amid the confusion of impending hostilities between the Chinese and the English. Here he distinguished himself by a bold exploit which could not fail to have a good effect upon the minds of the Celestials. While his squadron was anchored in the Canton River, the Chinese forts fired into his boat as he was passing from the city to his ship. These forts were four in number, mounting one hundred and seventy-six guns. Commander Foote at once brought up his ships, and preparing the way by a furious bombardment, landed a force in boats, and stormed and demolished the forts.

In 1861 the commencement of the civil war found Captain Foote in command of the Navy Yard at Brooklyn; but in August of that year he was appointed to the command of the river fleet of the West. His first herculean task was to build, equip, and man the fleet. With this gunboat flotilla Captain Foote did a work whose national value can scarcely be overrated, and did it so skillfully, so heroically, as to place his name high on the roll of our great naval commanders. During the brief nine months of his active service in the West he captured Fort Henry, on the Ten-

nessee, aided powerfully in the capture of Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland, and "Island Number Ten" in the Mississippi, and contributed largely to the success of the splendid operations which broke the Southern line of fortifications, and finally swept insurrection out of the great rivers of the West.

In the attack on Fort Donelson, February 14, 1862, Captain Foote received two wounds which he considered slight at the time, but which, in the sequel, proved far otherwise. In the furious cannonade, while he was in the pilot house of the "St. Louis," his flagship, a cannon shot crashed through the iron armor, and filled the pilot house with flying fragments of wood and iron. The pilot was killed, a splinter of wood struck Captain Foote on the arm, and a piece of iron wounded him in the foot. This latter wound never healed. In June he was compelled to ask to be relieved from his command. Honors were showered upon him. He was made a Rear-admiral of the United States Navy. Notwithstanding his impaired health, he was tendered the next year the command of the South Atlantic squadron, at that time preparing to attack the formidable defenses of Charleston. But while on his way to join his fleet he was suddenly attacked by a complication of diseases, and after a few days of intense suffering died, in Christian peace, in New York city, June 26, 1863.

Thus passed away one of the brightest ornaments of the American navy. Admiral Foote was a Christian patriot and hero. As an officer, he was cautious in preparation, fertile in military invention, and furious in attack. As a Christian, he was earnest, outspoken, ready anywhere to confess his faith and take part in religious services. We honor his name, and place it reverently in the list of those who deserve well of their country.

The biographer, Professor Hoppin, has done his part well, telling his story without ostentation or literary parade, and yet evidently in full sympathy with his subject.

A History of Germany. From the Earliest Times. Founded on Dr. David Müller's "History of the German People." By CHARLTON T. LEWIS. 8vo., pp. 799. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

The reader of German history has a wide field to survey and grasp. Between the accession of Charlemagne and the coronation of Kaiser Wilhelm I. are more than eleven centuries. These centuries follow times that require one eighth of this volume to connect the story of Charles the Great with the earlier history of the Germanic races. It follows, of course, that a History of Germany may be

of almost endless extent and diversity. A particular moment of it may be treated, like the "Life of Frederick II." by Carlyle, in comprehensive outline and infinite detail. Such works may be very interesting, but they awaken despondency concerning man's power to know the past. Authors like Motley, Bancroft, and Froude have aroused somber anticipations of an evil day when nobody will be able to know what every body must desire to know. It is a comfort to find that some historical works are written upon a different plan, aiming to condense and reveal in sharp definition the records of other days. Such attempts have been multiplied in Germany, where historic writing is a science and histories abound. Among the manuals which combine accuracy with intelligence of the events chronicled and interest in narrative, none has been more successful than that of Dr. David Müller.

It was a happy inspiration, then, which led Mr. Lewis to undertake the reproduction, with necessary alterations and additions, of this manual in an English dress. In his preface, after stating how far the work is Müller's and how far his own, Mr. Lewis indicates in a supplementary chapter the authorities on which he has relied. These are standard and trustworthy.

In the form in which this work comes to the American public, the history is distributed into six books. The first book treats of the early times, down to the Empire of Charlemagne; the second, of the period from Charlemagne to the Great Interregnum; the third, from the Great Interregnum to the Reformation; the fourth, from Luther to the Peace of Westphalia; the fifth, from the Peace of Westphalia to the Peace of Paris, (1815;) the sixth, from the Peace of Paris to the Peace of Frankfort.

The attempt to narrate the varied and complex story here suggested in an octavo of eight hundred pages involves the peril of fatal dullness. The unfortunates who have painfully gathered their first notions of English literature from the pages of Shaw know how dread that peril is. A dreary succession of dates and names, coupled with insipid criticism, and unaccompanied with broad generalization,—one would not gladly fall upon such a desert a second time. The primary duty of being readable this book certainly achieves. Let the reader turn to the account of the Reformation, and he will be surprised to find an attractive and luminous narrative of that important period condensed into a narrow compass. For readers who wish a general view of the subject no better volume will be found. The last chapters of the

sixth book brings the history down to the latest dates. A better summary of political movements in Germany since 1866 it were hard to find. Mr. Lewis has performed his share of the work with admirable skill and good sense. P.

History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in India. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., LL.D., Lately Foreign Secretary of the Board. 12mo., pp. 443. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1874.

Though this is the third volume of Dr. Anderson's History of the Missions of the American Board, it is the first in the order of historical events narrated. His first volume relates the missionary history of the Sandwich Islands; his second the Oriental Missions; this third goes back to the first inauguration of the Board and its first Mission, namely, in India.

The origin of the American Board, the first missionary organization in America, bears wonderful tokens of the movings of the Divine Spirit. Two young students of Williams College, upon conversion, found their hearts strongly drawn to that hitherto unknown thing, the work of going to the heathen with the news of a dying Saviour. From Williams College, 1807, they carried their impressions to Andover Seminary, where they first opened their minds to the leaders of New England Congregationalism. This knot of self-consecrated students reminds us of "the Oxford Methodists." But while they did not, like the Oxford men, find their Church opposed to their project, it was a day of weakness and feeble faith, and they did not dare to unfold their full wishes lest they should frighten the Church out of its equanimity. The man in whose single heart the impulse first started, the ever-memorable Samuel J. Mills, departed for Africa, but died upon the passage. Hall, Newell, Judson, and others were sent, by ordaining hands, to India. Harriet Newell, the wife of the second of these named, a delicate American girl of deep piety and heroic heart, soon withered under the Indian sun. To the information that her end was near she responded, "Glorious intelligence." But both Samuel J. Mills and Harriet Newell perhaps accomplished more by so dying than the world have done by the most efficient life. Their memories shed a sacredness over their work. The memoirs of both, published at that time, happened to be among the readings of our boyhood. There was a pathos in the life and death, especially, of Harriet Newell, that touched the heart. The Church at home saw that her missionaries were capable of the most heroic self-sacrifice, and could meet death in triumph;

and how could she shrink from the enterprise to which she was so evidently called of God?

For more than sixty years the American Board has been prosecuting its work. The heathen world, which at the commencement seemed almost locked against its entrance, has strangely opened before it. The overmastering power of the Christian nations, and the increasing recognition by the governments of the value of missions, have cleared the way. Presses, schools, and Churches have been established—the apparatus of the work of the future. Slowly, after the measure of one brief human life, rapidly, according to the life of a nation, heathenism is giving way before Christianity. Paganism has a presentiment of its own death, a prophetic feeling that "the Galilean" will conquer. India, which repelled the Christianity of the Apostolic age, is yielding to the evangelism of our modern Protestantism. The agencies already established, and the work accomplished, can never die. The period, we trust, is approaching when Indian Christianity will move forward by its own strength, and the American Churches be enabled to expend their work and means upon other sections of the world.

Externally these volumes are done up with a chaste neatness. They are illustrated with fine maps, and appendiced with catalogues of all the missionaries of the Board ever sent to India, and of all the publications issued by its Indian press.

Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D., Missionary of the Church of England in Connecticut, and First President of King's College, New York. By C. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New Haven. Second edition. 8vo., pp. 300. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1874.

Dr. Johnson was born in 1696, and died in 1772. His biography, at this late date, is written because he was the father of the Episcopal Church in New England. He graduated at Yale College, (then located at Saybrook,) and for a time was tutor in that institution. In 1720 he became the pastor of the Congregational Church at West Haven. Having been presented with an Episcopal prayer-book, he not only admired its contents, but became inspired with a reverence for the whole ecclesiastical system of which it forms a part. He first doubted, and then rejected, the Congregational system of Church government, Presbyterian ordination, and the rigid Calvinistic doctrines in which he had been trained. In 1722 he went to England to obtain Episcopal ordination, there being at that time, and long afterward, no Anglican bishop in the American Colonies. The Journal which he kept dur-

ing the eight months of his stay in London is, in some respects, a curious history: his descriptions of his baptism and ordination being strangely interwoven with notes of his visits to the theaters, and the occasions on which he "drank a bottle" with this or that Church magnate. But we suppose that it was an age when the Puritan preacher, as well as the Churchly prelate, recruited his strength with the alcoholic glass.

Returning to Connecticut in 1723, he became the rector of the Church at Stratford, under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Here the first Episcopal Church edifice in New England was erected the next year, 1724. Dr. Johnson remained in this parish nearly thirty years, during which he was engaged in various controversies in defense of his ecclesiastical faith, and published two or three books on morals and philosophy. In 1754 he became the first President of the College in New York City—then called King's, now Columbia College—which post of duty he held for nine years and then returned to Stratford, where he spent the remainder of his life.

The story is well told, in a quiet, unimpassioned style, and it treasures up many things of interest to Church historians, and of especial value to those of the ecclesiastical body to which Dr. Johnson belonged.

Memoir of Rev. Benjamin G. Paddock. With Brief Notices of Early Ministerial Associates. Also an Appendix, containing more extended Sketches of Revs. George Gary, Abner Chase, William Case, Seth Mattison, Isaac Puffer, Charles Giles, and others. By Rev. Z. PADDOCK, D.D. 12mo., pp. 377. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1874.

In this fraternal tribute Dr. Paddock takes us back to that central section of the Empire State which Dr. Peck has so much contributed to render historical. The subject of the memoir was not pre-eminent among his fellows for commanding intellect, as the productions given in the volume amply show. He was a man of magnificent heart. He judged things from the emotions, and to him the *good* was the test of the *true*. The brief biographies which follow will endear the book to many a reader. The names of George Gary, Charles Giles, and Abner Chase will come to the ears of thousands freighted with blessed memories.

David, King of Israel. His Life and its Lessons. By Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. 12mo., pp. 433. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

This is an admirable book, not indeed upon a new theme, but one which the author causes to seem new by the affluence of thought

which he brings to its elucidation. Dr. Taylor tells us in his preface that the life-story of David has long had for him an interest which amounts "almost to a fascination." That is the way in which good books are made. The incidents in the career of the shepherd boy, the warrior, the king, the sweet singer of Israel, are clearly traced; the occasional difficulties are treated with candor and good sense, and the lessons which the story teaches are vividly brought out, the whole discussion showing a delicacy which is as notable as the strength and thoroughness of the handling. Its lessons are adapted to all ages; and no thoughtful reader, young or old, will fail to be profited thereby.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Das Christliche Lehrsystem nach der heiligen Schrift. (Biblical System of Christian Doctrine.) Von ROBERT KÜBEL. Pp. 588. Stuttgart: Steinkopf. 1874.

Kübel has written some helps to the study of the Bible which are widely used by orthodox Church authorities. He writes in a clear, sprightly style and devout Christian spirit. His stand-point is frankly but liberally Lutheran. This "System" is the product of years of teaching in a Theological Seminary. It is neither chiefly speculative nor strictly biblical; but it aims, by the help of reason, to construct the collective contents of Revelation into a systematic, scientific whole. It, therefore, embraces, after the precedent of Thomasius, Nitzsch, and Beck, both dogmatics and ethics. Its central thought is *God as Spirit.* Its four parts are superscribed: "God as Spirit *above* and *in* the World;" "God as Spirit in Relation to Humanity;" "God as Spirit *in* Humanity," (incarnation;) and "God as Spirit *Glorified* in Humanity and in the World." The matter presented under these heads is rich, positive, and suggestive. It is not so original or peculiar as to awaken suspicion, nor so dependent on other writers as to be servile. Kübel evidently thinks for himself, but he also makes good use of the helps afforded by the best German theologians of the day. A pleasant feature of his book is its frank fearlessness. On all of the controverted points in theology and ethics he takes square and definite position; and, whenever occasion calls for it, he hesitates not to admit that he cannot give a satisfactory reason.

We note a few single points of the general contents. In speaking of the Divine goodness, Kübel says: "God is the synthesis of all good by virtue of his very being; he is *perfection*, both meta-

physical and ethical. The well-known query, Is the good good because God wills it, or does God will it because it is good? is not properly put. The question is not as to God's *willing*, but as to his *essence*: the good is good for the simple reason that it is an outflow, a self-manifestation, of God himself. This answers the question also as to the ground of right: right is God; a creature does right when it harmonizes with God, that is, when it fulfills the divinely fixed end of its being. The definitions of the Divine holiness and righteousness are of the same character. God's holiness is that attribute in virtue of which he takes his own absolutely perfect self as the norm of his entire activity. This holiness, as revealed to man, and as revealing to man God's purpose in creating him, is the rule and measure of righteousness. God's self-consistency in his treatment of man, and man's active conformity to God's revealed purpose concerning him, constitute God's and man's righteousness."

This making God good by "essence," and not by "will," has justly been rejected by sound thinkers at the present day as making God fatalistically and not freely good. He is thereby good, like a piece of oak or gold, because he cannot help it, and with no more true *merit* than the wood or metal. The question, then, would still remain, whether he is not good by being conformed to the ideal of good, like the wood or metal; and whether he is not good, like every thing else, because he is not the reverse of what he is, namely, *bad*. So the question of "the ground of right" is not, by Kübel, answered. Philosophers can as easily conceive of a bad God as of a good God. The Herbert Spencer school is now denying all moral quality to the "Unknown Absolute." To prove the goodness of God from phenomena around us is a great problem. And now, if God is good because he is a good "essence," then, in the order of thought, the predicate *good* must be distinct and separable from the idea of God, yet predicable of him. Just so, when we say God is infinite, we lay the distinct predicate, *infinite*, upon God, the subject. We have the idea of *infinite* distinct and apart from God; as, for instance, in unlimited space. And as we predicate it of space, so we predicate it of God. And from this we can see the poetical and unphilosophical confusion of such phrases as "God is perfection;" "right" (the noun *right*) "is God." God is not infinity, but infinite; God is not perfection, but perfect; God is not rightness, but righteous. To say that God is rightness is an absolute identification of a person with a quality, a reduction of

the Divine Being to an abstraction. In our view, God is good because, as a free Infinite Person, able to choose either way, he eternally chooses goodness. We thus have, not only infinite excellence in God as an *essence*, but we have infinite *moral merit* in God as a free Person; and the infinite excellence of God as an "essence" consists greatly in the fact that he is a Person, and also in the fact that he is free: able to choose either right or wrong, yet for ever and ever choosing the right. Our German professor ought to understand that the perfect excellence of God's physical "essence" or substance is a natural and not a moral attribute; and it is not until he mounts to *will* that we are in the region of ethical rectitude.

In regard to the nature and incarnation of Christ, Kübel speaks very independently. He says: "The *subordination* of the Son to the Father is the clear doctrine of Scripture; more definitely the Bible teaches the *complete dependence* of the Son upon the Father, and that, too, not merely in his *office*, but also in his *essence*. Theologians are wrong, therefore, in teaching an equal dependence of the Father upon the Son. The relation of the Father to the Son is an *ethical* and *free* one, while that of the Son to the Father is a *physical* one. Hence, while the Son is God, just as man's son is man, yet his divinity is of a *derived* character. The Athanasian Creed is not strictly correct: *qualis pater, talis filius*. It does not run clear enough of *tritheism*. It regards one divine essence common to Father, Son, and Spirit, as a sort of composite of three persons. It regards simply the *Godhead* as the trinity; whereas the Bible plainly teaches that the one divine essence, the spring and fountain of deity, is God the *Father*. It must be, therefore, that the Son *became* Son by an ante-temporal outflow from the Father."

Kübel's view of the incarnation is: "Christ is not a composite of two natures in one person. The incarnation of the λογος consists in a total change of his *manner of existence*, but *not* in a change of his consciousness or personality; the personality of Christ is and remains the λογος. The anthropization of the λογος is of an *entirely ethical* character. Jesus often indicates that he knows that he *is*, and that he could at any moment *become*, something entirely other than the man that he actually was. We affirm, therefore, in Christ a continuous and absolutely uninterrupted ethical act of real self-renunciation as to all the powers that lay in his (to him fully conscious) λογος-essence. It is a matter of *volition* that Christ subjects himself to human conditions, to growth in stature

and in knowledge, etc. But he does this absolutely; hence he is really and fully *man*, that is, he is the λογος, as *became* man, but not the λογος and at the same time *also* man."

In speaking of the Spirit Kübel uses these words: "The One God, in order to his self-revelation, sent forth, *before the beginning of time*, out of the fullness of his essence, his own personal image, his Son, as the Revealer of his divinity; he then sent forth *within the limits of time*, that is, within the period of his self-revelation through the Son, his own *life-power*, in rising degrees of intensity, as called for by the creative, the theocratic, and the evangelic stages of his self-manifestation, until finally the effusion of this divine *life-power* assumed its highest (personal) form, as the pentecostal Holy Spirit. But the One God is always represented in Scripture as the sole fountain of deity, and the Son and Spirit are subordinate to him both in office and in essence. But whether there underlies this economical trinity also an ontological trinity, the Bible gives absolutely no indication."

In regard to the mode of the Spirit's action in the conversion of the sinner, the author condemns the formula, that the *ability* to believe is the gift of grace, while the *act* of believing is the sinner's own act, and insists that the Spirit acts not magically nor mechanically from without, but illuminatingly and invigoratingly from within. The spiritually-dead sinner is not, so to speak, utterly dead, but there always remains within him, so long as salvable, a *minimum* of life, and it is by warming up this *minimum* to fresh life that his regeneration is effected.

Some single positions of Kübel are: "Christ brings to man just so much as, but no more than, he lost in Adam." "Christ's descent into Hades, though taught in the Scriptures, is yet beset with many obscurities." "Conscience is not the divine law, but the direct reflex of this law in man's consciousness; it is a primitive sensibility of man for his religious destination, and a primitive propension in him to fulfill it." "The relation of matter to force is as intimate as any Materialist could like, only conversely: force is not an attribute of matter, but matter is the manifestation, the product, of force, that is, of spirit." "An act of God, as become concrete, is, when at its lowest stage, mere matter; at its highest stage, it is free creatures." "The death of Christ was representative and substitutional." "Holiness, and also sinfulness, when complete, end in moral necessity."

One of the strangest views of this so orthodox and so Bible-revering author is, that the collective apostles, and even Christ him-

self, *could* make mistakes, and that both they and he *were* mistaken as to the nearness of the second advent. The mistake, however, is observable not in their direct didactic utterances, but in mere incidental, subjective allusions. And his view of the manner of the incarnation admits of this, without detriment to Christ's true divinity.

On the whole we recommend this conscientious and ably written "*System*" to the examination of our higher theologians.

Entwickelungsgeschichte des Neutestamentlichen Schrifthums. (Critical History of the Origin of the New Testament Writings.) Von Friedrich Rudolf Grau. Gutersloh: Bertelsmann.

Two stout volumes—nearly one thousand pages—of erudite introduction to the books of the New Testament. The author—the well-known evangelical professor at Konigsberg—has done his work in a careful, reverent spirit, and the result is a fresh and efficient help to the student of the Bible.

Professor Grau looks on the Old and New Testaments as organic wholes, and not as mere collections of diverse, independent tracts. He finds in them successive development stages correspondent to the stages in human life. There is the stage of infancy, as the period of acceptiveness for impressions from without; of youth, as the period of subjectivity and individuality; of manhood, as the period of action; and of the higher organic unity of objectivity and subjectivity. The same order of development prevails in art, as plastic art, music, and poetry. In the Old Testament these stages succeed each other thus: the childhood stage embraces the five books of Moses, as the distinctively sacred history of the chosen people. Upon this follows the period of the Judges, as preparatory to the second period proper—as it was the mediæval age of Israelitic history. Then comes the early manhood of the epoch of Daniel and Solomon, producing the Psalms and the other poetical books, including Job. Finally comes the period of mature manhood, when the prophets appear, not merely as speakers from God, but also as dramatic actors of what God reveals. As applied to the New Testament this scheme appears thus: The first stage, embracing the first three Gospels and the Acts, presents the life of Jesus objectively and realistically. The second stage, embracing the Pauline and the catholic Epistles, represents the realization of Christianity in human life. To the third stage belong the Apocalypse, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Gospel of John. The Apocalypse is the great "divine comedy," the

concluding drama in the gigantic contest of Good and Evil. The Gospel of John presents the life of Christ in its deepest spiritual sources and in its highest lights. The Epistle to the Hebrews presents the eternal priesthood, the heavenly exaltation, and the full divinity of Christ. Thus we find in the New Testament a comprehensive and accurate literary reflection of the new religious life and spirit.

While not admitting the full pertinence of this scheme in all its details, we yet heartily recommend the rich contents with which it is filled out.

Theologische Aufsätze, (Theological Essays.) Von KARL HEINRICH SACK. Gotha: F. A. Perther.

Seven essays by a worthy orthodox Church dignitary of the school of Nitysck. Their subjects are: "The Relation of Wisdom to Science;" "Contributions to Christian Ethics;" "The Separation of Church and State;" "The Feeding of Elijah;" "The Eucharist in the Reformed Church;" and "The Religious Element in Schiller's 'Maid of Orleans.'" They contain the mature views of an able and venerable man.

Miscellaneous.

The Book of Job. A Rhythmical Version. With Introduction and Annotations by Prof. TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D. A Commentary by OTTO ZOCKLER, D.D. Translated from the German, with Additions, by Prof. L. J. EVANS, D.D. Together with a General Introduction to the Poetical Books, by PHILIP SCHAFF. 12mo., pp. 633. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

About thirty pages are occupied by Dr. Schaff with a dissertation on Hebrew poetry. Nearly two hundred pages present us with Tayler Lewis's Rhythmical Version, with Notes; followed by an Addenda, consisting of dissertations upon points of special interest in the Book of Job. The remainder of the volume is occupied by Zöckler. His Introduction is very full; of his Notes the reader can judge.

The entire volume is a rich accession to our biblical literature. Such a Job never before came to view clothed in the English language.

Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ. Illustrated in a Series of Expositions. By JOHN BROWN, D.D. Two volumes in one. 12mo., pp. 599. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

With a fine erudition, and no little ability, Dr. Brown traces the words of Jesus, defends their truth against modern skepticism, and enforces their power upon the heart. He is an excellent specimen of the Scotch evangelical theologian.

The Winning Worker; or, the Possibilities, Duty, and Method of Doing Good to Men. By JAMES PORTER, D.D. With an Introduction by Rev. J. A. CHAPMAN, Pastor of St. Paul's Church, New York. 12mo., pp. 300. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

Dr. Porter's pages abound in pertinent suggestions clothed in pop ular style. His object is to stir the Christian up to Christian work, and show him how to do it. Folks who take up his book are very likely to finish it, and if they catch its spirit and do its bidding they are likely to be better and more efficient Christians.

A Dictionary of Religious Knowledge for Popular and Professional Uses. Comprising full Information on Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Subjects. With several Hundred Maps and Illustrations. Edited by Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, assisted by Rev. T. J. CONANT, D.D. 8vo., pp. 1074. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The present volume is both scholarly and popular. The articles on Arminian theology and Methodist history are candid and fair.

The Works of William E. Channing, D.D. With an Introduction. New and Complete Edition, rearranged. 8vo., pp. 931. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1875.

Dr. Channing was pre-eminently the *saint* of American Unitarianism. Never have the doctrines of that class of thinkers been presented in more fascinating form than in his pages. The writing of his letters upon slavery was, in its day, an act of heroism.

Index to the Bibliotheca Sacra. Vol. I to XXX. Containing a Topical Index, an Index of Scriptural Texts, and Lists of Greek and Hebrew Words. By W. F. DRAPER. 8vo., pp. 280. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1874.

This volume is a key to an immense store of valuable biblical and theological research. No periodical in England or America can rival the "Bibliotheca Sacra" in its own department. The Index itself is done up with the characteristic accuracy and beauty of the Andover press.

The Houses of Lancaster and York. With the Conquest and Loss of France. By JAMES GARDINER. With Five Maps. 12mo., pp. 262. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

The "Wars of the Roses" constituted an epoch in English history. They did for England what the French Revolution did for France, swept off the old aristocracy and gave the people a chance.

Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar. Translated from the German. By ENOCH HUTCHISON. With a Course of Exercises in Syriac Grammar, a Chrestomathy, and brief Lexicon, prepared by the Translator. Second Edition. 12mo., pp. 459. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

A new edition of a standard work originally published ten years ago. Students will find it a complete introduction to the Syriac language.

Statistics of Protestant Missionary Societies, 1872–3. 12mo., pp. 184. London: William Nichols. 1874.

A very valuable synopsis of the entire Protestant missionary world, condensed into the briefest possible form.

The Kingdom of Christ on Earth. Twelve Lectures Delivered before the Students of the Theological Seminary, Andover. By SAMUEL HARRIS. 12mo., pp. 255. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1874.

Voices of the Prophets. Twelve Lectures Preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn in the Years 1870–1874, on the Foundation of Bishop Warburton. By EDWIN HAMILTON GIFFORD, D.D. 12mo., pp. 264. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1874.

The Life of Rev. Thomas A. Morris, D.D., Late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. JOHN F. MARLEY, A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop E. S. JANES. 12mo., pp. 407. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

Spiritual Struggles of a Roman Catholic. An Autobiographical Sketch. By LOUIS N. BEAUDRY. Large 16mo., pp. 275. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

No Room for Jesus. By CHARLES F. DEEMS. 12mo., pp. 32. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1875.

Lucien Guglieri. By MARY B. LEE. 16mo., pp. 85. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Together; or, Life on the Circuit. A Sequel to Rachel Cardingford's Book. By Mrs. E. E. BOYD. 16mo., pp. 188. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The King of Day. By Rev. W. S. URMY. 16mo., pp. 196. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

Coomassie and Magdala. The Story of two British Campaigns in Africa. By HENRY M. STANLEY. With Numerous Illustrations from Drawings by Melton Prior (Special Artist of the "Illustrated London News") and other Artists, and two Maps. 12mo., pp. 510. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa. From Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-five to his Death. Continued by a Narrative of his Last Moments and Sufferings, obtained from his faithful servants, Chuma and Susi. By HORACE WALLER, F.R.G.S. With Portrait, Maps, and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 541. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Bric a-Brac Series. The Greville Memoirs. A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV. By CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Clerk of the Council to those Sovereigns. Edited by RICHARD HENRY STODDARD. 12mo., pp. 346. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

Character Sketches. NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D. 12mo., pp. 370. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Wonderful Life. By HESBA STRETTON. 12mo., pp. 325. New York: Dodd & Mead.

The Old House on Briar Hill. By ISABELLA GRANT MEREDITH. 12mo., pp. 352. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Old Myddleton's Money. A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY. 12mo., pp. 135. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Our Living and Our Dead. S. D. POOL, Editor. 12mo., pp. 192. Raleigh, N. C.

The Bazar Book of the Household. 12mo., pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1875.

ART. I.—THE RELIGIOUS NATURE OF SAVAGES.

AN extended study of the religious condition of savages in various parts of the world will be found to establish as a fact the general presence of some definite religious ideas and sentiments. In the investigation which we have given this subject,* we have become acquainted with no more than twenty-eight tribes of savages so sunken in the scale of humanity as to have incurred the denial, by any traveler, of the possession of proper religious instincts. In respect to some of these tribes, our knowledge consists of a simple general denial of all religious endowments; while, respecting others, later and more trustworthy authorities assure us of the misconceptions of the earlier writers, both in reference to the possession of recognized religious faculties, and also in reference to what constitutes, essentially, a religious manifestation. In indicating, therefore, the tribes which have, at any time, fallen under the reproach of destitution of all religious instincts, we shall arrange them in four groups: 1. Those about whom our information is too meager to justify any generalization; 2. Those in respect to whom the testimony has been contradicted by adequate authority; 3. Those in whom we detect only a more or less vague sense of the supernatural; 4. Those in whom, with apparently

*In a previous number of this Review we have given a presentation of facts of this kind sufficiently extended to convey an idea of their general tenor.

adequate testimony, the mind appears to be a complete religious blank.

The cases arrange themselves under the several heads as follows:—

1. *Information insufficient.* 1) Certain Canadian Indians; 2) Pellew Islanders; 3) Damood Islanders; 4) Some Polynesians; 5) Tasmanians; 6) Lepchas of Northern India; 7) Yenadies and Villées of India.

2. *Statements adequately contradicted.* 1) Navajoes; 2) Australians; 3) Khasias of India; 4) Certain East African tribes; 5) Some of the wilder Bedouins; 6) Bechuanas; 7) Bachapin Kaffirs; 8) Koosa Kaffirs; 9) Hottentots.

3. *Having only a notion of the supernatural.* 1) Certain Californian Indians; 2) Northern Esquimaux; 3) Botecudos of Brazil; 4) Toupinambas of Brazil; 5) Other Brazilian Indians; 6) Paraguayans; 7) Fuegians; 8) Aru Islanders; 9) Veddahs of Ceylon.

4. *The mind a religious blank.* 1) Gran Chacos of South America; 2) Arafuras of Vorkay; 3) Andamaners.

We recognize, therefore, a list of twelve tribes in whom the religious element does not rise higher than a more or less vague sense or sentiment of the supernatural. The first reflection which suggests itself in glancing over the list is, that the distribution of apparently unreligious tribes sustains some relation to physical conditions; though this fact establishes no more than a modifying influence in the development into consciousness and history of the ethical germs of the human soul. Arranging these tribes according to climatic situation, we have,

1. *Arctic.* Northern Esquimaux.

2. *Antarctic.* Fuegians.

3. *Tropical.* 1) Botecudos; 2) Toupinambas; 3) Other Brazilians; 4) Aru Islanders; 5) Veddahs; 6) Gran Chacos; 7) Arafuras; 8) Andamaners.

4. *Temperate.* 1) Californians; 2) Paraguayans.

Here are eight tribes in the tropical zone, and about one in each of the others. What cause operates in common in all the zones, but eight times as efficiently in the tropics, to repress the development of the religious faculties? Evidently, it is not temperature. Perhaps some suggestions may be deduced from the discussion which follows.

Another obvious remark is, that we know too little of the inner private and social life of almost all these tribes to be able to assert with confidence that their religious development is no higher than represented. Great difficulty exists in communicating through languages so strange and so little understood; and a greater difficulty is presented in the inability of the savage mind to comprehend our modes of thought. Savages are generally reserved in their communications on subjects relating to their religious beliefs and superstitions. The North American Indian is characteristically reticent, and yet every traveler has remarked his spirituality. These difficulties so greatly impressed Sir John Ross, that he expressly cautioned his readers against the conclusion that his Arctic Highlanders were really destitute of religious notions, though he had not succeeded in eliciting the evidences of them. Dr. W. B. Carpenter has placed on record the same conviction, as follows:—

> Attempts have been made by some travelers to prove that particular nations are destitute of it, [the religious principle;] but such assertions have been based only upon a limited acquaintance with their habits of thought, and with their outward observances; for there are probably none who do not possess the idea of some invisible power external to themselves, whose favor they seek and whose anger they deprecate by sacrifice and other ceremonials.*

Neither are positive denials to be taken as conclusive against the existence of religious notions. The Californians declared to Bægert that they had no notions which could be denominated religious; and yet Bægert admits their sense of the supernatural, and some indications of an expectation of future life; and Piccolo and Venegas declared that the same Indians worshiped the moon, and entertained a belief in the existence of a good and an evil principle. The Mandingoes of Africa told Mungo Park, "No man knows anything about it." And yet they believed in a Deity, whom they regarded as of so exalted a nature "that it is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched mortals can reverse the decrees and change the purposes of unerring Wisdom."† We have known people in Christian communities who affected a "nescience" of Deity

* Carpenter: "Human Physiology," p. 50. † Park: "Travels," vol. i, p. 267

which they would seriously object to having us cite as proof of a lower religious condition than that of the Mandingo.

It must not be forgotten that many tribes once considered devoid of religious sentiments have subsequently been proved to possess them. The authorities are copious in contradiction, as our second group of tribes sufficiently shows. The Navajoes, unreligious to Leatherman, are eminently religious to Whipple. The Tahitians, at first reported as destitute of religion, are afterward proved to have a belief in two principal gods, of whom one was regarded as the "Supreme Deity," and to be believers in the immortality of the soul and something like heaven and hell. The Bechuanas were confidently reported by Moffatt* and others as totally unreligious, while Lichtenstein affirms that they "attribute all evil to an invisible god;" and Chapman says, "They curse the Deity for sending thunder." The Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Australians are similar examples. Such mistakes having been committed and corrected, it must occur to every one that some of those tribes for the present regarded as unreligious will probably be proved, hereafter, to be undeserving of such an opinion.

This liability to mistakes has been greatly enhanced by the prepossessions with which missionaries have gone among the heathen. Holding that there could not possibly exist a knowledge of God except by direct oral revelation, and that through the Jewish medium, their theory rendered it impossible for them to discern the faint and distorted traces of religious ideas which might exist among the lowest heathen. They saw at once their expectations fulfilled, and did not hesitate to proclaim the utter godlessness of those to whom they had gone to preach the true God. The merits of Christianity and the greatness of their personal successes were exalted by every degree of degradation to which they might find the heathen sunk.

Another thing to be considered is the fact that many writers upon savage religions—especially those whose own religion has been of the most exalted type—have set their standard of judgment too high. Moffatt says, speaking of the Bechuanas, "To tell them, the greatest of them, that there was a Creator, the Governor of the heavens and the earth, of the fall of man, of

* Hawkesworth: "Voyages," vol. ii, pp. 238, 239.

the redemption of the world—the resurrection of the dead, and immortality beyond the grave, is to tell him," etc.* Mr. Darwin seems to have committed the fault of placing his standard too high when he asserts that "the idea of a universal and beneficent Creator of the universe does not seem to arise in the mind of man until he has been educated by long-continued culture."† The statement cannot be refuted; but it seems conclusive that *such* an "idea" develops from a *simpler* and *ruder* germ, whose presence scarcely a traveler will assert to be wholly wanting in any case. Sir John Lubbock admits that, in some cases, travelers have denied the existence of a religion merely because its tenets were unlike ours.‡

The missionaries have sometimes denounced savages for unreligion in much the same terms as might be employed against an outcast from Christian society. They have beheld them indulging beastly and cruel passions, and asserted broadly that the spirit of religion was far from them. Even the practices of their religions, sometimes so loathsome, have been set down to the account of unreligion; and that religion which did not restrain from the most enormous vices, but, on the contrary, rather encouraged them or prescribed them, has been pronounced no religion at all. This, we say, has sometimes been the case, and this misjudgment may have been pronounced against some of those tribes which stand on our dark list. Many wrongs have been perpetrated in the name of religion; many tortures inflicted and murders committed. Even Saul persecuted in the name of God. In an inquiry concerning the *existence* of the religious principle we have nothing to do with the correctness of the deeds which it prompts. Is it present to prompt to any thing? There is much reason to believe that this point has not always been discerned, and that tribes have been reported without religion whose intellectual condition incapacitated them, whatever germs of religious ideas they possessed, from making more than the faintest and grossest manifestations of any religious consciousness.

* Moffatt: "Missionary Labors," p. 245. Probably the Bechuanas would have been found equally ignorant of the whole Thirty-nine Articles. Compare, also, the curious procedures of Father Olmedo in introducing Christianity to the Aztecs. Prescott: "Conquest of Mexico," vol. i, pp. 326, 360.

† Darwin: "Descent of Man."

‡ Lubbock: "Origin of Civilization," p. 121.

Much also depends upon what is meant by religion. Most travelers describe the various phenomena of fetichism as religious manifestations, but Sir John Lubbock inclines to think that fetichism is the antithesis of religion. "If, then, witchcraft be not confused with religion, as I think it ought not to be, fetichism can hardly be called a religion; to the true spirit of which it is, indeed, entirely opposed." * The "true spirit" referred to is evidently that of Christianity, not religion in its most general sense. And, again, "Fetichism is almost the opposite of religion." † Evidently the "opposition" exists only in the overt manifestation; in the feeling which prompts, there is identity.

A mere sentiment or vague belief, or even a vivid and controlling belief in the existence of a supernatural being or agent of evil disposition, would not generally be regarded a religious manifestation; still less would a vague sentiment of mysterious and undefined supernatural existences of any kind be treated as the outcropping of a religious nature. It is probable that many tribes who were unable to furnish any higher demonstrations than these of a religious character have been reported wholly unreligious.

The mode of reasoning which has been sometimes employed in reference to the religious nature of savages, if applied to other traits of savage character, would prove them destitute of some of the attributes considered characteristic of humanity. Among the Fijians the children used to strangle their aged parents. The Brazilian tribes on the Ucayli kill their deformed children, saying they belong to the devil. Spix and Martius tell us that among the Brazilian tribes "übrigens wächst das kind vom Vater . . . gar nicht geliebt." ‡ Infanticide is extensively practiced among the Paraguayan tribes. Among the Hottentots, those disabled by age to be of service to the tribe are thrust out of society and confined in a solitary hut with a pittance of food, and left to die or be devoured by some wild beast. § The Fuegians "tear human bodies to pieces, and eat the flesh raw and bloody as it is." ‖ Extreme

* Lubbock: "Origin of Civilization," p. 165. † Op. Cit., p. 349.
‡ Spix and Martius: "*Reise in Brasilien*," vol. i, p. 381.
§ Kolben: "History of the Cape of Good Hope," vol. i, p. 321.
‖ See further, Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 458.

cases exist in which we may discover a total want of almost any one of the higher attributes of our human nature.

There are reasons for supposing that some of the lowest savages have undergone a degeneracy. The Arctic Highlanders and Boothians on the north, and the Fuegians and Chonos Indians of the far south, occupying positions respectively on the farthest confines of the continent, surrounded by rocks and sterility, pinched by frost, and driven by the rigors of nature to seek a sole and precarious subsistence from the sea, would seem to be restrained within their bleak and comfortless limits by some power which they have not the ability to resist. That power is probably some hostile tribe, which stands between them and a fairer land. Oppressed and crushed by the cruelty of savage neighbors, driven upon desolate shores where the reign of nature is even more relentless than that of their savage rivals, they must have sunken, through despair, fear, hunger, exposure, and every species of want, to a mental condition lower than that which they held under more favored circumstances. The struggle for supremacy, which is everywhere actively carried on among savage tribes, must, of necessity, reduce the weakest to the borders of extermination, where it is no longer possible that they exemplify the proper characteristics of man. It is quite comprehensible that, even in regions more favored by nature, feeble tribes may have been so oppressed and worried by their hostile neighbors as to have sunken to a mental and moral state far below the norm of primitive peoples. Some of the wild men of the interior of Borneo, according to Dalton,* living absolutely like brutes, without habitations and without society, "are looked on and treated by the other Dyaks as wild beasts."

Curtis says of the Esquimaux of Labrador, that they are so pressed upon, as bearded strangers, by the beardless American Indians around them, that their mode of life is most toilsome and precarious. So hard is their fate that in winter they are often obliged to support themselves in their caves by sucking their own blood.† The cannibal Jagas of the interior of Africa are, like the wild Dyaks of Borneo, an artificial tribe, composed of the outcasts of several other tribes, and hunted

* Moor: "Notices of the Indian Army," p. 49.

† Curtis, Roger: "Account of Labrador."

and despised by all.* The negrilloes of some of the Asiatic islands seem to be remnants of the aboriginal inhabitants, driven by invading tribes to the remote and mountainous districts, and reduced by misery to the most abject condition.† The degeneracy of the Toupinambas, of Brazil, under the oppressions of the Portuguese, and of the Peruvians and Mexicans under the inhuman treatment of the Spaniards, is something notorious in history.‡

"If there had ever been, or if there still anywhere existed," says Adolf Pictet, "a people entirely destitute of religion, it would be in consequence of an exceptional downfall, which would be tantamount to a lapse into animality."§ "Traces of religion," says Herder, "however different its garb may be, are found even among the poorest and rudest nations on the verge of the earth. The Greenlander and the Kamtchatdale, the Pesherza and Papoo, have notions of religion, as customs or traditions show; nay, were there a single people totally destitute of religion among the Ansicans, or those savages of the Indian islands who have been compelled to hide themselves in the woods, this very want would be a proof of the highly savage state to which they were reduced."‖

Instances of degeneracy among peoples more or less civilized are well understood. The most recently established cases are not the least interesting. Dr. Schliemann, in the progress of his excavations upon the site of ancient Troy, has disclosed four successive horizons of occupation at different depths, the oldest of which reflects the highest state of civilization, while the others, in succession, manifest a gradual decline.¶ The indefatigable explorations of M. Mariette, on the upper Nile, seem also to have revealed an older civilization, whose ruins

* Proyart: "History of Loango, Congo," etc.

† *Reisen um die Welt.* Leipzig, 1775. Vol. i, p. 554.

‡ Robertson: "History of America," vol. i, p. 537, etc.; Dobritzhoffer, etc.; Prescott: "Conquest of Peru," vol. ii, chap. vii; Wilson: "New History of the Conquest of Mexico," p. 33. On the Koriaks and the gradual disappearance of races in contact with invaders, see "American Exchange and Review," vol. xx, p. 77. Some indications of an Australian degeneracy are hinted at by Bleek in "Journal of Anthropological Institute," vol. i, p. 102.

§ Pictet: *Les origines Indo-européennes*, vol. ii, p. 651.

‖ Herder: "Philosophy of History," vol. i, p. 452. See also vol. i, p. 508.

¶ See Bayard Taylor's Letter in "Tribune Extra," No. 15.

reflect a culture strikingly superior to that which characterized the ancient Egypt known in popular archæology.*

It is scarcely supposable that the progenitors of the human family were placed by the Creator, or were developed by any force of evolution, in any quarter of the world where the very elements would be at war with their existence. On any theory of human origin, the first generations must have occupied the most favored portions of the earth, and in those situations must have displayed a vastly higher order of manhood than is possible under the oppressive conditions of existence in Northern Greenland or Terra del Fuego. We should utterly dissent, therefore, from the opinion of Sir John Lubbock,† when he says of the Fuegians, that, while they "certainly appear to be among the most miserable specimens of the human race," . . . their habits "are of especial interest from the probable similarity to those of the ancient Danish shell-mound builders," unless, perchance, it can be rendered probable that the shell-mound builders were far removed in time and distance from the earliest representatives of our race, and had been subjected to the grievous oppression of hostile neighbors.

It is no more supposable that the nature of the first generations of men was such as to predispose them to cannibalism. Whatever power called man into being—whether a beneficent, intelligent Creator, or some power of development—it is obvious that the tendency of the power must, of necessity, have been conservative instead of destructive. No species, in a state of nature, preys upon itself. It seems to need little argument to make it appear that cannibalism is a degeneracy, and that all those tribes who practice it are unsuitable examples to illustrate the primitive condition of man.

But while suggesting that probably the most ignoble representatives of the human family have been sunken by circumstances, perhaps very far below the human norm, we do not wish to be understood as embracing the theory that all barbarism is a degeneracy. We hold a middle ground between Sir John Lubbock and the Duke of Argyll. The extreme of barbarism is a great departure from the primitive norm, and so is the extreme of knowledge and intellect. We have, it

* Taylor: "Egypt and Iceland," chap. ix.

† Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 439.

appears, all requisite proof that the career of man, as a race, has always been forward, and reaches back to a condition of ignorance and barbaric intelligence. We may dislike to call it barbarism; it was *the infancy of the race.* At that beginning every thing was yet to be learned. But man was then in the full possession of all those powers, whose continued exercise has made him all that which we call a civilized moral intelligence.

This view is corroborated by the Mosaic representations of Adam. He is pictured to us as destitute of clothing, and attempting to cover himself with leaves. He is represented as yielding to trivial temptations to violate the command of his Maker, and then betraying such anthropomorphic conceptions of Deity as to make the attempt to conceal himself in the bushes. In his mode of life, in his intellectual condition, in his moral character, and in his apprehension of the character of Deity, Adam's portrait, drawn by Moses, is extremely like that of the early representatives of our race, furnished by the data of archæology and anthropology.*

The vividness of the religious manifestations of savages is closely correlated to their general intelligence. The conscience acts in the light of knowledge. Where knowledge is absent, and intelligence is reduced to a feeble glimmer, a corresponding development of the religious faculty would only rise to a barely discoverable manifestation; and this, in consequence of the more constant exercise of the intellectual powers in the daily activities of mere animal life, would be a manifestation much more inaccessible to observation than phenomena of the intellect no more exalted. Bægert says the California Indians were so ignorant that few of them could count beyond three, and none of them beyond six. There was not one of them who could say how many fingers he had.† Some of the Paraguayans could only count up to four, and had no words for

* In defense of the theory of primeval barbarism, see Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," and "Origin of Civilization;" Wake, (in reference to the Australians,) in "Journal of Anthropological Institute," vol. i, p. 82, etc.; Taylor: "Proceedings Royal Institution of Great Britain;" "Report Smithsonian Institution," 1867, p. 39; Lucretius: *De Natura Rerum*, book v. In support of the doctrine that barbarism is a lapse, see Duke of Argyll: "Primeval Man," part iv; Whateley: "Origin of Civilization," and the generality of the older theological writers on the subject.

† "Smithsonian Report," 1864, p. 388.

higher numbers, not even for five or six. An Australian, on being shown a large colored engraving of one of his own people, "declared it to be a ship; another, a kangaroo, and so on; not one of a dozen identifying the portrait as having any connection with himself."‡

One of the Bushmen of South Africa is described by Lichtenstein as follows:—

> One of our present guests, who appeared about fifty years of age, who had gray hair and a grizzly beard, whose forehead, nose, cheeks, and chin were all smeared over with black grease, having only a white circle round the eye, washed clean with the tears occasioned by smoking—this man had the true physiognomy of the small blue ape of Caffraria. What gives the more verity to such a comparison was the vivacity of his eyes and the flexibility of his eyebrows, which he worked up and down with every change of countenance. Even his nostrils and the corners of his mouth, nay, his very ears, moved involuntarily, expressing his hasty transitions from eager desire to watchful distrust. There was not, on the contrary, a single feature in his countenance that evinced a consciousness of mental powers, or anything that denoted emotions of the mind of a milder species than what belonged to a man in his more animal nature. When a piece of meat was given him, and, half-rising, he stretched out a distrustful arm to take it, he snatched it hastily, and stuck it immediately into the fire, peering round with his little keen eyes, as if fearing lest some one should take it away again. All this was done with such looks and gestures that any one must have been ready to swear he had taken the example of them entirely from an ape. He soon took the meat from the embers, wiped it hastily with his right hand upon his left arm, and tore out large, half-raw bits with his teeth, which I could see going entire down his meager throat."—Vol. ii, p. 224.

No one will contend that any positive moral or religious sentiments could be expected in the breasts of such creatures as these. Some of the ordinary intellectual faculties, as imagination and abstraction, are reduced to as low an extreme as the moral; and, save the difference in the occasions for their manifestation, there is as much reason for denying their existence, as for denying the existence of the religious nature. But, to deny the existence of any of the powers which belong to the normal human being, is to deny that he belongs to humanity. While this is, perhaps, an alternative from which some persons would not shrink, it is one so foreign from the

‡ Oldfield: "Transactions of Ethnological Society," New Ser., vol. iii, p. 227.

general judgment of anthropologists that there is no occasion for considering its plausibility.

In view of all the conditions under which we have sought for the manifestation of the religious nature in the breasts of savages, it should excite no surprise that its character is sometimes so equivocal, and its existence not unfrequently a matter of doubt, or even of denial. But are we, for this reason, justified in the assertion that the common religious consciousness which stands forth so prominent a characteristic of mankind at large is the product of circumstances, and not an essential part, or outgrowth, of human nature?

In determining what constitutes an essential part of human nature, it is certainly legitimate to resort, as we have done, to a study of those conditions of humanity in which we find it reduced to its simplest state. But we must avoid laying too much stress upon the most desperate cases. We should not expect a man in the agonies of death to give expression to all the powers which characterized him in a state of health. Neither could we expect this in tribes which have been crushed into the condition of idiocy, or forced to the very borders of extermination. The generality of mankind, or, at least, the generality of savages, would seem to present a juster criterion of what is native to humanity. And when we appeal to this criterion, the verdict is confessed.

One further consideration seems to possess a weight which ought not to be ignored. It is the susceptibility of savages to receive and adopt religious teaching. Even if we deny the religious character of the lowest order of superstitious manifestations, it is generally admitted that savages show a predisposition to receive suggestions from what we denominate religious teaching. This predisposition and native preparation are impressively illustrated in the remarks of one of the most respectable of the Kaffirs, as reported by Arbrousset. Said he to Arbrousset:—

> Your tidings are what I want; and I was seeking before I knew you, as you shall hear and judge for yourselves. Twelve years ago I went to feed my flocks. The weather was hazy. I sat down upon a rock and asked myself sorrowful questions; yes, sorrowful, because I was unable to answer them. "Who has touched the stars with his hands? On what pillars do they rest?" I asked myself. "The waters are never weary; they know no other law

than to flow, without ceasing, from morning till night, and from night till morning. But where do they stop, and who makes them flow thus? The clouds, also, come and go, and burst in water over the earth. Whence come they? Who sends them? The diviners certainly do not give us rain, for how could they do it? and why do I not see them with my own eyes when they go up to heaven to fetch it? I cannot see the wind, but what is it? Who brings it, makes it blow, and roar, and terrify us? Do I know how the corn sprouts? Yesterday there was not a blade in my field; to-day I returned to the field and found some. Who can have given to the earth the wisdom and power to produce it?" Then I buried my face in both my hands.*

Sir John Ross says of one of his Arctic Highlanders, that when told of the one Deity and his attributes, he manifested a comprehension of the idea, and "eagerly asked where he lived."†

All we know of the religious nature of savages is an inference from the religious phenomena which they manifest. But religious phenomena are only revelations of religious knowledge. Where all knowledge is reduced to a *minimum*, religious phenomena must necessarily present an aspect of great obscurity. But it is essential to discriminate between religious attainments and religious susceptibilities. We do not deny the existence of the faculty of knowledge, even where all knowledge is wanting. The savage susceptibility to religious ideas is an evidence of a religious element and purpose in his mental constitution. His nature is preadapted to religious truth; and though lodged in a moral desert, and forced to affiliate with beasts, his nature stands always ready and waiting for the lodgment of the germs of religious knowledge, to warm and quicken them into an articulate religious faith.‡

The opinions of high authorities on the question of the religious nature of lowest savages are greatly at variance with each other. Sir John Lubbock says:—

It has been asserted, over and over again, that there is no race so degraded as to be entirely without a religion—without some idea of a deity. So far from this being true, the very reverse is the case. Many, we might almost say all, of the savage races are,

* Casalis: "The Basutos," p. 239.

† Ross: "Arctic Voyages." First Voyage, p. 129.

‡ See parallel remarks in Morell: "Philosophy of Religion;" Nitzsch: *Christliche Dogmatik.*

according to the nearly unanimous testimony of travelers, in this condition.*

And again:—

The opinion that religion is general and universal, has been entertained by many high authorities. Yet it is opposed to the evidence of numerous trustworthy observers. Sailors, traders and philosophers, Roman Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries, in ancient and in modern times, in every part of the globe, have concurred in stating that there are races of men altogether devoid of religion.†

Burton, in speaking of Moffatt's opinion that the native and original idea of God had been eradicated by the agency of the devil, says: "I must differ from him, in holding Atheism to be the natural condition of the savage, uninstructed mind, the night of spiritual existence, which disappears before the dawn of a belief in things unseen."‡ Burton's last word implies the absence, in the mind of primitive savages, of a belief in "things unseen," and also implies an admission that when this belief dawns, the essential religious notion makes its advent. The admission we indorse; but we think this diagnostic "belief in things unseen" has very seldom, if ever, been proved absent from the breast of the savage.

Darwin avails himself of the adverse reports of travelers respecting the religious condition of savages, to furnish a needed *datum* for his theory of the "descent of man." He asserts that "numerous races have existed, and still exist, who have no idea of one or more gods, and who have no words in their languages to express such an idea." "Hence," he says, "the idea of a universal and beneficent Creator of the universe does not seem to arise in the mind of man, until he has been elevated by long-continued culture."§

We have already quoted the opinions of Moffatt in reference to the Bechuanas, Bægert in reference to the Californians, and various others.

On the contrary, the prevailing opinion among travelers, ethnologists and psychologists, has been in support of the doc-

* Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times," p. 467.

† Lubbock: "Origin of Civilization," p. 121. It will be noticed that the later statement is much more qualified than the other.

‡ Burton: "Abeokuta," vol. i, p. 179.

§ Darwin: "Descent of Man."

trine of the universality of religious notions. The deliverance of M. Adolf Pictet has been already cited, as well as that of Dr. Carpenter, and that of the sagacious philosopher of man, Herder. Spencer, one of the profoundest thinkers of modern times, says:—

> Religious ideas of one kind or another are almost, if not quite, universal. Even should it be true, as alleged, that there exist tribes of men who have nothing approaching a theory of creation —even should it be true that only when a certain phase of intelligence is reached, do the most rudimentary of such theories make their appearance, the implication is practically the same. The universality of religious ideas, their independent evolution among different primitive races, and their great vitality, unite in showing that their source must be deep-seated instead of superficial.*

"If we examine the entire course of history," says Calderwood, "we find among all nations and in all ages the practice of religious rites and ceremonies forming an unbroken line of evidence, by which it is proved that man is, by his very constitution, a religious being." †

"The universality of the tendency to fear, or to worship the spiritual *in some form*," says Morell, "is, in itself, a strong proof of religion being an original constituent of the human soul." ‡

Herder every-where maintains the same opinion. "Even the most savage nations," says he, "have practiced it; for no people upon earth have been found entirely destitute of it, any more than of a capacity for reason." §

Dr. M'Cosh says:—

> The idea of God, the belief in God, may be justly represented as native to man. He is led to it by the circumstances in which he is placed, calling into energy mental principles which are natural to all. He does not require to go in search of it; it comes to him. He has only to be waiting for it, and disposed to receive it, and it will be pressed on him from every quarter. It springs up naturally, as the plant or animal does from its germ; it will well up spontaneously from the depths of his heart, or it will shine on him from the works of Nature, as light does from the sun. ‖

* Spencer: "First Principles of Philosophy," pp. 13, 14.
† Calderwood: "Philosophy of the Infinite," p. 423.
‡ Morell: "Philosophy of Religion," p. 64.
§ Herder: "Philosophy of History," vol. i, p. 182.
‖ M'Cosh: "Intuitions of the Mind," p. 377.

Dawson says:—

Belief in a future existence is not taught by physical nature, yet its existence is probably universal, and it lies near the foundation of all religious beliefs.... No less in the vagaries of fetichism, ritualism, and idolatry, and in the horrors of asceticism and human sacrifice, than in the edenic communion with and hearing of God, or in the joy of Christian love, do we see, in however ruined or degraded a condition, the higher spiritual nature of man.*

Ritter thinks that the facility with which Socrates set aside, in his own mind, the quasi-atheistic and pantheistic notions of the older Greek philosophy, and assumed, without the consciousness of a controversial attitude, the supremacy of divine intelligence and power, is a "proof of the antecedent original existence in the human mind of the idea of God."† Plato, similarly, seems to have felt himself embarrassed when called upon to prove the existence of Deity, since he asserts that man is secretly and insensibly led, by his affinity with the gods, [adapting himself to the popular view,] to believe in their existence, and to honor them.‡ This was also the teaching of Socrates and Xenocrates; and even Epicurus argued similarly from the universal presence of theistic beliefs.§ Plutarch says: "If you go through all the world you may find cities without walls, without letters, without rulers, without money, without theaters, but never without temples and gods, or without prayers, oaths, prophecies, and sacrifices, used to obtain blessings and benefits, or to avert curses and calamities."‖ Lactantius testifies that in all emergencies the pagan even calls upon God for succor.¶ Professor Tyndall says: "The facts of religious feeling are as certain to me as the facts of consciousness.... There is that deep-set feeling which, since the earliest dawn of history, and probably for ages prior to all history, incorporated itself in the religions of the world."**

* Dawson: "Story of the Earth and Man," pp. 384, 389.

† Ritter: "History of Ancient Philosophy," vol. ii, p. 63.

‡ Plato: *De Legibus*, x, 899 *d*.

§ Ritter: "History of Philosophy," vol. iii, p. 443.

‖ Plutarch: "Against Kalotes," chap. xxxi.

¶ Lactantius: *Institutiones Divinæ*, II, i. See also on this subject Max Müller: "Science of Language," p. 436; Tholuck: "Nature and Influence of Heathenism," p. 23; Cudworth: "Intellectual System of the Universe, vol. i, p. 300; Cocker: "Christianity and Greek Philosophy," chap. iii.

** Tyndall: Belfast Address, 1874.

Finally, the whole body of supporters of the hypothesis of "derivation" must logically concede the innate origin of religious ideas, since, as Darwin, Braubach, Caspari, Jaegar, and others maintain, the germ of the religious nature begins already to reveal itself in the dog and other quadrupeds.

After all, the solution of the question whether religion is an essential element of human nature, turns, as Lubbock very justly observes, upon the definitions which we attach to the term religion. If we mean by it a distinct recognition of a beneficent Creator, together with more or less of the doctrines commonly associated with this, it must be admitted that human conditions exist into which the idea has never entered. On the contrary, Sir John Lubbock employs these words: "If the mere sensation of fear, and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than man, are sufficient to constitute a religion, then we must, I think, admit that religion is general to the human race." * A large part of the controversy arises from the lack of a definition of terms.

In order to attain to a definition of religion which shall embrace the most obscure manifestations of it, we shall trace the gradual transitions of religious belief from those tribes where the religious element is distinctly marked, to those in which it is most obscure, or wholly undiscoverable. The results of such a comparison are exhibited to the eye in the following classified table of the religious notions of the leading tribes which we have summoned under discussion. The theistic idea is tabulated under its several gradations, beginning with the distinct belief in one Supreme, Beneficent Deity, accompanied or not by the belief in other divinities or spirits, and ending with only the vague notion of supernatural beings—that is, beings corporeal or incorporeal, which are superior to the savage himself, and to all which he conceives as constituting a part of nature.

The blanks in the table indicate a lack of specific information.

* Lubbock: "Origin of Civilization," p. 121. We shall soon see whether the religious feeling of lowest savages is nothing more than "fear," and whether the "probably" here introduced is not rather interjected by the rational judgment than tolerated by religious assurance of even the first degree.

TABULAR EXHIBIT OF SAVAGE RELIGIONS.

Tribes.	One Beneficent Deity.	One Evil Deity.	Subordinate Deities.	Supernatural Beings only.	Worship.	Future Life.	Sundries.
Aztecs	Yes		Yes		Complex	Yes	Redeemer, Sacraments, etc.
Pueblos	Yes		Yes		Prayer, etc.	Yes	Redeemer, Prophets, Creator.
Mojaves	Mat-u-vil		Yes		Prayer, etc.	Yes	Redeemer, Creator.
Navajos	Yes				Prayer and offerings.		
Moqui	Gt. Mother	Great Fat'er					
Tongese	Bulotu		Yes		Temples, etc.	Yes	Ideal Divinities.
Fijians	Ndengei		Yes		Temples, etc.	Yes	Deluge. All men from one pair.
Kingsmillians	Wainangu		Yes		Prayer	Yes	
U. S. Indians	Manedo		Yes		Prayer	Yes	Totems, Creation.
Tahitians	Yes				Adoration	Yes	
Ainos	Yes		Yes		Shamanism		
Tinneh	Vague	No	Demons		Offerings to Demons.	No?	Fatalism.
Loucheux	Vague					Material	
Esquimaux	Vague					Yes	
Gallineros	Calletopte		Evil Spirits		Dances and conjuring	Yes	Creation, Deluge, Spirit Land in the western heaven.
Ormas	Waka-Mulingu				Prayer		
Mandingoes	Vague					Yes	Creation.
Hottentots	Very vague		Evil Spirits		Fear	Yes	
Bechuanas	No	Murimo					
Brazilians	No	Devil			Conjuring		
Californians	No	Devil			Conjuring	Yes?	
Maories	No	Atoua			Sacrifices	Yes	Priesthood.
Paraguayans	No	Vague					
Toupinambas	No	Aygnan		Yes		Yes	
Botecudos	No	No		Yes		Yes	
Bachapins	No	Vague			Sorcery		
Koosas	No	No	Evil Spirits		Enchantment		
Veddahs	No	No	Evil Beings				
Koriaks	No	No	Evil Spirits		Sorcery	Yes	Shaman priesthood.
Australians	No	No	Evil Spirits	Yes	Witchcraft	Yes	
Fuegians	No	No		Yes	Conjuring	Vague	Great Black Man.
Arctic Highlanders	No	No		Yes	Conjuring	Tradition	
Aru Islanders	No	No		Yes			White Man.
Gran Chacos	No	No		No	No	No	
Araucanas	No	No		No	No	No	
Andamaners	No	No		No	No	No	

The inferences to be drawn from this exhibit, in reference to the gradations and the vanishing point of the religions of savages, would seem to be something like the following :—

1. The higher savages entertain a distinct idea of One Supreme, Beneficent Creator, with or without the notion of a devil, but accompanied by a general belief in many subordinate deities.

2. In the next lower grade the idea of one Beneficent Deity becomes more or less vague, but the belief in good and evil spirits is controlling.

3. In the third grade all notions of a Beneficent Deity dis-

appear, and the Supreme Power assumes the character of a malignant divinity or devil. This faith is generally accompanied by a belief in subordinate divinities.

4. In the fourth grade the evil deity is succeeded by an undefined faith in many evil spirits.

5. In the fifth grade the notion of spirits of every kind becomes extremely vague, and nothing remains but a *sensus numinis*—an undefined *sentiment of the supernatural.**

6. In the sixth grade we detect no trace of a consciousness of any existence above themselves and the material objects by which they are surrounded.

7. The belief in future existence is present through all these gradations of the theistic belief.

8. Some form of worship is almost every-where present, varying from prayer and the use of temples, through adoration of sun, moon, stars, mountains, elements, as the divine embodiments and intercessors, to rude sacrifices, sorcery, and witchcraft.

Where is the criterion for dissociating the lowest superstitions from the higher religions? Where, in this graduated series, shall we draw the line, and affirm that real religions lie upon one side, and *absolutely* no religion on the other? Evidently the vague sense of the supernatural manifested by the lowest savages is the vanishing point of overt human religion. We must believe that the religious *capacity*, or germ, of phenomenal religion, may be held to exist, even beyond this, to the very bottom of the scale.

This vague sense of something more powerful than man, or nature as understood by the savage, is something more than "the mere sensation of fear," felt by the dog or horse; since it is impossible that among the brutes physical fear is accompanied by any notion of superior existence, or of any dangerous existence beyond that which is immediately cognizable by the senses. The savage notion, which we have denominated a mere sentiment of the supernatural, is, therefore, contrary to the opinion of Sir John Lubbock, to be differentiated from "the feeling of a dog or a horse toward its master," and still more from "the baying of a dog to the moon." "It is absurd to say that fear invented the gods of most people,"† protested

* Compare Max Müller: "Science of Language," second series, p. 445.

† Herder: "Philosophy of the History of Man," vol. i, p. 183.

Herder nearly a century ago. "Fear, as fear, invents nothing; it merely rouses the understanding to conjecture and to suppose something true or false."

This sentiment of the supernatural seems, also, to be more than "a dim and undefined sense of dependence," which Morell* considers "the first bud of feeling out of which the religious emotions gradually germinate." It is something more, even, than "an absolute feeling of dependence upon nature," which Morell regards as the lowest phase of positive religious manifestation. The lowest savage having any superstitions, seems to be actuated by a sentiment, not to say a belief, of *power residing in mysterious and unknown being.* He feels a dependence upon its caprice or will; he fears it; but the religious essence is neither the feeling of dependence nor the fear. It is both, united with the sense of mysterious, powerful existence. Says Herder:—

> Savages have this feeling of the powers of nature even when they have no express idea of God. As soon as man learned to use his understanding on the slightest impulse, that is to say, as soon as he beheld the world in a manner different from a brute, he must have believed in more powerful invisible beings that benefited or injured him. These he sought to make or preserve his friends; and thus religion, true or false, right or erroneous, was introduced.†

Naturally, since this primitive savage has no abstract ideas, this power, whose presence he feels, will be lodged in the material objects by which he is surrounded, and the representatives of superior races which may visit him. His worship will be prompted by fear, and his divinities will be malignant. Until he rises to the practical belief that his divinities are beyond his control, his religion will be *Fetichism.*‡ When he reaches this point his religion is *Totemism*, and he begins to

* Morell: "Philosophy of Religion," p. 81.

† Herder: "Philosophy of History," vol. i, pp. 457. 183.

‡ Fetichism Sir John Lubbock is reluctant to regard as a religious manifestation, as we have seen. Mr. Morell, however, says, ("Philosophy of Religion," p. 79,) "The ignorant heathen makes his idol the absolute power, and trusts implicitly to it. Such an absolute dependence upon a fetich or image, as far as it is a genuine experience, is *essentially* religion." Burton, also, who writes without heed to the interests of Orthodoxy, says of witchcraft and sorcery, that they are the "vestiges of that fetichism which is the first dawn of religion in the breast of the savage and barbarian."—*Abeokuta*, vol. i, p. 202.

feel that some of his divinities are beneficent. The brutal struggle with the adversities of his existence, though still absorbing, leaves some space for the enjoyment of peace, plenty, and good-will, and he feels that something more than malevolence controls his lot. But the most powerful beings are still malignant. When his intelligence has risen sufficiently to enable him to discern the superior grandeur of certain objects in nature, he confines his worship to the heavenly bodies and the elements, as the abodes, or sometimes the representatives, of the powers toward whom his devotion is directed. At this stage of development his religion is *Shamanism*, and the beneficent principle begins to assume a distinct and controlling personality, and to become the object of a purer devotion. As intelligence rises still higher, the idea of malignant deities becomes subordinate, and the whole religious nature is centered around the conception of the one Beneficent Creator. But anthropomorphism and idolatry continue to exemplify a rude conception of the Divine character.

The survey which we have taken of the religious manifestations of primitive peoples seems to render it clear that phenomena which cannot be differentiated from the religious class make their appearance generally among the lowest savage tribes, and, even with our present knowledge of savages, may be pronounced well-nigh universal. The religious susceptibility which underlies all these phenomena may reasonably be regarded as belonging to all savages without exception. If, therefore, we had to form our opinion of the essential characteristics of human nature from a study of those portions of the human family which contribute least to our conception of the character of man, the almost universal prevalence of the religious trait would compel us to take it into the account and pronounce man, as so many others have done, *by nature a religious being.*

When, from the religious phenomena of savages, we turn to the history of mankind at large and consider the wide prevalence of vast religious systems, the religious pretensions of all schools of philosophy, and the Divine breathings of the poetry of all peoples, and, finally, the utter ineradicability of the religious sentiments of mankind, it would seem an act either of fatuity or perversity to deny that the ethical faculties

are fundamentally co-ordinate with the intellectual, and hence answer to correlates in the realm of being, as real as the existences revealed by the activity of any of the cognitive faculties of our nature.

We venture to close this discussion with an apostrophe from Herder, (so often quoted already,) the spiritual seer of man and nature:—

> No! Eternal Source of all life, all being, and all form, thou hast not forborne to manifest thyself to thy creatures. The prone brute obscurely feels thy power and goodness, while he exercises his faculties and appetites suitably to his organization; to him, *man* is the visible divinity of the earth. But thou hast exalted man, so that, even without his knowing or intending it, he inquires after the causes of things, divines their connection, and thus discovers thee, thou great Bond of all things, Being of beings! Thy inmost nature he knows not, for he sees not the essence of any one power; and when he would figure thee he has erred, and must err, for thou art without figure, though the first and sole Cause of all forms. Still, this false glimmering of thee is light; and the illusive altar he has erected to thee is an unerring monument, not only of thy being, but of the power of man to know and worship thee.*

Art. II.—THE MILLENNIUM AND THE ADVENT.

That there is to be a millennium, and that there is to be an advent, is generally admitted by Christian people. That the millennium and the advent sustain very definite and very important relations, is the general conviction. That one must precede, that the other will follow, is freely conceded. But will the advent precede the millennium? or will the millennium precede the advent? This is the vital question to be determined, and this issue must be squarely met. Will the Lord come to introduce the millennium? or will the millennium prepare for the coming of the Lord? In some form or

* Herder: "Philosophy of History," vol. i, p. 183. We have never been able to discover, from a study of Herder's writings, the ground for classing him with many of the German pantheists; and we have multiplied quotations, partly with the view of doing justice to a misjudged thinker, and directing attention to a treasury of original thoughts and suggestions.

other the thoughtful mind propounds this inquiry, and in some way this very serious inquiry must be answered. Until this point is settled, there is but little use for inquiry or disputation about any other relating to the general subject. The settlement of this cardinal question determines many others.

We do not purpose to enter upon a very extended argument in our investigation of this specific point. We choose, rather, after a plain statement of two or three important facts, to put the inquirer on the track of the needful information, that he may be assisted in coming to the right conclusion. And, with reference to the specific question to be settled, we affirm as follows:—First. There is not a passage of Scripture, literal, figurative, or symbolical, which treats of the millennium and its relation to the advent, that teaches, indicates, or in any manner represents the millennium as *preceding* the advent. Second. There is not a passage, literal, figurative, or symbolical, which speaks of the advent and its relation to the millennium, that represents the advent as *subsequent* to the millennium.

Now, these two very important facts settle, if not the principal question at issue, at least this not unimportant fact, that the now prevalent belief in a millennium previous to the advent is without Scripture authority. Since, as before stated, there is not one passage that speaks of the millennium and its relation to the advent, or of the advent and its relation to the millennium, which teaches directly or indirectly, by its immediate connections or its parallels, or in any manner whatever, the post-millenarian doctrines that are now so generally prevalent.

And yet, in the nature of the case, questions of order and relation must be decided by the authority which treats of order and relation. Isolated revelations—if there be such—cannot decide questions of relative order, unless—of which there is no example—the specific revelation should relate to the specific point to be established.

There is no dispute about the *fact* of our Lord's second advent. There is no dispute about the *fact* of a coming millennium. There is no dispute about the *fact* that the two great events sustain important chronological relations. The whole disagreement, as it respects the cardinal questions, is concern-

ing the relative order. Is the millennium before the advent? Is the advent before the millennium? This is what should claim our attention first of all. A multitude of minor questions must be determined by this question of relative order.

This point must be decided, not by conjecture, nor by unauthorized statements, but by Divine revelation. Human authority is of little account in deciding questions of this nature. If the Lord has not spoken relative to this matter it will be useless for man to speak. If he has spoken, "Thus saith the Lord" must be deemed decisive.

Thus far we have treated the subject on the purposely-assumed logical ground that the Scriptures have not determined the question at issue; thus leaving one side of the controversy as much without Divine authority as the other, and making it, therefore, a matter of logic, learning, and research. On this assumption, it would appear that the manifest advantage would be with the pre-millennialists, for these several reasons: First. The post-millennialists being the witnesses, we prove that the pre-millenarian belief was *primitive* in the Christian Church. And our advantage in this respect is equal to the probability of the TRUTH being primitive, and not ERROR, in the Church apostolically founded, guided, and instructed. Second. Our advantage, on this assumption, still further appears from the fact, that authentic history, and still preserved formulas of belief, show that pre-millennial views were *primitive* in the reformed Protestant Church. After the Church came out from the communion of Rome, renouncing the human traditions, the manifold perversions of the Word of God, and the unauthorized assumptions of the Papacy, and planted itself squarely upon the teachings of the Bible; then, as we have abundant testimony to prove, the Primitive Protestant Church, deriving the great foundation doctrines directly from the Word of God, was quite generally, if not universally, pre-millenarian in respect to this point of relative order. And our advantage in this respect is equal to the improbability that such men as God raised up, and wonderfully qualified for the reformation of the Church, should generally, perhaps universally, misunderstand their diligently studied Bibles in respect to this vital question of relative order. Third. On this assumption of equality, so far as it relates to direct revelation,

our advantage as pre-millenarians is to be estimated as equal to the improbability that nearly all the chief founders of the subdivisions of the primitive Protestant Churches—the theological giants of those heroic days—should be led into essential error on this vital question of relative order.

It will not be denied by those who have faithfully investigated this matter, that many, probably most, of the principal founders of the English, the Scotch, the Congregational, and the Baptist Churches, and the larger portion of the Westminster Assembly, were decidedly millenarian; or, as we are using the term, pre-millenarian, in their belief and teaching. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Wiclif, Melanchthon, all gave expression to convictions which showed that they looked for the advent before the complete subjection of the world to Christ. They seem to have apprehended the advent as very near. Not the prospect of the immediate triumph of the Church, but the fearful ravages of the Man of Sin, impressed them that the day of the Lord was near. And this was evidently scriptural. Charles Wesley, the sweet singer of Methodism; Fletcher, the matchless polemic; and Coke, the father of our missionary enterprise, all looked for the advent before the millennium.

And thus we might go on, almost indefinitely, and show conclusively that, on the assumption that the Bible leaves the question undecided as to the relative order of these two great events, the pre-millenarians evidently have the advantage of their opponents as to the probabilities of the case. It would invalidate all the axioms relating to the primitiveness of religious truth, in reference to the manifest illumination and providential guiding of those whom God has raised up for reformative purposes in his Church; and it would conflict with all history and mental philosophy, as exhibited in innumerable instances, if we should be obliged to conclude that in the Primitive Church, in its first utterances of cardinal truths, as developed from the Word of God, radical error, and not essential truth, was primitive.

Since the great perversion and corruption in Eden, down to the latest development of heterodoxy, corruption of primitive truth, and not truth developed from corruption, has been the history of human kind. God may indeed reform and reclaim his people when they err and wander, and bring them back to

original truth and virtue. But to assume that God suffered the Primitive Church to be established in essential error, and thus suffered the principal branches of the Church in later times to be founded in essential error, in respect to the momentous question under review, is sufficiently alarming and humiliating, to say the least.

Having said so much, on the assumed ground of scriptural equality between the two sides of this great question, and of the advantage which pre-millenarians have over their opponents, on the supposition that the Bible leaves the question of relative order undetermined, we purpose now to abandon that merely assumed position, and boldly take the ground that this great question of the relative order of the millennium and the advent has been authoritatively decided by the Word of God; not by one passage only, which, if it were clear, would settle the whole controversy, but by passages literal, figurative, and symbolical, almost without number. And we do not forget that the Word of God is to be understood, not as any of us might wish, hope, or endeavor to make it appear; but fairly, consistently, and according to its Divine adaptation to impress the unsophisticated mind.

"To the law and to the testimony." The question to be settled being one of order and relation in respect to the two great associated events, the coming of the Lord and the coming of the millennium, it is necessary to determine the point by Scriptures that relate to these two events in their associated order. A text merely proving the millennium, since it proves as much for one side as the other, proves nothing in respect to the point now under discussion. Sometimes reference is made to explicit revelations of the millennium, without regard to the connections and parallels of the passage, and it is assumed that these isolated and fragmentary passages, since they prove the millennium, settle the questions of relative order. The eighth verse of the second Psalm, the ninth verse of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, and half a dozen texts of similar nature, which, indeed, prove the *fact* of the millennium, and are, therefore, in this respect, just as favorable to one side as the other, appear to be stereotyped arguments on the post-millennial side, and are quoted with a frequency and a confidence which leave no doubt concerning the convictions of those who refer

to them, as authoritative judgments in the great question in dispute. Whereas, the careful examination of these isolated quotations will demonstrate the fact, which seems to have escaped the notice of many, that these texts either prove nothing at all relative to the great question in controversy, or else —which is usually the case—by their immediate connections, or their manifest parallels, distinctly prove the pre-millennial doctrine concerning the relative order of the two principal events.

The portions of the Scripture which relate to these two great associated events, and which are relevant to the argument, therefore, because they indicate the relative order of the events, are very numerous, explicit, and, by their connections and parallels, easily interpreted, in strict accordance with the established usages and laws of literary criticism. But as it would unduly extend this article to quote in full all the passages which we might be disposed to examine, in order to fix the meaning of isolated and fragmentary texts, by carefully considering their connections and their parallels, the thoughtful readers, who are willing to give this important subject a little attention, are desired to read what immediately follows, with their Bibles open to the chapters and passages referred to :—

1. The eleventh chapter of Isaiah is by all, perhaps, admitted to refer to the millennial state of the world in connection with the kingdom and reign of Christ. It exhibits, (1.) The manner in which millennial blessedness is brought in. (2.) The state of the world and its inhabitants during the happy period after it is fully established. (3.) The conversion and restoration of Israel and Judah "in that day." Verses 10–16 refer to this latter event. Verses 6–9 describe the state of millennial blessedness. Verses 1–5 describe the manner in which the millennial state is introduced. This examination will determine what is the testimony of inspiration concerning the vital point of relative order which we wish to ascertain.

Connected inseparably with this disputed point are the two conflicting theories of introducing the millennium: the one, by the increase and triumph of grace, by which the whole world is converted; the other, not specifying how far grace will ultimately triumph, but at a certain period introducing Christ, not as the priestly successor of Aaron, occupying the

intercessional throne, but as the royal heir and successor of David, ruling upon the Davidic throne, and, as a sovereign, divinely sceptered, ruling, judging, rewarding and punishing.

Taking these two theories of the introduction and establishing of the millennial dispensation, as the necessary concomitants and exponents of the two theories of the relative order of the advent and the millennium, which one of them is sustained, and which disproved by the eleventh chapter and ninth verse of Isaiah, *interpreted by its connection?* By carefully reading the chapter it will be seen that *Christ is present*, not to save sinners, as he is now doing in heaven, but to judge and to destroy them. (Verse 4.) Christ is present in his royal relations to David, the son of Jesse, exercising his regal authority and power among the nations, and judicially smiting and destroying the wicked. (Verses 1–5.) And in this manner he brings in the millennium. With which of the two conflicting theories does this representation agree? Is the millennium introduced, without the personal presence of Christ, by the spiritual triumphs of the Gospel until all are converted? Or is it introduced, in connection with the personal presence of Christ, not then converting his enemies to friends, and saving them, but finding them enemies, treating them as enemies, judging and destroying them as enemies? In short, does the millennium introduce Christ at the close of it? or does he appear at the beginning of it, and reign during the continuance of it? What does this millennial prophecy, interpreted harmoniously with itself throughout, teach us concerning this vital question of relative order respecting the advent and the millennium?

2. We turn now to the Second Psalm, a portion of the Scripture which is more frequently quoted, perhaps, against the pre-millenarians than any other passage in the Bible. It is conceded by all that this psalm, especially the eighth verse, describes the kingdom of Christ upon the earth, and this eighth verse seems to be regarded by the opponents of pre-millenarianism as a triumphant demonstration of the complete spiritual subjection of the whole world to Christ by the Gospel. No one can reasonably object to the interpretation of a text by its intimate connections and evident parallels. This we now proceed to do, with reference to the great question now under con-

sideration. Which of the two conflicting theories is favored by the second Psalm?

Here we notice, first of all, King Messiah, not on the priestly throne in heaven, exercising the offices of mediation and intercession, as the high-priest before the throne, but as the Lord's anointed king, throned upon the holy hill of Zion; not to save the disobedient among the nations, but to rule, judge, and violently destroy them. (Verses 5–9.) And thus making this psalm parallel with the many other prophecies of his judicial procedure in ruling and preparing the world for his universal kingdom. According to this psalm, he first appears as the appointed king in Zion. The jealous rulers of the unsubdued nations become excited and enraged. What becomes of them? Do they submit to Christ, yield to his Gospel, become his friends, and finally obtain salvation? Or do they continue in hatred and rebellion until the time of mercy expires, and then perish under his judicial wrath? The question has manifest pertinency as an exhibition of the method by which the result is brought about, which we all agree to call the millennial state. What is the testimony of the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of David, in this psalm? It exhibits the period of "the wrath of the Lamb." (Verse 12; compare Rev. vi, 16.) The wicked rulers and judges of the earth are exhorted to "kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little."

And yet this very psalm, or a disconnected fragment of it, rather, is the perpetual resort for proof of the whole world's spiritual subjection to Christ through the Gospel, and that the world will be converted before the coming of Christ! Whereas, in the first place, there is no such universal conversion to Christ indicated in this psalm; but, instead thereof, a terrible and universal destruction of his enemies is signified. And, in the second place, Christ, as king upon the hill of Zion, is distinctly represented as having already come; as being personally present, ruling, judging, and destroying his enemies in his hot, judicial displeasure. And this signifies universal conversion to Christ! This means the spiritual subjection of the wicked world, and the ushering in of the millennium before the coming of the King in Zion!

Permit us to inquire, Does this *breaking with a rod of iron,*

this *dashing in pieces as a potter's vessel*, this *vexing them in his sore displeasure*, this being *angry* with them, and causing them to *perish from the way when his wrath is kindled*—does all this indicate a work of *love* and *salvation?* Is this the moral triumph of the Gospel? Would any one ever receive—did any one, could any one ever receive such an impression from these terrible threatenings and this awful imagery, if he had not a previously-formed and a fondly-cherished dogmatic theory that demanded this violence to all the recognized rules and usages of literary criticism, and this unparalleled perversion of the natural teachings of verbal statements and symbolic imagery? Is there an admitted example in any book, except the Bible, where such terrible imagery and verbalism are ever used to indicate a reformative, merciful work of grace, and not of judicial wrath and severity? If such be the appropriate expression of love and mercy, what would be the legitimate expression of the opposite? Furthermore, if this imports mercy and redemption, why is it held up as a warning to wicked kings and judges, lest it should be visited upon them, and they should perish under his wrath?

The true parallel of the second Psalm is Rev. ii, 25–27: "But that which ye have, hold fast TILL I COME. And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, *to him will I give power over the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers:* EVEN AS I RECEIVED OF MY FATHER."

Now, it is the teaching of the Word of God that the saints are to "reign with Christ;" that "the saints shall judge the world;" that when the Lord shall return from his "journey into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return," charging the servants whom he leaves behind, "*Occupy till I come*," (Luke xix, 12–27;) it is the Scripture doctrine that the faithful servants will, at their Lord's return, "having received the kingdom," "enter into the joy of their Lord," which is more definitely explained, "have thou authority over ten cities."

But when and where is this governmental association with Christ, as the *returned King*, to be realized? Not "now in this time," (Mark x, 30,) but in the "*palingenesia*," (Matt. xix, 28,) "when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his

glory," (Psa. ii, 6,) when the twelve apostles shall "sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Can any thing be plainer than this? Is not this a manifestly just and natural method of interpreting the Word of God by its immediate connections and evident parallels? The bearing of this argument upon the question at issue is unmistakable.

We boldly affirm, after due examination, and after weighing well the statement, that there is not a passage in the Bible relating to the great question in this controversy, interpreted fairly by its associations and parallels, that does not distinctly indicate the pre-millennial theory of the relative order of the millennium and the advent, and that does not as distinctly disprove the theory of the opposite.

We have thus far considered some of the passages most relied upon apparently to sustain the anti or post-millennial theory, and have shown, from their connections and parallels, that the true millennial, or, as we prefer to call it, the pre-millennial, theory of exposition is not only legitimate, scriptural, self-consistent, and logically demonstrative; but that it is the only interpretation possible for those passages, without doing violence to literary axioms, Scripture precedents, and the legitimate impressions of symbolical imagery and common verbalism. And we are genuine Protestants, believing that the Bible was intended for the *people;* for those who mainly rely upon the *legitimate impression* which the language and imagery of inspiration produce upon the uncorrupted mind.

If there is any thing more unmistakably revealed than another, respecting the state of the world at the advent, it is this: that it will take the world by surprise. As a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth. It will come as a thief in the night. When they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape. The advent will not be when it is generally expected, but when it is not. Now this must be accounted for, for it is unmistakably revealed. And which of the two theories is best adapted to explain it? Let us suppose that the pre-millennial theory is generally prevalent at that decisive epoch, and that the advent is considered imminent, and is daily watched for and expected.

Would the world then be overtaken by the advent unexpectedly? Certainly not.

Let us suppose, on the other hand, that a false theory is generally prevalent at that epoch; for example, that the advent is not to occur until after the millennium, whereas it takes place before. Would not this general misapprehension of the true order of the events completely explain the predicted fact as to the unexpectedness of the advent? Which, then, of the two theories is the more likely to be the true one? Would the general prevalence of essential *error*, respecting the relative order of events, be the best preparation for the primal event? Again, would the general prevalence of *true* impressions, as to the relative order of events, be the occasion of general unpreparedness for the primal event? Certainly not. Which, then, of these conflicting theories gives the *rationale* of the undeniable fact?

Do post-millenarians dissent from applying this simple test to the pre-millenarian side of the question, and consent to apply it to the advent subsequent to the millennium? Consider the logical consequences: 1. It would not then be a question of *relative order*, as it is now. For, as the advent did not occur at the beginning of the millennium, it must, of course, occur at the end of it; and it would then be a question of *belief or disbelief of the Word of God;* inasmuch as the advent is predicted to take place either at the opening, or at the close of that dispensation. 2. The general unpreparedness of the world at that time, as the supposition is, would show that general disbelief of what is distinctly revealed in the Word of God will characterize the close of the millennium.

As it would be impossible to compress within the limits of this article the examination of a tithe of the passages of Scripture which we deem decisive in settling this great controversy respecting the relative order of the millennium and the advent, we must be content with the consideration of only a few, and these chiefly from the sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ. It will be remembered that we are not discussing the general subject of the millennium, nor the general subject of the advent, nor the numberless collateral and more or less dependent questions which are usually treated in connection with the general theme. All these are more or less important

in a general discussion, but they are purposely excluded from this. The settlement of the great question now under immediate review will necessarily dispose of many of the collateral issues.

How did our Lord represent the relative order of these two great events? While it must be admitted by all that he did not use the term millennium, yet it will not be denied by any that he often referred to a coming state or dispensation, when, as all, perhaps, will agree, the millennial prophecies will be fulfilled. His kingdom will come, and his will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. He will gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity. The righteous shall yet shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. The meek shall inherit the earth. The apostles will yet sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. The obedient and the faithful shall yet enter into the joy of their Lord. We are not now called upon to give the precise signification of these various representations of the coming glory and blessedness of the true disciples. Perhaps even millenarians might not exactly coincide in their views of the particulars included in the general representation of the coming felicity. But the good time coming must include the restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. It must then embrace the millennial blessedness promised to the Church in this world. To suppose that our Lord overleaped and overlooked the millennial state, as of too little consequence to be referred to, and contemplated only what we usually call heaven, or the eternal state, will not be admitted by any true millenarian of either of the two kinds contemplated in this article.

With this restricted view of the general subject, let us for a little consider the great prophecy respecting His coming, and the end of the world.* [Not *kosmos*, but *aiōn*.] Leaving untouched innumerable topics, which might unnecessarily detain and embarrass us, we consider only these:—

1. Here is a chain of prophecy that stretches through the whole breadth of this dispensation, beginning chronologically with the first persecution of the infant Church, and extending

* Matt. xxiv, and parallels.

down to the coming of the Lord at the end of the *aiōn*, when the Master returns to reward the watchful and the obedient, and to punish the disobedient and the disbelieving.

2. There is not the slightest indication of any such condition of general virtue and blessedness as the Scriptures authorize us to expect in that age, dispensation, or state that we denom inate the millennium.

3. Instead of all becoming holy and harmless, the unfaithful and the unbelieving continue so until the end, and are found by the returning Master eating and drinking with the drunken, and smiting their fellow-servants, and screening themselves with the plea, "My Lord delayeth his coming." Is there any millennium here?

4. The days of persecution, distress, and tribulation continue until the last; so that the signs of the Lord's coming follow "immediately after the tribulation of those days."

5. The day of the Lord, or the coming of the Son of man, overtakes the unbelieving, unwatchful, unprepared generation by surprise, as they are eating, drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, as the Noachian flood came upon the wicked antediluvians and took them all away. The Lord will come "in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ," (2 Thess. i, 8,) as the fire-storm fell upon Sodom and consumed them in their lusts.

6. There is not in all this broad prophecy, that covers the whole dispensation, extending down to the end of the *aiōn*, [as long as the Gospel commission continues, Matt. xxviii, 20,] the slightest intimation of such a state of the world, or of the Church, as the millennial prophecies give us reason to expect.

7. Closing up the long-continuing *aiōn*, during which wickedness and the wicked continue until the end, the Lord suddenly comes to reward and to punish.

Thus have we explored the whole breadth of this dispensational sea. Launching out on the first advent side of it, we have sailed in search of the millennial isle; but we have not discovered it. We know where it is indicated in the modern charts; but we have traversed every Scripture parallel of longitude and latitude in that vicinity, and have not found it.

We have found the second advent on the farther coast; but there is no island of Paradise this side of it.

Is there any millennial indication *beyond the advent?*

1. We find, in connection with the advent, a gathering together of the elect from the four winds of heaven. So here we have the proper subjects of the expected blessedness.

2. We find them redeemed from all the tribulation which afflicted them through all the Gospel *aiōn* until the close of it. The Lord has added to his description of the signs of the advent these words of instruction and cheer: "And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh." So here we have assurance of the good things that follow.

3. That state is of the nature of a *kingdom.* When the Son of man is revealed from heaven, coming in his glory, he will sit upon the throne of his glory, and speak and perform as "the King." This will be in perfect accord with all the prophecies of the millennium; for it is almost invariably represented as a kingdom—the Son of David reigning upon David's throne. "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David." Luke i, 32. See, also, the whole of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, and the almost innumerable parallel passages.

4. Then our Lord is careful to fix the time of the introduction of the kingdom, showing that it is not to be expected until the period of the advent: "So likewise ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the KINGDOM OF GOD is nigh at hand." Luke xxi, 31. Is not this the period when "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him?" Dan. vii, 27. Is not this indeed the fulfillment of that petition which the Lord has put into the heart and mouth of the Church, "thy kingdom come;* thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven?"

5. So here we find the saints associated with the Lord, after his advent, possessing the kingdom, which *comes* in connection with the advent. Here is the consummation of the millennial

* *Eltheto*, from *erkomai*, to COME; never to *extend*, or to *increase*.

prophecies, relating both to the King and the happy subjects of his dominion. They do not *go* to find the kingdom; it *comes* to them, in fulfillment of prophecy, and in answer to the petition in the Lord's prayer. The kingdom is "under the whole heaven." When the kingdom *comes*, the will of God is done "*on earth*, as it is in heaven." Now the saints "reign with him." Now "the saints shall judge the world." Is not this the Bible millennium?

6. But where do we find this millennium? What is its chronological relation to the advent? Is it *before?* No. Is it *after?* Yes. Who teaches this? Christ. "Let God be true, and every man a liar."

Let us continue sitting at the feet of the divine Teacher. With reverential docility let our ears be attentive to the words of his lips. Lord, we would know unto what the kingdom of heaven is like. Not the kingdom of heaven in heaven, but the kingdom of heaven upon earth; the kingdom in that stage or dispensation when thy will is done on earth as it is in heaven. We would understand the relations of the kingdom to the present dispensation; the origin of the present admixture of good and evil in the kingdom; whether this state of things will continue until the end of the present economy, [*aiōn*,] or whether, previous to the end, all the wicked shall become obedient to thy commands, and all wickedness be cleansed away. Speak, Lord, for thy servants are waiting to hear.

The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way. But when the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also. So the servants of the householder came and said unto him, Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn."

We now notice several items of special interest in this parable of the kingdom. 1. It illustrates the kingdom from the first to the last, and through the whole extent of the present

dispensation. 2. It is the kingdom of *Christ:* "The Son of man shall . . . gather out of his kingdom," etc., v. 41. 3. It is the kingdom (1) under Christ as Mediator, reigning as such in heaven, and continuing as such until the "end of the world." [*Aiōn.*] (2.) Then, at the end of the age or dispensation, it is the kingdom, as it is to be administered under a new economy, where destruction to the wicked, (v. 42,) and not salvation, and complete deliverance and glorification for the "children of the kingdom," will be secured, v. 43. 4. It is the kingdom, then, in two dissimilar dispensations, the one, mediatorial and preparative; the other, regal and judicial, v. 41. 5. It is the kingdom *upon the earth*, where the enemy sowed the tares, (38,) and where the judicial executions will be administered, v. 41. 6. This parable of our Lord is by himself interpreted item by item, showing (1) the Divine method of interpreting parables of this class; and (2) giving distinctly the *literal* meaning of each figurative statement. We need not copy the particulars of our Lord's interpretation of this remarkable illustration of the kingdom. If it is not familiar to the reader, let him carefully read verses 36–43.

Now is there, or is there not, *this side* of the "end of the world," [*aiōn,*] any indication of such a millennium as we find portrayed in the prophecies, and such as we are accustomed to embrace in the prayers and faith of the Church? There certainly is not. Is there, or is there not, *subsequent* to the "end of the world," [*aiōn,*] indication, or proof even, of the complete manifestation and establishment of the kingdom, including the entire cleansing of the kingdom from "all things that offend, and them that do iniquity," (v. 41,) and the gathering into it (v. 30) of the "children of the kingdom," and their glorious happiness? v. 43. There certainly is. What, then, is the relative order of the millennium and the advent? The Lord himself being the teacher, is the millennium before or after the advent? Or, changing the phrase, is it during or after the *aiōn* that was introduced by the Son of man sowing the Gospel seed?

How forcibly this and other similar parables of our Lord remind us of the eschatology of the prophecies of the book of Daniel! Take, as a specimen, the eleventh chapter, considered in its relations to the twelfth.

1. Here is a prophetic representation of the doings of certain rulers, especially of one whose ambitious and wicked proceedings continue until the close of the prophetic periods. The angel upon the waters declared that it should be for "a time, times, and a half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished."

2. "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book."

Then follows the account of the resurrection: "Some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

3. The prophecy associates chronologically just the same great events which our Lord's parables and many other portions of the Scriptures do in descriptive eschatology. (1.) "The time of the end." The finishing of the prophetic periods; the "time, times, and a half;" the 1260, the 1290, and the 1335 days. (2.) *The continued wickedness of the wicked until "that time;"* the persecution of the "holy people;" the season of unparalleled tribulation; the final deliverance "of every one that shall be found written in the book;" the resurrection of "them that sleep in the dust of the earth." (3.) And this associates it with the *coming of Christ;* for the dead will not be raised until he comes to judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom. (4.) Then follows the reward and glorification of the faithful, who "shine as the brightness of the firmament," and "as the stars for ever and ever." (5.) And this corresponds with our Lord's declaration, as it respects the period and the associated events. "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." (6.) Now the prophet, with every one whose name is written in the book, after his "rest," shall "stand in his lot

* We do not detain the argument to explain how completely this may be harmonized with the doctrine of a twofold resurrection, with an interval between.

at the end of the days." Now, bringing the prophetic narrative to the question at issue, when do the "holy people" experience deliverance from the oppressor? When do they attain the glory and blessedness of shining as the firmament in the kingdom? Is it a millennium before the advent? or is it in connection with, or immediately subsequent to, the advent? The answer cannot be otherwise than confirmative of pre-millennialism.

We select for examination another of our Lord's parables of the kingdom. The parable of the pounds, in the nineteenth chapter of Luke, is strikingly pertinent to the discussion now before us. Our Lord undoubtedly had reference, as an illustration, to the method by which Herod the Great obtained the kingdom of Judea. He went to Rome for the purpose of obtaining the title and kingly authority from the emperor. He received the kingdom at Rome, not to exercise his kingly office there, but to return to the country from which he departed when he went to Rome, that he might reign as king over the provinces chiefly inhabited by the Jews. "And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and because *they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear.*" The parable, it seems, was intended to correct their erroneous impression. "He said therefore, A certain nobleman went into a far country *to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return.* And he called his ten servants, and delivered them ten pounds, and said unto them, *Occupy till I come.*" Now here we have, 1. The purpose of our Lord [assuming that he refers to himself] in going to the "far country," that is, to heaven. It was to "receive for himself a kingdom, and to return." He did not expect to find the kingdom located in the "far country," or to exercise his regal authority there. He was to "return" to the locality from which he went, to exercise his kingly office where his provinces and his subjects were. 2. How long before he might be expected to return for the purpose of reigning in his kingdom? The answer is as follows: First. He wished to correct the misapprehension of the Jews, "that the kingdom of God should immediately appear." Second. He "went into a far country," and the natural inference is that it would be a considerable space of time before he would return. Third. In

the similar parable of the talents, (Matt. xxv,) where the man traveled "into a far country," it is said, "After a long time the Lord of those servants cometh, and reckoneth with them." Fourth. It was in reference to this very coming, or return of the absent Master, that the evil servant said in his heart, "My Lord delayeth his coming."

We may safely assume, then, that this parable of the pounds, as well as the parable of the talents, was intended to illustrate the condition of things during the entire continuance of the economy of Divine government from the departure of our Lord to his return again. Still claiming the natural inference, we perceive that his receiving the kingdom in the far country, whither he went to obtain it, as Herod received the kingdom of Judea at Rome, whither he went to obtain it, does not imply that the kingdom is located there, or that he exercises his kingly prerogatives there. We learn from the parable that "*when he was returned, having received the kingdom*, then he commanded these servants to be called unto him, to whom he had given the money," and to whom he had said, "*Occupy till I come;*" and then he began to exercise his regal prerogative by judging, rewarding, and punishing. And this is precisely in accordance with our Lord's unfigurative representation of the case, in the description of his second advent, in application to himself of his own parable of the talents in Matt. xxv, 31–46.

Now, taking our Lord's representation of things during the entire period of his absence, following it down to the very day of his return, observing that the evil and the good continue until the end, and that toil, trial, and the stern duties of self-denial and watchfulness are still imposed upon the faithful until the Master returns, and that it is not until then that the faithful "enter into the joy of their Lord," and are called to share the government with him, (Luke xix, 17, etc.,) we ask, with all sincerity, Where is there any indication of millennial rest, exaltation, or glory, previous to the return of the Lord? We certainly do find unmistakable indications of the long-expected rest and blessedness after the advent, but nothing of the kind before. Receiving, with childlike docility, the impression which our Lord's parables, explanations, and personal applications naturally produce upon the unbiased mind, what is the

relative order of the millennium and the advent? Is the millennium first? No. Is the advent first? Yes, most distinctly.

Here the direct Scripture argument must be closed; but we do it with great reluctance. It is, indeed, an act of severe self-denial. There are passages in the Psalms, in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Zechariah, the Gospels, Acts, Romans, First and Second Corinthians, First and Second Thessalonians, First and Second Timothy, Hebrews, Second Peter, Second John, Jude, and Revelation, in which the relation of the advent and the millennium, as it respects the question under discussion, is very clearly indicated, and the analysis of many of these passages, contemplated in the light of their immediate connections and manifest parallels, would still further exhibit the scriptural strength of pre-millennialism.

It will be understood, of course, that this discussion has but a single point in view: the relative order of two associated events. It is not an argument to establish the fact of either; both are assumed. With anti-adventists, if there be such readers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, and with anti-millenarians, if there be such, we have nothing to say. To those who perceive and recognize, as revelations of the sacred word, both the advent and the millennium, as more or less related events, our argument is addressed. There has been so much confusion of thought in reference to these two great Scripture revelations that many, doubtless, if they do not reject them entirely, are, nevertheless, but little impressed with the reality and importance of them. And there has been so much of mal-exegesis of these Bible teachings that it would not be surprising if many should be found entirely destitute of confidence in any theory of interpretation. And it must be unmistakable to all that the thrilling interest which the primitive Christians seem to have felt in these two momentous anticipated events, as considerations of immediate practical value, has, to a large extent, been eliminated from the convictions and sensibilities of the now existing Church.

May it not be worthy of the most serious consideration of the Church, whether we have not in this very evident fact the true *rationale* of the often-predicted representation of the ultimate unbelief and unpreparedness of the world, and of the Church, even, for the advent when it shall occur? Is there

any other way to explain what the Scriptures have so often and so distinctly stated in respect to the state of the world when the Lord shall come?

Will more than five of the ten slumbering virgins be found with their lamps trimmed and burning when the Bridegroom shall finally appear? Will there not be "scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of his coming," at the time when he shall actually come? "When the Son of man cometh shall he find *faith* on the earth?" Shall he find the faith of his coming to vindicate his elect as he has promised? Will he find the faith of the importunate widow, as exhibited in the parable?

The commentators who formerly understood the coming here referred to as in some way applying to the destruction of Jerusalem, were quite confident that it indicated that very little faith would be found in the earth, or in the *land*, as they chose to restrict it, when, as they interpreted it, Christ should come to inflict judgments upon the Jewish nation. But as this utterly-unsupported theory of explaining this coming of the Son of man may be regarded as being now almost universally abandoned by the chief commentators, and as our Lord must be understood as referring to his own personal coming to vindicate his elect, why should we not interpret his language in the same way in respect to the question of faith?

It is remarkable that some who understand our Lord to refer to his literal coming, and that this coming will be post-millennial, are compelled to apply the declension of the faith to a falling away at the close of the millennium. And consistency would require that the innumerable other passages which indicate the wickedness, the unbelief, and the unpreparedness of the Church and the world for the second coming of the Lord should be applied in the same manner, thereby showing that the millennial state will terminate in the most fearfully disastrous manner to the Church.* The little Horn, (Dan. vii, 21, 22,)

* To this representation of the condition of the world at the coming of Christ, it may be retorted, that the millennium of the twentieth chapter of Revelation terminates very disastrously, and that if the unpreparedness of the world be an objection to the post-millenarian theory, it may prove just as objectionable to the pre-imillenarian. Our reply is this: The unpreparedness for the coming, according to the theory that the advent is at the close of the millennium, and not at the

according to this, immediately succeeding the fourth beast-empire, and continuing the cruel persecutions of the saints during the entire ante-advent dispensation, must then indicate that at no period previous to the advent will this world be brought into the foreshadowed millennial blessedness. The prophet affirms, "I beheld, and the same Horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." The prophet plainly shows that this coming and this inheriting of the kingdom by the saints are not to be expected before "the time of the end," which he carries forward to the termination of all the prophetic periods until the resurrection, (chap. xii, 1–3, 13,) when Daniel shall "stand in his lot at the end of the days."

beginning, results, 1. From declension and apostasy from the true faith, and must be predicated, therefore, mainly of the Church itself. 2. It is the ultimate of infidelity and wickedness that continue throughout the whole period of the millennial dispensation, and culminate only at the close of it. 3. And according to this, there is, in fact, no millennium at all, such as the Scriptures warrant us to expect, and such as the Church has for many ages been praying and looking for.

Whereas, on the other side, the wickedness at the close of the millennium, according to the twentieth chapter of Revelation, does not relate to the redeemed and glorified Church at all, and is not of the nature of an apostasy from the true faith. The Church is "the camp of the saints," and the "beloved city," and has no part in the declension and rebellion. Revelation xx, as other portions of the Bible, represent that there will be two distinct classes of inhabitants in the world during and at the close of the millennium. First. The glorified saints living in the resurrection, or the translated state. Second. The nations of the earth living in the natural—perhaps Edenic—state, prosperous and populous during the whole period of the millennial dispensation. But as Satan is bound at the beginning of that period, so that he may not go out to deceive the nations, and, consequently, they will not be subjected to the probational temptations and tests that seem to be, for some good purpose, God's order in the government of responsible beings, both human and angelic; at the close of that dispensation, for reasons satisfactory to Infinite Wisdom, Satan will be released for a little season, and suffered to go out and deceive the nations, that they may be subjected to the probational tests of character, as were angels in their first estate, and as was man in Eden.

This statement of the case is much less objectionable than the other for the following reasons: 1. The governmental principle involved in the case is in accord with the analogy of God's dealings with men and with angels at other times. 2. It does not involve the safety and felicity of the fully redeemed, who are defended and delivered by the direct interposition of God. 3. It allows for a real millennium, according to the plain teachings of the word of God, and the hope of the believing Church.

Now where is the millennium during this whole period? Must all this prophetically symbolized wickedness and persecution be a post-millennial development? What a sad ending to a glorious millennial promise and beginnings, if indeed it be post-millennial.

And in the same manner must we understand the Apostle Paul in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, if the Horn of Daniel's prophecy and the Man of Sin of Paul's epistle be post-millennial. For it is manifest that the apostle was then speaking of the coming of the Lord, which the Thessalonians mistakenly supposed was near. It is undeniable that he was speaking of the coming of the Lord that will be associated with the resurrection of the dead, the transformation of the living, and the gathering together of the saints unto him. And the whole purpose and structure of his argument prove that it was this identical *parousia* of which he had spoken in the first epistle, which the excited Church mistakenly anticipated as at hand, and which he undertook to show was not at hand; we say, it was this very coming of which he continued to speak, using the identical word when he affirmed that the day of Christ should not come, "except there come a falling away first, and that Man of Sin be revealed, the son of perdition;" and then he goes on to show what will prevent his being manifested immediately, "even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders," etc.; and he distinctly announces that this Wicked One, with all his "deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish," will continue until this very *parousia* of which he was speaking, and will then be consumed.

This word *parousia* is used just twenty-four times in the New Testament, *and in every place, without a single exception, it means a personal coming, or a personal presence.* It was the personal coming of which the apostle had written in the first epistle; it was the personal coming which the Thessalonians apprehended as being at hand; it was the personal coming which he undertook to show was not then at hand; and it was the same coming that he affirmed would not occur until the Wicked One should be revealed; it was the same coming—using the same word—which will certainly take place while the Wicked One is still practicing his deceivableness of

unrighteousness in them that perish, and at which advent the Wicked One shall be destroyed.

Now the point is this: 1. We have the *parousia*—the personal coming of the Lord. 2. When this glorious coming occurs, the Wicked One, with all his malign deceivableness, is at work among the people and prospering. 3. This "falling away," and this revealing of the Wicked One, were given as proofs to the Thessalonians that the day of Christ was not at hand, but would be delayed until this predicted state of wickedness should be witnessed; and the whole structure of the argument shows that this consummation of wickedness would be developed from causes and tendencies which were actually working at the time the epistle was written, (chap. ii, 6, 7.) 4. The inevitable conclusion must be this: If the wickedness that originated in apostolic times shall continue until the advent, and the advent is post-millennial, then the Man of Sin, the lawless one, the wicked deceiver, with all his lying power and wonders, will continue during the whole period of the millennium! But what sort of millennium is this? Is this all that the Church has been encouraged to expect? Is this all that the prophecies, types, and symbols indicate of the millennial state of the world?

The same line of argument, with the same result, could be pursued with reference to the Antichrist of St. John's epistles, and with respect to the Harlot of Babylon, in the Book of Revelation. Indeed, the Scriptures abound with passages of the same import; and the general tenor of the Word of God is to the same effect. Now, if this be so, does it not indicate very distinctly, from the nature of the case, the pre-millennial advent of the Lord, to prepare the world for the millennium?

There is another line of thought that has manifest pertinency to the question under review. The Scriptures, especially the New Testament, abound with admonitions and comforting assurances to true believers, in view of a coming deliverance from the persecutions and afflictions of the present state, and of relief and rest from the burdens of the common Christian life. The persecuted, the afflicted, and the weary are encouraged to look for a change that shall insure to them the blessedness that the present dispensation does not afford. To

the persecuted Thessalonians there was a promise of "rest;" not when the millennium shall be brought in, but "when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day."

Now it is certain that such rest and blessedness are promised to the people of God in the millennium state. And it is also certain that we naturally look to the deliverance that is nearest to us, and first in order of time, when we indulge our anticipations of relief and blissfulness. If the millennium is before the advent, why should it be entirely overlooked in the anticipations, and the hoped-for relief be expected in an event that will not occur—if it be post-millennial—until after a thousand blissful years shall have passed away? If the advent be pre-millennial, we can easily understand why the advent should be looked for as the period of rest and blessedness; but not otherwise. To comfort the Thessalonians, the apostle did not point them to the expected subjection of the world to Christ, but went on to describe the *parousia* of the Lord, the attending resurrection and transformation of the saints, and says, "Wherefore comfort one another with these words." And again, speaking of the same general theme, he adds, "Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and edify one another, even as also ye do." In this light we can see a reason for the "patient waiting for Christ." We may also discover the propriety of directing the mind of the Church, not to the millennium, but to the advent, as the period to be greatly desired. "Be patient therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord." "Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh."

In the same line of thought we can discover the propriety of warning the unbelieving and the undutiful, by an appeal to their fears, in view of the consequences which result at the coming of the Lord. It was held up to their startled apprehensions as an event that might occur most unexpectedly, overtaking them in the midst of slumber, revelry, or the stupor of unbelief. Not to cite the many instances of this style of warning and appeal, we have only to recur to some of our

Lord's parables, and to his most solemn utterances of this nature in the Mount Olivet prophecy. If our Lord understood that at least a millennium of time must elapse, after this world is converted to himself, before his second advent would occur, we are not able to understand how he could have represented it as imminent, so as to become a warning to all generations of wicked men.

Indeed, assuming that the advent is post-millennial, unto whom do these warning appeals apply? Do they intend to excite apprehensions without the slightest reason to expect what is apprehended? Certainly, if the advent is post-millennial, no one who lives before the beginning of the millennium, and no one who lives during the first nine tenths of it, can have the slightest reason to apprehend the coming of the Lord. And all these warnings and exhortations to be found in readiness for that event, as something that might overtake us now, in the midst of the present relations and duties of life, cannot in the least appertain to the present dispensation, but belong exclusively to that remote and last generation that shall people the world at the close of the thousand years. With what consistency, then, can these appeals be made to the ante-millennial generations? Must not men be entirely reconstructed, mentally and morally, before rational results from such appeals can be rationally expected? Can a post-millenialist, with any show of sincerity, or any appearance of propriety, pray, preach, and exhort as our Lord did, with reference to the uncertainty, imminency, or the immediate practical use of the advent of the Lord?

Is not this glaring inconsistency of teaching that the real advent is post-millennial, and yet that the advent is to be prepared for, and constantly watched for, as an event that might occur at any moment, the real source of the malexegesis that interprets the coming of the Lord as being in some way associated with the destruction of Jerusalem, or with the coming of death, or some unusual occurrence, that may not in the slightest degree be a manifestation of Christ? This irresponsible method of harmonizing post-millenarian doctrines with pre-millennial Scripture teachings has done immense disservice to Scripture exegesis. It is encouraging to know that some of the latest and best expositions of the Bible are dis-

tinctly pre-millennial in sentiment. The former unfortunate method of "Jerusalemizing" every reference to the coming of Christ that seemed to be in conflict with post-millennial theories, has, we are impressed, about had its day. And, as for the "double-sense" method of exegesis, by which the doubtful application is shuffled from one thing to another, so as to find *something* that might be assigned as the thing intended, that, too, likewise, we opine, is less influential now than it was a generation since. Literal language interpreted literally, figurative language interpreted by the literal, and symbols explained by familiar laws, so as to be as definite as the symbols of sound, relation, or quantity, this, we apprehend, will more and more characterize the future expositions of the Word of God.

In other words, the Bible will be allowed to speak for and interpret itself. It will be assumed that inspiration has adapted Divine revelation to our common human nature; that it is not to be wrested from the natural impression which its language is calculated to make upon the common mind. During the first two centuries, while the Scriptures were expounded with literal simplicity, more than in subsequent times, pre-millennialism was the general belief of the Church, and the coming of the Lord was deemed a not distant event. This statement will not be denied, probably, by any who have acquainted themselves with the history of Christian doctrines from the beginning.

In the third century the learned and very ingenious Origen introduced an entirely new method of expounding the Scriptures, which more and more prevailed, until a new faith, founded in new theories of exegesis, became generally prevalent, and the primitive doctrine concerning the coming of Christ and the millennium was brought into disrepute, and became the exception, and not, as at first, the general belief. Not learning, but imagination; not common sense, but platonic speculation, robbed the Church of her primitive simplicity and her original pre-millenarian faith.

Among the very eminent authors who have fully indorsed the true millenarian doctrine, we are pleased to add the illustrious name of Bishop Butler, whose profound and unanswerable "Analogy" is a sufficient testimonial to his erudition and

mental superiority. Speaking of the peculiar character of the Bible, as being "a kind of abridgment of the history of the world, in the view just now mentioned, that is, a general account of the condition of religion and its professors during the continuance of that apostasy from God, and the state of wickedness which it every-where supposes the world to lie in," he remarks:—

> But it seems to contain some very general account of the chief governments of the world, as the general state of religion has been, is, or shall be, affected by them, from the first transgression, and during the whole interval of the world's continuing in its present state, to a certain future period, spoken of in both the Old and New Testaments, very distinctly, and in great variety of expression: "The times of the restitution of all things;" "when the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets;" "when the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed;" "and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, as it is represented to be, during this apostasy, but judgment shall be given to the saints, and they shall reign;" "and the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High." *

After giving a full expression of his conviction, that the promised restoration of the Jews will yet be literally fulfilled, under the power and government of Jesus their Messiah, he adds:—

> Things of this kind naturally turn the thoughts of serious men toward the full completion of the prophetic history, concerning the establishment of the everlasting kingdom among them—the kingdom of the Messiah and the future state of the world under this sacred government." †

Butler was a literalist, and he looked for the kingdom of God, under the kingship of Jesus the Messiah, to be established upon the earth, according to the literal import of the millennial prophecies. This was "the faith once delivered to the saints," which we are exhorted earnestly to contend for.

We may be indulged with an illustration, strictly scriptural, and more or less analogical. Light is a common illustration of the coming blessedness which shall gladden the heart of Zion. And it may illuminate the question of the relative order of the advent and the millennium. If Christ be the

* "Analogy," Carter's edition, p. 262. † Ibid., p. 271.

light that glorifies his Church with meridian splendor, shall that long-anticipated day precede and introduce the Sun at the evening? Or shall there be heard in the morning of that day, as the night-shadows flee before the dawn, the animating voice that rouses the benighted, slumbering Church, saying, "Arise, and shine; for thy light is come; and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee! For, behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people. But the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee." Isa. lx, 1, 2.

This is the vital question at issue. This is the first thing to be decided. Christ is indeed himself the Sun. All light beams forth from him. But our Sun is at so great a distance now that he is only "the bright and the morning star." As the morning star, he heralds and hastens the dawn. But it is yet comparative night. Darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people. How is the long-promised day to be brought in? Must not this bright morning Star come so near as to be our Sun? Will not the Sun of righteousness arise, with healing in his wings? Is not the truly converted soul the millennium in miniature? And is not this miniature millennium brought about in the soul, by taking heed to the glimmering rays, "as unto a light that shineth in a dark place; until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in the heart?" This is, indeed, the great question: Shall the day introduce the Sun, or shall the Sun introduce the day? Shall the Sun rise and appear in the evening, or in the morning? It is a question of relative order. Let it be decided by the teachings of the literal, the figurative, and the symbolic prophecies. Let the parables of our Lord and the admonitions of the apostles be deemed decisive. Let the primitive faith of the Church, and the natural order of things, be fully considered. Then, after candid, deliberate investigation, what is the answer?

Perhaps we cannot better close this article than by giving an extract from the writings of the learned and very eminent Dr. Alford, the Dean of Canterbury:—

> One thought may, perhaps, have been in some minds as they have been reading these lines, and it is this: Will not the Lord's coming, to most of us, in all probability be the day of our own death?

And would it not be more profitable to be preparing us for that, than to speak to us of an event which may be far distant, and probably will not come on the earth in our time at all?

To this question there are two answers—answers which ought to be ever impressed on a Christian's mind. First. The view of things proposed by the inquirer is not that taken in Holy Scripture, which is the rule and pattern of our teaching. There we do not hear any thing of preparation for *death*. I doubt whether one text can be found in which we are exhorted to make such preparation, *as such*. But the constant note, the continually recurring exhortation, is, to be prepared for the Lord's coming. So that if we would teach as God's word teaches, as our blessed Lord and his apostles taught, we cannot do as the inquirer would have us.

Our second answer goes to the reason of the thing, and in fact gives the account and lays open the foundation of the former. He who is prepared for the Lord's coming is necessarily also prepared for his own death. The greater includes the less. He who so lives, so thinks, so speaks, so works, in his daily life, as to be ready for the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and the voice of the archangel and the trump of God, will not be found unready when the summons is heard in a softer tone, and comes with more previous warning. If he can meet the Lord amid the flaming heavens and the gathering dead, he will not be loath to obey his call when its dread reality is tempered with all gentle and kindly alleviation—with the gradual approaches of sickness and infirmity and the tender solaces of loving friends and watchful attendants. But, on the other hand, he who has forgotten his Lord's coming, and has simply been careful about his own dismissal, will ever be too liable in the lesser thing to have neglected care for the greater; and he will also be well-nigh certain to have lowered his standard of attainment, and narrowed his sympathies unworthily; in taking thought for himself, to have forgotten the great Body of which he is a member; in minding his own safety, to have forgotten the glory of his Lord—nay, his very Lord himself. For—and with this thought we will draw to a close—there is nothing that so much takes a man out of himself; nothing that so much raises and widens his thoughts and sympathies; nothing that so much purifies and elevates his hopes, as this preparation for the coming of the Lord.—*Good Words*, Jan., 1863.

ART. III.—THOMAS A. MORRIS, D.D.

Life of Rev. Thomas A. Morris, D.D., late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. JOHN F. MARLAY, of the Cincinnati Conference. 12mo., pp. 407. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

AMERICAN METHODISM, since, in 1784, "the loosely connected Societies in the New World were organized into the Methodist Episcopal Church,"* has had, to preside over and govern its Conferences, thirty-one general superintendents, or, as they have been styled, since the issue of the third edition of the "Discipline" in 1787, "bishops," of whom Thomas A. Morris was twelfth in the order of election., His period of active service extended from 1836 to 1864, when, for the reason that "his advanced age demands a respite from his arduous labors," it was left to him and his colleagues to decide how much service he should hereafter perform. In this position, a sort of superannuated relation, Bishop Morris remained for the next ten years, when he was called to his reward. And now that he, being dead, may yet speak, we have, in a modest duodecimo of four hundred pages, his "Life," prepared by the Rev. J. F. Marlay, of the Cincinnati Conference, and issued simultaneously by the publishing houses of the Church at Cincinnati and New York.

Autobiography is really the only form of biography possible. None but the man himself can reveal the hidden springs of action, though outsiders may give a faithful record of his acts. We want to know, not only what a man did, but why he did it, and nobody but himself can resolve the "why." Hence the careful looking after a man's origin, beginnings, training, conversations, letters, speeches, the thousand threads to be woven into continuous narrative, the scattered lights to be concentrated on a few focal points, the disjointed telegrams, the brief reporter's notes from which the amanuensis, skilled in deciphering short-hand, is to make out a continuous story. Bishop Morris's busy and facile pen has left little for his biographer to do besides arranging the materials, and imparting to the lessons drawn from the acts and character of his subject that romantic interest which enchains the attention of the reader and gives the memoir success as a literary effort.

* "Sherman's History of the Revisions of the Discipline."

Mr. Marlay has done his work well, and we credit him when he says he has made "the best possible use of the meager material available." In his preface he says:—

It was the wish of Bishop Morris that the story of his life should be written by his friend and colleague, the late lamented Bishop Clark, who had not only consented to undertake the work, but had made considerable progress in gathering material for it, when failing health, together with the incessant cares and exacting duties of the episcopal office, compelled him to relinquish the engagement. At his request, and under his appointment as literary executor of Bishop Morris, I have endeavored to carry out his original plan of the work as nearly as possible. I very much regret that Bishop Clark did not live to give the volume the careful supervision of his experienced and skillful pen. It is a satisfaction, however, to be able to state that the earlier chapters, completed about a year before his death, and submitted to his inspection, met his cordial and generous approval.

In 1870, at a birthday party given at his home, in Springfield, Ohio, Bishop Morris thus summarized his own history and that of the Church and nation:—

I was born in Kanawha County, Virginia, April 28, 1794, and am this day seventy-six years old. Unbroken forests, the homes of wild beasts and scarcely less wild and savage men, have disappeared before the march of civilization. Where once stood the log meeting-house now appears the spacious church, with lofty spire pointing heavenward. In place of the rude wooden schoolhouse of former times, we have now the amply endowed college. Where we once traveled on horseback, through forests and almost impassable roads, we now go at our ease, in palatial cars, at the rate of twenty-five or thirty miles per hour. Once our homes were log huts, but now we have pleasant houses, well furnished with all needed conveniences and comforts. The United States have increased in population from three millions to thirty-five millions, and from thirteen to thirty-seven States, and still they come. Only a few years since millions of our people were slaves, who are now free to enjoy life and engage in the pursuit of happiness, equal before the law with others.

In Church matters great changes have taken place, and in none more than in our own denomination. When I was born the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America" was ten years old, a feeble and persecuted band. When I joined her communion, in 1813, all the Methodists in the United States and Territories, including those of Canada West, numbered less than a quarter of a million. Now, including all branches of Methodism, there are in the above limits between two and three millions of communicants.

I have attended twelve quadrennial sessions of the General Conference—four as a delegate, and eight as one of the presiding officers, though at the last one I was little more than an interested spectator. Whether I shall ever attend another is very uncertain; God knoweth. Two of my beloved colleagues, much younger and stronger than myself, have quite recently died at their posts of duty; they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them. May we follow Bishops Thomson and Kingsley as they followed Christ!

If Methodists prove faithful to God and true to their trust they will accomplish the object of their mission, which is to spread scriptural holiness over these lands. Let them adhere to the doctrines and polity of Methodism — to class-meetings, love-feasts, congregational singing, free sittings, and, above all, cherish the experience of a heartfelt religion — and all will be well. — Pp. 360, 361.

The parents of Bishop Morris, John and Margaret Morris, both natives of Virginia, the former of Culpepper, and the latter of Augusta County, belonged to the first band of heroic and enterprising pioneers who settled on the Great Kanawha River about the year 1785, where, besides the ordinary difficulties incident to new countries, they passed through all the perils and excitements of an Indian war, in the progress of which many of the whites were killed by the savages. Wayne's Treaty, in 1795, at length gave peace to the settlers. The house in which the Morris family resided stood on a beautiful swell of ground, near a never-failing spring of pure water, commanding a fine view of picturesque scenery for many miles up and down the river. It was a pleasant rural home, embowered in orchard and forest trees, far removed from the noise and unhealthy excitement of city life, and enlivened by a family of eleven children.

The early days of young Morris were happily passed amid the wild and romantic scenery of his mountain home. Here he delighted to chase the butterfly over the hills, construct tiny boats to float down the rivulets that flowed through green pastures, to hunt with his rude bow and arrow through the forests, and in winter trap the redbird and the quail. His father, however, being an industrious farmer, soon found other and more important work for the son. With his little hoe he was taught to labor in the fields, and in harvest time he was employed as a bearer of sheaves. During the winter he assisted in the care

of the "stock," and seems to have been especially pleased with the duty of a shepherd.

When Thomas was ten years old the family removed from this beautiful home to a place about forty miles west, in Cabell County, on the State road leading to Kentucky. Here again they endured the hardships, toils, and privations inseparably connected with the settlement of a new country. Clearing away the forest, inclosing the ground, and bringing it under cultivation from a state of nature, with the erection of the necessary buildings, required, of course, a great deal of hard labor, and having but a small force for carrying it on, they had for years to exert all their energies to improve and keep up the farm.

Three quarters of a century ago the means of education in all the frontier districts of America were exceedingly limited. To master Dilworth's Spelling-book, learn to read the New Testament, cypher to the "rule of three," and write a fair round hand, was regarded as quite an accomplished education, and ample for all the practical purposes of life. This "curriculum" Thomas had passed through creditably by the time he reached his eighteenth year. About that time he became a member of the first grammar-class ever organized in Cabell County. It was taught by Mr. William Paine, a native of England, a thoroughly competent teacher and an earnest Methodist, who, besides performing his professional duties, gave his pupils many sound moral lessons. When his school days were over, and his scant means for acquiring education were exhausted, young Morris entered immediately upon the practical business of life. In old countries, and in long-settled and thickly-populated communities, division of labor compels each man to select his trade or calling, and to pursue it for life. In new territories and sparsely-settled regions the emigrant, or producer, has to turn his hand to every thing, and to become a "jack-at-all-trades." Thus we are not surprised to learn that at seventeen years of age Thomas held a deputy county clerkship, that at eighteen he was enlisted for a soldier for a six-months' tour against the British and Indians, that at twenty he was married and engaged in clearing up a farm, playing the pedagogue during the mean time, and "occupying his leisure hours with the ax, maul,

and grubbing hoe," and contemplating the law as his future profession.

Morris's early religious experiences were by no means peculiar. Brought up a Calvinistic Baptist, he had to grope his way to the light of free and full salvation. In February, 1813, when he was in the nineteenth year of his age, he reached the great decision to be religious, "fell on his knees, and for the first time in his life tried to pray." In August of the same year he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. His autobiographic account of his early religious experiences is found in page 277 of the "Life:"—

> My Father in the Gospel was Rev. David Young. Most of my early views and impressions of Methodism were derived from him. It is true, I had felt conviction for sin from childhood, and that Robert Caseboult, then a class leader, had taken interest for me, and talked with me, before I heard Mr. Young, and I was seriously inquiring for the way of life. But in July, 1813, while I listened to David Young preaching at camp-meeting, on the Parable of the Sower, I was brought to form a solemn purpose to seek earnestly for salvation till I should obtain it. In August I joined a small country class as a penitent seeker on trial. I had prayed in secret for months, but made little progress till I took this decisive step, and thus drew a line separating me from my irreligious associates. The conflict with sin thus renewed continued till some time in November, when I obtained some relief and comfort, and on Christmas I received a clear sense of pardon, and a full "spirit of adoption." In the mean time I missed none of Elder Young's quarterly meetings. At one of them he baptized me in the presence of a multitude; and the same day on which he poured the water on my head, the Lord poured plentifully his Spirit into my heart. When I was recommended by the Society for license to preach, Elder Young examined me before the Quarterly Conference. He also wrote and signed my first license to preach, dated April 2, 1814. In 1815 he employed me as junior preacher on a circuit, and in 1816 I was admitted on trial by the Ohio Conference.

His preaching novitiate was much like that of all the early itinerants. His first appointment, naturally, was that of class leader, and his preparation for this work is worthy of the imitation of all class leaders. During the week he retired into the woods, kneeled by the side of a fallen tree, spread out the class-book before him, read the first name, and prayed for him, and so on through the entire list, asking for grace and

wisdom to say profitable words to them all on the ensuing Sabbath.

He next officiates as the extempore exhorter:—

> Besides his private religious duties, praying in his brother's family, and leading the class, Mr. Morris was now much exercised on the subject of holding prayer-meetings, and offering the word of exhortation to his neighbors. Encouraged by the brethren to make the trial, he commenced on Christmas day, by adding a few remarks to a public discourse delivered by an exhorter in the morning, consenting at the same time to address the congregation in the evening. In the evening the house was well filled, and he was favored with much liberty of utterance in delivering his message; at the close of which he received a great and signal blessing, such as he never enjoyed before.—P. 23.

Then it was announced that Thomas would "preach," and he took for his text, "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment." He "shook as if in a paroxysm of the ague, talked for about twenty minutes, word crowding upon word, without emphasis, cadence, or period"—the experience of many another backwoods beginner.

Mr. Morris's autobiographic account of his call to the ministry, as a chord vibrating in harmony with large religious experiences, is worthy of permanent record:—

> The evidences which satisfied me of my call to the ministerial work were chiefly these: 1. As soon as I began to enjoy the comforts of religion I felt a desire to recommend it to others, which I did first privately. But this did not satisfy my mind; I desired to proclaim it to the multitudes, and this desire increased until it nearly engrossed all my thoughts by day and night, so that even in my sleep I appeared to be generally at some religious meeting, praying and exhorting. 2. Without any solicitation on my part the brethren urged me to go forward in the work of the Lord publicly. 3. The fear that I would be confounded in consequence of my extreme diffidence was overcome by the power of faith to a great extent. For years I had been doing business as a clerk of court, and to the last would nearly choke down in swearing a jury, or reading a paper, from which painful embarrassment I could by no means escape; but when I commenced speaking in public, though my natural weakness remained, the power of religious influence often raised me above it, so that I frequently spoke in the presence of multitudes with ease and pleasure. 4. My early efforts to exhort and preach were followed by a great blessing on my own soul. 5. My conscience bore me witness that I was in the path of duty; for if I

improved every opportunity offered me to speak for Christ, in public as well as in private, I enjoyed peace of mind; but if I neglected to do this, or shunned the cross, my heart condemned me, and I was unhappy. 6. The pious part of the community thought I ought to proceed, and some of the people professed to be benefited by my labors. I formed some new Societies, and received scores of new members into the old ones. Still, doubts of my call occasionally troubled me, attended with great despondency of mind, and sore temptations to desist from the work. It would often occur to me that the good accomplished might be accounted for without admitting my Divine call, and fears would arise that I might be in the way of others whom the Lord would delight to honor as the instruments of saving souls. 7. I wanted some responsible witnesses who could and would say, voluntarily, that under my preaching they were awakened for the first time, and from thence had turned to seek the Lord, and had been saved. The Lord gave me many such witnesses on the Marietta Circuit. 8. Satan still assaulted me by suggesting that all these might fall away and be lost, and my work go for nothing at last; but his mouth was soon stopped, for two of these witnesses, after living happily for some months, died shouting victory to the last. Since that time I have not doubted that God called me, unworthy as I am, to the work of the ministry, though I have feared often that, through unfaithfulness, my commission was forfeited. And my experience as a Christian has accorded with my experience as a minister. That I was changed by grace, and often blessed with the spirit of adoption, was with me no matter of uncertainty or doubt for many years; but afterward I sometimes feared, especially when low in religious comforts, that I had fallen from grace, as Paul said some of the Galatians did. Yet generally I have had peace and prosperity as a humble laborer in the Lord's vineyard, and have maintained a good hope, through grace, of everlasting life."—Pp. 41, 42.

The amount of labor performed by these pioneers in American wildernesses and frontiers will ever remain a monument of astonishment and wonder to posterity. From a small diary kept by Mr. Morris during this period, extending from March, 1816, to August, 1818, we learn that, during these two and a half years spent on Marietta Circuit, he had traveled on horseback about seven thousand five hundred miles, and delivered about nine hundred and twenty public discourses, in the form of regular sermons, being a little over an average of one daily, exclusive of the labor of holding class and prayer meetings, and visiting among the sick and the serious. This amount of labor, which seems herculean to modern itinerants, he performed, too, it is to be remembered, in a feeble state of health, suffering

severely at times from liver complaint, erysipelas, chills and fever, and last, though not least, constant weakness and pain in his eyes; so that much of the time he was compelled to ride in goggles, and to preach with spectacles on.

At the first annual conference he ever attended he was examined, admitted into full connection, and ordained deacon by Bishop George, August, 1818. There, too, he preached at sunrise on Monday morning, and had the singular mishap of preaching from the same text used by Bishop Roberts at the afternoon ordination service in the same house on the preceding day; a mishap similar to another in his history, that of preaching the funeral discourse of a living man who was present to listen to the eulogy! In 1820 he was ordained elder by Bishop Roberts.

A dinner-table criticism on his manner of preaching, at the house of a Colonel Taylor, in Tennessee, will give a specimen of the style of preaching relished in those regions in 1821:—

> Well, such preaching may answer in Ohio, for aught I know, but it will never do any good in this country. We like to hear a man lay it on till the cries of sinners and the shouts of Christians are such that he can no longer hear his own voice, and then we are willing he should stop.

The travels, privations, and labors of all frontier itinerants fifty or sixty years ago, in this new country, read like romance. Those who would follow Morris through this portion of his ministerial career must possess themselves of Mr. Marlay's entertaining volume.

In 1824 he entered General Conference. The most exciting subject of the session was lay delegation, a scheme which the young delegate was destined to live to see realized as a fixed fact in Methodism half a century after its first agitation.

In 1825 he was appointed Presiding Elder of Green River District, a round of a thousand miles—first quarterly meeting a hundred and twenty miles from home—a tract of country in Kentucky, west of the Green River, just vacated by the Indian tribes, and now sparsely dotted with white settlers. During the two years of his Kentucky presiding eldership he broke down two horses, traveled eight thousand miles, preached five hundred times, and received in all for his services less than the cost of the two horses!

As stationed preacher in Louisville, in 1827–8, he followed a plan which may be recorded for the benefit of city preachers: "He made out an alphabetical list of the names, street, and number of all the members of the station, and visited every family once a quarter."

Without following Mr. Morris from station to station, including such important places as Columbus and Cincinnati, or the General Conferences of 1828 and 1832, we must pass to notice his labors in the Church as an officer of the General Conference. In April, 1834, Mr. Morris relinquished his pleasant and congenial work on the Cincinnati District to undertake the editorship of the "Western Christian Advocate," and felt that he was making a new and doubtful experiment. The paper was to be made, subscribers were to be obtained, correspondents secured, and, in short, every thing pertaining to the business was to be learned *ab initio*. At that day no provision was made for an office assistant, or any help whatever in the editorial management of the paper. One man was expected to prepare the editorials, make the selections from exchanges, condense the current news, prepare the items, supervise all manuscript, and attend to the correspondence of the office. The authorities of the Church had recognized in Mr. Morris the peculiar and rare qualities that were demanded for such work. He was even then known widely as a writer who wielded a facile, chaste, and ready pen; and also as a man of rare good sense, wide observation, sound judgment, and great practical wisdom.

The first number of that widely circulated sheet was issued May 2, 1834, and the venerable Dr. John Wright, at the funeral of its first editor, said:—

> Brother Morris was as acceptable and useful as an editor as he had been as a preacher and pastor. He served the Church in this position two years, to the satisfaction of the patrons and readers of the paper. As editor, he was regarded as wise, judicious, and careful to conform his views to the doctrines, government, and Discipline of the Church he served. His editorials were strikingly characterized by perspicuity, brevity, and force.

In 1836 Mr. Morris was elected to the episcopal office; and here we are permitted to quote autobiography. The election took place May 23. Mr. Morris's own account of this highly

important epoch in his life is given in his peculiar style, briefly and pleasantly, as follows:—

During this General Conference I had to perform the double duty of delegate and editor, besides going to market and entertaining my guests. But all of these things put together embarrassed me less than one other trouble which my friends had brought upon me. For about four years they had been threatening me occasionally with the "Big Circuit," a proposition which I at first received as a joke, and joined with others in a little pleasantry over it. When, however, I became satisfied that they were really in earnest, I begged to be left out of the question, and did all that any prudent man ought to do to prevent myself from being nominated, but in vain. When I saw that my brethren were determined to bring me forward as a candidate, I consoled myself with the thought that when fairly beaten, as I was confident of being, they would drop the matter quietly, and that I should be no more teased on the subject.

Apart from the fearful responsibility of the episcopal office, I had strong private and personal objections to filling it, not from any doubts as to the scriptural authority for it, or of its fitness and utility in our Church polity, but from a consciousness of my unfitness for the place, both as to experience and the necessary mental culture. I also felt that I lacked the courage to meet all the opposing influences and obstacles that must be encountered in the faithful discharge of the duties of the office.

When the day for the election arrived I was fully satisfied that I should be distanced on the first balloting, and felt comparatively calm; but when the result was announced, Beverly Waugh and Wilbur Fisk were elected, and I lacked but one vote of being in company with them. I now became seriously alarmed, and requested my friends to withdraw my name from the canvass, as there was yet one more to be elected; but they refused. As the balloting proceeded I entreated them to excuse me, but as they still persisted, I finally arose and requested the Conference to consider my name withdrawn, and not vote for me any longer; but my efforts were unavailing. On the fifth ballot I again came within one vote of an election, so that it was twice in my power to have elected myself; but from first to last I voted for other candidates. The result of the sixth balloting showed that I had the requisite number of votes, with a considerable number to spare, and I was declared elected. To make further resistance I feared would be unsafe and imprudent, and I submitted to the judgment of my brethren.

The first four years in the general superintendency gave the new bishop a trial of the labors involved, extending from one end of the Union to the other, even out into the Indian country and new territories, encountering forests and flood, cold and

hunger, fatigue and miasma; and in the South, on account of his northern residence, threats of personal violence from enraged slaveocrats.

At the General Conference of 1840 Bishop Morris was prevented only by the influence of personal friends from presenting a written resignation of his office as bishop. His reason for this step was a "conviction that he was not qualified for the work, and, therefore, not in his proper place;" that his "election was contrary to his wish and expectation;" that the "result of four years' experiment is a confirmation of the conviction that he is not qualified for the work." Let us give his final reason in his own words, because they are words of weight and wisdom:—

> I am no advocate of High-Church notions, nor do I think that because a brother is appointed a Methodist superintendent he must necessarily continue such during life or good behavior, whether he is adapted to the work or not. The appointment of an untried officer is an experiment which may or may not succeed; and when such appointment is found to be injudicious, it should be changed.

We are not aware that Bishop Morris's own views underwent any change in regard to a life superintendency, but his final superannuation suggested important questions in reference to the financial provision for superintendents when, through years or infirmity, they cease to labor.

In 1844 slavery sundered the Church, and Bishop Morris did not escape the widespread suspicion of being a "Northern man with Southern principles"—not to be wondered at, considering his birth, education, and affinities by marriage. On the eve of the first General Conference held after the separation, (Pittsburgh, 1848,) the bishop thus wrote in his private diary:—

> It is a time that calls for firmness and moderation. "United we stand, divided we fall." No difference of opinion respecting Church polity should divide us unless it be such as to involve conscience or a sacrifice of moral principle. Here I take my stand. The brethren may do what they will, provided they do not require me, against my conscience and principles, to participate in measures ruinous to the peace of the Church and dangerous to the country, and I am with them. Beyond this point how could I go? May I not be put to the trial!

By the death of Bishop Waugh, in 1858, Morris became senior bishop, and held that relation for the next sixteen years, during which period fifteen were added to the Episcopal Board and four died out of it. They were years pregnant with vast interests to the Church and nation. When slavery, in the guise of armed rebellion, sought to rend asunder the nation, as it had done the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Morris, whatever had been his earlier predilections, was found on the right side. In May, 1861, he gave vent to ringing words in the "Central Christian Advocate:"—

All party strife about Republicanism and Democracy, about Abolition and Pro-slaveryism, should be suspended. The choice now is between law and anarchy. The question at issue before the American people is, Government or no Government. It has but two sides, and we can employ but two parties. Let all the friends of God and their country take the affirmative side of this question, and the rest may take the negative side or no side at all, as they like. He that is not for us is against us. There is no middle ground. Every friend to his country can render her some aid. Some can take the field, and others can contribute toward defraying the expense; and they who can neither give nor fight can pray.

No attempt is, or has been, made by the Federal Government to deprive the secessionists of any right secured to them by the Constitution of the United States. On the contrary, the favors of the Government have been lavished upon them in undue proportion. Secession, therefore, is rebellion without any plausible excuse, and will result in the destruction of its authors and leaders, and many of those engaged in it.—P. 316.

In his semi-centennial sermon he says:—

Slavery has been the great difficulty and bone of contention for years. It has divided our Church, and now it seeks to divide the country. We have had, for years, this standing question in our "Discipline," "What shall be done for the extirpation of the great evil of slavery?" but we could not answer the question. Philosophers tried and were bewildered; statesmen tried, but were overwhelmed and confounded; ecclesiastical bodies sought its answer, but found dismay and failure; but God has interposed, and furnished the answer in the present war for the Union.

The leaders of the rebellion in the South, while fighting *for* slavery, have done more for its extirpation, in the last three years, than Congress and all the State Legislatures could do in thirty years; and although slavery has not been *extirpated*, it is prostrate and bleeding, and has received a blow from which it can never recover. It has already upon its brow the cold sweat of death, and we pray that it may speedily give up the ghost!

Bishop Morris never faltered for a moment either in his patriotic devotion to the cause of the Union, or his faith in the ultimate triumph of the Federal arms; and in the darkest days of the rebellion, when many friends of the Government were filled with gloomy forebodings, the national flag, the banner of beauty and the emblem of freedom, was always seen floating from the outer wall of "Salubria."

Bishop Morris's connection with the General Conferences of 1868 and 1872 was merely nominal; he was too far superannuated, too infirm, to take any active part in either. He attended the session of the Cincinnati Conference, presided over by Bishop Wiley, in the summer of 1872, and, apparently, from sheer force of habit, found his way regularly to the afternoon sessions of the cabinet, in whose deliberations he took no part unless appealed to, and from which he excused himself with ceremonial courtesy whenever fatigue compelled him to retire. The next session of the conference was held in Springfield, and "Salubria," Bishop Morris's own house, was the temporary home of Bishop Ames, the officer presiding. "He came into the conference-room on the morning of the last day of the session, bringing intelligence that Bishop Morris was extremely ill, and might not, and probably would not, recover. The bishop, however, rallied, and for a twelvemonth longer was in comparatively comfortable health."

To the Cincinnati Conference, at its session in 1874, only a few days before his decease, he addressed an affecting letter. It was his last effort. On Wednesday, August 26, he awoke in his usual health and expressed a desire to ride out, but while preparations were being made he suddenly grew worse, and from this attack never rallied. Calmly conversing with friends about his expected dissolution, he lingered a week longer, and his last recorded testimony is, "The future looks bright!" At noon, Wednesday, September 2, 1874, he slept in Jesus. For the interesting account of the funeral services we refer our readers to Mr. Marlay's pages.

To this generation Bishop Morris was too well known to need any lengthy description. Mr. Marlay's volume closes with a very able estimate of the character of his subject. Bishop Morris was not a man of commanding personal appearance. His own illustration of this point was the well-

known anecdote of the passage-at-arms between himself and the eccentric James Axley, whose rough response to the bishop's pleasant salutation was:—

"Who are you?"
"My name is Thomas A. Morris."
Then, surveying me from head to foot, he replied:—
"Upon my word, I think they were hard pushed for bishop-timber when they got hold of you."
"That is just what I thought myself, Brother Axley."
"Why, you look too young for a bishop."
"As to that, I am old enough to know more and do better."

His biographer says: "His portly *physique*, placid countenance, paternal manners, and perfect self-control, as well adorned the presidential chair of a deliberative body as if he had been born to lead."

At the General Conference of 1864 a correspondent of the "Cincinnati Gazette," describing the bishops as they sat together on the platform, says of the senior: "The central figure of the group is the venerable Bishop Morris, once and for many years a resident of Cincinnati. His portly mien, placid countenance, imperturbable equanimity, and rare good sense, are as noticeable in his old age as at any former period of his long, laborious, and glorious life."

Bishop Morris's corpulent frame was the home of an active mind. It would be pleasant to quote all the various tributes to his worth that fell from the lips of intimate friends at his funeral. President Merrick's was felicitous:—

A life so simple, so pure, and so true, cannot be recalled but with pleasure. As a son, a brother, a husband, and father; as a citizen, pastor, and bishop, he met with the utmost fidelity, and performed with singular propriety, the duties which these relations impose; with what fidelity and propriety, those who knew him best will the most highly appreciate. As a writer and preacher he will long be held in grateful remembrance. And who would wish to forget the quiet humor which, as a subtle aroma, ever pervaded and enlivened his private conversation and public discourse? or the no less subtle and quiet pathos with which, at times, he melted all hearts, while he impressed upon them the great truths appertaining to their spiritual well-being?

Mr. Marlay tells us that while he was not a scholar, he was by no means an unlearned man; he was a self-made man. In his earlier years he pursued the study of Greek with good

success on horseback while passing around his circuits. He was always a student. His style was epigrammatic, clear, and forcible. His printed sermons were characterized by simplicity, pith, directness, lucid arrangement, and earnest and practical enforcement of the truth. They have been useful and popular. As a presiding officer, he was "the *beau ideal* of a Methodist bishop." He had rare practical wisdom, quick and accurate judgment of men, sterling honesty, perfect self-control, and inflexible decision. He affected no superiority, put on no prelatical airs, and never felt that his office lifted him above the fellowship and sympathy of his brethren. As a preacher, he was distinguished for clearness, simplicity, directness, and terseness. His style was conversational, yet sufficiently animated.

Of his personal religious experience he seldom spoke, and always with great modesty and reserve. Like his illustrious colleague and predecessor, Bishop Hedding, he avoided making a profession of great attainments in religion. He belonged to that class of men who would rather profess too little than too much, and was fully persuaded that a life wholly given up to the service of God, and regulated by the precepts of the Gospel, is, after all, one of the best possible evidences of genuine Christian character. "As one of the last in the long line of Methodistic heroes, and as, perhaps, the very last of the pioneer bishops, the subject of this memoir must ever hold a high place among the leading men of the Church."

The thanks of all good men are due Mr. Marlay for this edifying contribution to the ever-swelling volume of Christian biographical literature.

Art. IV.—LIFE AND LITERATURE IN THE FATHERLAND.

This is the attractive title of a neat octavo volume of some five hundred pages, from the pen of Rev. J. F. Hurst, D.D.

Methodist readers need no introduction to Dr. Hurst, for, though a young man yet, he has labored so successfully in the interest of the Church for the last ten years that he has made an impression already indelible, and still promises royal labor

for the future. His tastes in early manhood led him to seek the Fatherland for the continuance of theological studies commenced at home, and in this delightful and profitable task he laid the foundation for efficiency in a position to which he was finally called in the interest of American Methodism in Germany.

His experience in the language and theology of the Fatherland caused the eyes of the Church to turn toward him to continue the work of our German Mission School in Bremen on the return of Dr. Warren, and he entered on this labor with a full conviction, on the part of all that knew him, that he was the right man in the right place. The five years thus spent by him in Germany, the earlier portion of that period in Bremen, and the latter in Frankfort-on-the-Main, afforded him a rare opportunity to gather an experience of the life and literature of that favored land such as few men have enjoyed. He was evidently a faithful worker in his vineyard, and has brought home with him golden sheaves, a share of which he now dispenses in this volume to his friends and pupils at home; for he was recalled to his native land to assume another responsible position as teacher in the Drew Theological Seminary, of which, since the retirement of Bishop Foster, he has been the honored and efficient head.

The book is a kaleidoscope of German life: treating, first, of the homes, and domestic habits, and social customs of the land; then of the schools, high and low, with special reference to the noted teachers in the university chairs; and again of literature in all that regards authors and publishers; and finally closes with a genial account of some vacation tours undertaken after the manner of the Germans, and enjoyed in true Teutonic style. We propose to confine our review to the section treating of schools and scholars, authors and books; in which we find ample supply for the room that we feel justified in occupying.

The Germans are a race of teachers and a nation of scholars. For many years after the revival of literature in the early and middle portion of the last century they worked vigorously among themselves, developing new schools of literature and philosophy, and opening up a line of thought and action destined to influence the mind of the world. Their language,

however, seemed to isolate them from the intellectual activity of other nations; for it was seldom studied, and they were rarely visited by the scholars of other European countries until the famous Madame De Staël; in her work on Germany, showed to the world a mine of thought, and a wealth of intellectual resource of which it had no conception. When the door thus opened was finally entered by France and her victorious armies, overrunning the continent, and absorbing for a time all Germany, even up to the confines of Russia, the new French courts, created for a time on German soil, proved an attraction to many, who were thus drawn to centers and scenes that were entirely new to them.

And then, again, when Germany rose against her oppressors and drove them back beyond the Rhine, she followed them into their own proud capital, and there learned and taught new lessons calculated to give to the world and herself a conception of her power and ability, which were for the sequel to lead her to a higher national life. And the lesson most thoroughly learned, was the necessity of developing her intellectual power by founding new universities and reinvigorating ancient ones, and letting these in their turn transmit their influence down through all phases of society to the very poorest, so that in a few years certain sections of Germany were the best educated portions of the civilized world. In a little while these facts became known to the scholars and teachers of other lands, and then commenced a pilgrimage to these shrines of learning which has continued till the present day.

Certain of our own educators made us acquainted with the system of popular education in Prussia especially, many of the features of which were adopted among us, and thus the teachers of other European lands also began to look to Prussia and Germany as the sources of information and experience in regard to all grades of learning. For a time men blindly admired and adopted, knowing no other, and certainly no better, way; it became almost an axiom that he who would exhaust the fountains of learning must drink at German sources. Students desirous of completing studies here begun went in numbers to Germany, and their return, as accomplished scholars in their respective callings, lent its influence to the creation of an opinion that there was a sort of magic charm about these

shrines which transformed all who came within their reach. The result was that crowds of undisciplined and unfinished students began to visit German schools for the purpose of studying elementary branches, which they could acquire quite as well at home; and, last of all, the evil entered the precincts of the fashionable world, and made it the correct thing to do to have the children educated abroad from the first year to the last. This folly has been carried to such an extent that a reaction is setting in. Our people are beginning to ask themselves whether it is not better to weigh this question a little, rather than to take blindly whatever may happen to be the popular or the fashionable opinion of the matter, and in this very laudable work we are glad to perceive that this volume aids us by analysis of the case and some sound advice.

No one who has really profited in a sensible and practical way by the great advantages offered by the German schools, will for a moment detract from those privileges; but every such person must be thoroughly disgusted with the sham that is now so frequently carried on in the matter of being educated abroad, and acknowledge the homely truth of the adage that the fool who has been in Rome is much a greater fool than had he stayed at home.

It is very questionable, therefore, whether much is gained by sending children abroad for an entire course of study when the condition is that such a course must be one adapted to a very different state of society from our own, and subject the child to the labor of acquiring many things for which it can have no practical use here, to the neglect of those studies needed to perfect it in the use of its own language, and train it for the requirements of our own social development. In case children can have the society and oversight of their parents, there are, doubtless, unequaled facilities in learning the modern languages abroad, and in the native institutions, where they can have the advantage of mingling with school-mates, and profiting in their studies by all they hear and are obliged to say. And so far this course is very advisable. But even this is not now easily carried out, for in the centers where Americans most congregate for the education of their children, such as Dresden, Stuttgard, and Frankfort, the rush of American youth has been so great to popular or, perchance, fashionable schools, that these

have become quite undesirable for that very reason; there are so many American children together that they congregate in their own groups, and thus have little more opportunity to learn the language of the country than if they were at home. And, again, many of the best schools now refuse to receive American youth to mingle with their German pupils, and for this reason, which they frankly give: American children, as a rule, are so precocious, so poorly disciplined in elementary instruction, so little inclined to apply themselves thoroughly to work, so absorbed with whatever social events may be occurring at home—such as parties, balls, etc.; in short, so unwilling to accept the strict discipline of the German schools, that they exert a most demoralizing influence on the institution, and their absence is more desirable than their presence. German parents in these places refuse in many instances to send their children to the schools where Americans most gather, and the result is that the establishments most easily entered are, for this reason, the least desirable, and this evil has gone so far that some schools make a specialty of receiving American pupils, and, of course, giving them what they ask for, with a view of securing their patronage.

We grant that these may be extreme cases, but such there are, and such should be avoided. Much better seek quiet, unpretending schools in less fashionable centers, where children who go to learn the languages may do so under the most favorable circumstances. These are generally cheaper and better, for our countrymen are finding, to their chagrin, that the bait of cheapness is but a phantom. Many of the Frankfort schools are, doubtless, good; but Dr. Hurst is correct, we believe, in saying that their reputation for unusual excellence arises from the fact that Frankfort is quite a center for the congregation of foreigners for educational advantages, and thus receives its reputation abroad. Germans would probably choose other schools for the same purpose.

But to a certain extent this grade of schools in Germany is as a grain in the balance; they are of more import in the larger cities to the foreigner than to the German, for the latter looks on the whole educational system as a great machine, of which these scarcely form an element. The State educates the nation at large, from the elementary school to the university,

and therefore gives to these all its attention, merely licensing and checking the others. And in the new life which the nation has assumed since the great victories over Austria and France, all educational matters are commanding unusual care. In Prussia especially the common schools are being guarded with great jealousy. The nation has waked up to find that they were largely in the hands of the Church, and thus were either neglected or used for selfish purposes. The recent laws regarding these schools takes them out of the hands of the priests and puts them under the control of laymen trained in the normal schools. This movement has disclosed to Prussia the mortifying fact that she has not been advancing in this sphere of her former glory, and that just now she has but little to boast of in the system of popular education that formerly attracted so many investigators to her realm, who went away to herald her praises to the world. She has simply reposed on her laurels while the enemy has entered and sowed tares.

Therefore the present throes and agonies of her common schools, and the outcries of their teachers, who are now frequently meeting in convocations to discuss the situation, and let the country know how much they have been abased. They are miserably paid and shabbily treated, and especially in all Catholic districts have been so beholden to the priests as, in many cases, according to their own affidavits, to be made their menials and house-servants. The school has been so seduced to the purposes of the Church that every saint-day or any other kind of holy day was made a holiday for the school, that the children could be marched to the church for the purposes of waiting on the altar, aiding in the singing, or simply adding to the *éclat* of the occasion, while thousands and thousands of the children are enrolled in certain orders under the control of the priests or nuns. The State is now doing a wise thing in unshackling the hands of the teachers, and encouraging them to come together in large bodies for the purpose of consultation, concentration, and harmony in regard to questions of vital import to their schools and the welfare of the country. Very large assemblies have recently been held both in Berlin and Vienna, and it is quite refreshing to follow their proceedings, and listen to the freedom with which they give utterance to thoughts that a few years ago would have consigned them to

the prison walls. We were almost startled at the heading of a chapter in this volume entitled "Protestant Schools in Austria." Protestant schools in Austria! Yes, plenty of them now, though we well remember the days when we in vain searched the streets of Vienna for a Protestant church and a Protestant school.

"No Protestants in this great capital of Vienna?" said we. "Yes, some; but they are not allowed to worship in a church. You will find a small Lutheran congregation in such a street and such a house, but they are not permitted to assume the appearance of a Church, and have neither a tower nor a bell."

Since Prussia so thoroughly punished Austria, in 1866, the latter country has been wise enough to learn of her enemies, and give license to the introduction of the very system by which they gained those brilliant victories. And now Protestant schools are founded in all parts of the country, and all the teachers, Catholics and Protestants, meet and discuss their wants and their hopes, thanks to the abolition of the Concordat. The sad feature of the case is the fact that now, since the reaction has taken place, it is likely to go too far. The elementary schools and teachers have been so tyrannized over in the name of religion, that they are now too much inclined to turn against all religion and reject all Scripture instruction in the common schools.

And Prussia is now already working at a reform in the higher schools or gymnasia, the preparatory schools to the university, and equivalent to our preparatory schools and colleges combined, for they have a seven-years' course. For many years the curriculum of the gymnasia remained stationary, in the belief of a goodly number of the teachers that it had reached perfection, a belief induced, we opine, by the wholesale flattery awarded to them by foreign critics as training schools for the classics. But some twenty years ago, in resistance to this absorbing teaching of the ancient tongues, to the exclusion of nearly all else, a progressive school among the Germans founded what they called "real schools" for the introduction of a measure of scientific study, and these soon assumed the general character of our scientific course in college. This move was met by the classicists with the fiercest antagonism, causing a wide gap to arise between the two, and the erection

of still more "real schools." These latter soon became so popular as to force recognition and respect, and at last claimed entrance for their pupils into the universities, and finally into the professions and the civil service. Just at this point all parties see the advisability of compromise and consolidation; and recently a commission of practical teachers, under the ægis of the Government, held quite a session with a view so to reorganize and modify the classical schools that the scientific may easily be merged into them by dropping a few of the scientific studies and adopting a little more of the classics in addition to the modern languages. This will be by far the wisest thing to do, and the result of the long conflict will probably be a revision of the gymnasium to adapt it to modern wants, and the absorption of the best of the "real schools," and the disappearance of the remainder into the ordinary civil or burgher schools. The strife has done good by stirring up the waters, and introducing this very spirit of investigation and discussion.

And this logically introduces us to the "Machinery of the German University," as our author very properly heads the chapter that treats of these huge machines of multifarious hidden springs. Never ask what is taught in a German university of the first grade; simply go there and examine the bulletin to learn when you may hear the desired subject treated of. It seems odd enough to see swimming, fencing, dancing, etc., bring up the tail of the list; but if this be so, what must be its head and trunk? The result is, that several of these great schools number thousands of students and, we might say, hundreds of professors. Our choice, and that of the Germans, as to the special school that one visits, is largely controlled by what we want. One is distinguished for philosophy in all its phases, another for law or medicine, while another may be best for theology, and even this depends largely on the school of theology—orthodoxy, or liberalism. Few of the German students complete the entire course at one school; they think it well to circulate for breadth of view and the special profit of the respective schools. And this in no way interferes with their course, for they can begin in one university where they left off in another, and finally supplement in the last what is left to complete their course. The sum of the papers which they

receive in all the schools combined, entitles them to a degree, and these certificates, in the case of the German, must be carefully preserved for the entire educational course. A friend of ours once showed us his documents, extending over fourteen years, which he needed to present to the authorities in applying for a subordinate position in the General Postal Bureau under Government.

The doctor rightly says that the American has no trouble of this kind; he was welcomed in our day, and is welcome still. He is not expected to be a candidate for position among them, and thus to make claims there that need concern them; while on the other hand he is supposed to know what he wants, and is free to take what he chooses, by complying with the most ordinary rules of the establishment. This laxity of discipline in regard to foreigners, and Americans especially, has, in our opinion, its evil side. A great many young men from our side of the water virtually rush in where angels might fear to tread. Without the least fitting preparation for the work, they are apt to jump at a spring into the most abstruse studies of which they have not the least comprehension, and thus lose their time in pretending to be pursuing a course of study of which they know not even the elements. We knew a number of young men, who were the merest tyros as Latinists, who imagined that they were taking a course of lectures on the Pandects. They clearly knew nothing about them, and finally subsided into dropping in once or twice a week to see what was going on, and how far the professor had proceeded in his, to them, occult science. And thus, we are sorry to say, scores of our youth make a pretense of attending German universities, when they are really dawdling away their time and borrowing peacock feathers with which to adorn themselves.

The opportunities for an American in German universities, when he is prepared to appreciate and profit by them, are very rare. But this preparation is no trifling affair, first, in the matter of the language, and, secondly, in the capacity to know what are for him just the gems to be culled. If time and money are of any value to the candidate, it is folly to go to a German university without as good a knowledge of the language as he can cleverly obtain in this country. Then he may enter the lecture-rooms immediately, and though at first mat-

ters may look a little forbidding and the speech have yet a strange sound, still a few weeks' experience in hearing the teachers whom he may choose will open up the whole way, and soon he will find himself understanding nearly all that is said, greatly to his encouragement and profit. Let him go thither ignorant of the tongue, and his enforced isolation while pursuing elementary work will probably discourage him, and send him prematurely home, as we have known to be the case in several instances. It requires a good deal of wisdom and some common sense to profit by the advantages of these schools; our own recipe is to try and make up your mind, on examination of the opportunity, as to what you really want there, and what you can best gain, choosing primarily, and, perhaps, solely, those things that you cannot gain at home. Unless for a special reason to the contrary, discard any iron-clad course—it is made for a German atmosphere, not for ours; pick out the kernels that will germinate and ripen in our soil, and from which you can finally gather a harvest at home. You may make some mistakes in the beginning in trying to do this, but rectify them as soon as discovered. On many of these points we find very wholesome advice in the volume before us, and we especially agree with the opinion, that on the whole Berlin is the best university for the American.

The Berlin school is young and progressive, and is the pride of the Prussian monarchy. Many of the finest German scholars have been called to its desks, and the comprehensiveness of its curriculum is simply marvelous. Every science known to man is developed within its area, and all shades of opinion are discussed by its teachers. Many of these have uttered a great deal of visionary nonsense, and plenty of scientific, theological, or philosophical falsehood. But the antidote for the baneful theories of one man may be found in the lecture-room directly opposite, as we listened to Michelet one hour and Hengstenberg the next, without caring to coincide with either one. The clash of intellectual weapons frequently unfleshed the truth, and no thoughtful student could come away from these encounters without a wholesome lesson in the grand science of investigation after truth on the one side, and a profitable warning on the other to search all things and hold on to that which is good. In some special fields of study Berlin is sur-

passed by other schools. If these are desirable, take them where they may be found, but make Berlin the head-quarters for the grand *résumé*. Institutions change with years and men. Berlin lost Humboldt and Neander, Von Raumer and Waagen, but it gained Dorner, Lepsius, Piper, etc., and thus on the whole kept its intrinsic value to the summit level. This every German university must do in order to retain its students, for it is wonderful how soon these find out where the most gifted teachers are and flock after them.

The rivalry between the institutions is very great, partly on account of national or local pride. Since the war, Leipsic has been pressing Berlin very hard, and for a few *semesters* has even surpassed it, so that it has been generally said that Berlin cannot be the political and intellectual capital of the country at the same time. But the Berliners are not willing to permit their home to cease to be pre-eminently the "city of intelligence" as well as of political power and wisdom; and according to the most recent university statistics, that of Berlin has spurted ahead again, perhaps to remain in the advance. During the last *semester* Berlin registered two thousand nine hundred and eighty students and one hundred and eighty-seven professors, while Leipsic had two thousand eight hundred students and one hundred and forty professors. Then followed Halle, with one thousand and fifty-five; Breslau, with one thousand and thirty-six; and Munich, with one thousand and thirty-one students. So it appears that Berlin and Leipsic lead the others out of sight, and will probably run neck and neck for a long time to come. The Saxons fairly worship their university, and will leave no stone unturned in the race. And still we repeat that numbers are by no means an absolute test in all things. Heidelberg and Göttingen are not without their peculiar worth, though they fall into the lower ranks in the count of students.

A part of the trouble in Berlin is the increased expense of living there since the war. This is being remedied in some measure by the introduction of a species of commons, which necessity may largely develop for the German students, but not for the Americans, as these would never consent to live in the way in which German students do when they find it necessary to economize. The question of expense for an American

at the German universities is a difficult one to answer: it has often been put to us, and we invariably answer that it depends entirely on the habits of the parties. If a young man can live for five hundred dollars at college here, he can do about the same abroad; but if he spends a thousand at home, he will need no less in Germany; and this, we think, a fair way of putting the case. It may be well to talk of German economy, but we do not, in the first place, know how to practice it, and could not for a few months or years bend ourselves to their national characteristics; and, in the second place, we do not think it advisable to try it. An American gains nothing by endeavoring to be a German student, either in his many follies on the one hand, or self-imposed privations on the other. This thing may be carried so far as to become demoralizing and debasing. Better stay at home, or stay a shorter time, rather than submit to many things, either in traveling or living abroad, the memory of which would be unpleasant in after-life. And, above all, make no calculations concerning any thing abroad from foreigners; their tariff of reward is a deal too meager to pay any one whose labor is worth any thing. Occasionally a young man may secure a desirable engagement as tutor and guardian to young Americans; a post which pays reasonably well, but which has almost too much responsibility to be compatible with the aims and labors of the earnest student.

We have lingered with special pleasure on that portion of this volume which treats of the peculiarities of some of the German professors, for they are in truth a queer race. We remember with satisfaction the odd ways of some of the celebrities of our own youthful time, and now passed away. Alexander von Humboldt always wore a genial smile which was in its prime when he grasped the hand of an American; and even he descended at times to the unprofessional relaxation of writing English verses for the album of a young American lady whose home was at the American Legation. The noblest deed that he performed during our own connection with the University of Berlin, was to use all the weight of his influence to aid a young Jewish physician, of great eminence in the line of microscopic investigation of animal membranes, to obtain a place among the Faculty—the first Jew ever appointed to that

position. But it cost Von Humboldt a great deal of labor to break down the fearful prejudice that existed against that people. We were well acquainted with the candidate, and enjoyed the pleasure of examining a score of the great *savant's* letters to the young gentleman in question in regard to all the proceedings and the progress in the affair. They all breathed the spirit of generosity toward all men in the republic of sciences and letters, without regard to religious belief. And shortly after this triumph we saw him enjoy a public one in being led into the annual session of the famous Berlin Academy of Sciences on the arm of the king. The monarch seemed as pleased as a boy that he could claim the great scientist as his subject and personal friend, and as such introduce him to that learned body.

And again we watched the vagaries of Neander, whose oddities were the staple of conversation at any social gathering of the Faculty at which Americans had the *entrée*. These are now oft-told tales, but we remember one incident not so well known. Neander had immense power of concentration on his subject. The great university bell interrupted him one day in the midst of an abstruse discussion at the word "and." The law bid him stop, which he did. The next day he commenced his lecture with the word "and," and went right on as if not a moment's time had intervened. Carl Ritter, the matchless geographer, and father of the science of Physical Geography, was a most agreeable and attractive lecturer, and the Americans liked him about as well as he liked them, or at least seemed to; for he took every occasion to show them special attention, and would invite them to his house to look over his maps and his library—a privilege rarely enjoyed by German students. The *semester* that we profited by his lectures, every American student in Berlin was a regular attendant on his sessions. And then shall we ever forget Ranke, talking so glibly about all the popes, but with a pronunciation so superlatively horrible that we could not at times understand one word in ten; and even the German students would become so vexed at him betimes that they would throw down their pens in disgust, and take to scraping their feet at him to bring him to his senses, and make him talk more slowly and pronounce more distinctly. And then, also, in those days Lepsius was just developing an enthusiasm on the

subject of Egyptian antiquities, which has led him on in a career in which he knows no rival. The great Egyptian Museum of Berlin, now one of the attractions of the capital, was then in the process of formation, and a score of times, perhaps, during the winter, after lecturing to his class on some specialty, he would take us over to the museum, and have a sort of clinic among the mummies.

But to us the greatest oddity among the Faculty corps of that period was the renowned Greek scholar, Boekh. His knowledge of all the *minutiæ* of Greek life during all history bordered on the marvelous. One evening the genial Professor Schultz, whose valuable library is now in possession of the North-Western University, at Evanston, Ill., offered to accompany and introduce us to a "Greek Circle" which was composed of the classical professors of the University, and which met weekly to read and discuss certain Greek authors. About a dozen scholars were collected at the house of one of them, and the exercises consisted in reading by turns passages from Thucydides, followed by translation. This latter was then closely criticised until all were satisfied as to the rendering. Boekh read a passage incidentally alluding to the hats worn at that period by the Greek soldiers, saying simply that they then refused to remove them in the presence of enemies. One of the company rather maliciously asked Boekh what kind of head-covering the Greeks of that epoch wore. Every body saw that it was a stunning question to come so suddenly, as it embraced a range over many centuries, during which great changes in the style were experienced. The company looked as if Boekh had found his match for once; but he coolly reflected for a moment with his finger on his nose, and then started off in a lengthy and critical illustration of the hats of just that period. His closing sentence was received with rounds of applause, on the strength of which all went out to supper. At the table Professor Schultz remarked to us *sub rosâ:* "They made a mistake in their question; they should have asked what kind of hats are now worn in Berlin—that would have floored him."

But of these pleasant memories there is no end, and he who would have them revived may find a ready incentive thereto in perusing those which our author met in his experience, for every one naturally has his own budget to impart. We would

gladly linger on these and kindred matters, but our space warns us to draw to a close; in doing which we would call special attention to the chapters on the secrets of German authorship and the usages of the German book-trade. We often wonder how these Germans can accomplish so much besides their professional duties, and Dr. Hurst has watched them closely enough to give us much insight into the secret. It is not simply by plodding, plodding, plodding; but it is also by severe system, setting a portion of the day aside for work, and letting no ordinary circumstance interfere with this plan. And then they have the great libraries right at their hand, in the care of librarians who can answer every proper question, and find any book among hundreds of thousands at a moment's notice; and in addition to all these, the German scholars understand how skillfully to use assistants as amanuenses, who at the same time thus learn the arts of authorship, in which finally many of them excel. This system produces workshops for the opportunity of learning the trade from experts, and thus there is ever growing a host of young scholars who are led to adopt authorship as a profession, and who in a sense begin where their teachers leave off, so that the art thus becomes a progressive one.

"The Paradise of Books" is verily a good name for the great book-mart of Leipsic, and some of its guardian-angels, such as Brockhaus and Tauchnitz, are well worthy an extensive study; but there is no more characteristically German story than that of the patient way in which a group of young geographers combined to build up the wonderful geographical fabric now found in the great establishment in Gotha, where the renowned Petermann seems to preside over the geographical destinies and developments of the world. He is truly an organizer of victory, for in his retired study he has planned out and set on foot more exploring expeditions to distant parts of the world than any other living man. The great African explorers, such as Barth, Overweg, Beurmann, Rohlfs, and Nachtigall, received their first incentives and aid from him. He suggested the field, planned the general route, and interested the Geographical Society in the enterprise; so that with this backing he could go to his monarch and his nation, and ask for aid for an enterprise that he proved would be of utility to the world at large, and

of great glory to the Fatherland. And his faith sustained him while many of his co-laborers met with honorable deaths in pursuit of their favorite schemes. The result of the efforts of this *coterie* of men has been to place Germany at the head of the explorers of the world; for while Africa is even now being penetrated in all directions by them, a new fame is being added to the name by the solid merit of the German efforts in reaching the highest northern latitudes, and naming the land nearest to the North Pole after one of their sovereigns.

In conclusion, we are pleased to be able to say that "Life and Literature in the Fatherland," has been to us a source of pleasure and profit, and has stirred up old memories that have slumbered for a long season. We recommend it as a useful *vade-mecum* to those to whom the path is still untrodden.

ART. V.—UPHAM ON THE STAR OF THE NATIVITY.

The Wise Men: Who They Were; and How They Came to Jerusalem. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 253. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

The Star of our Lord; or, Christ Jesus, King of all Worlds, both of Time and Space: with Thoughts on Inspiration, and the Astronomic Doubt as to Christianity. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 370. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

MATTHEW'S story of the Wise Men who saw the Star, and came from the East to offer their homage to "the King of the Jews," has a poetic beauty which has charmed the Church in all ages. The mystery which hovers about them increases the interest. Who were they? Whence did they come? What were their hopes and expectations, and how far were they realized? There is something exceedingly picturesque in the evangelist's account of their visit. As given in our English translation, the story is wholly indefinite and mysterious. Old tradition exalts them into kings. The popular impression that there were just three, and no more of them, is probably derived from the painters, who figure one as bringing the gold, another the frankincense, and a third the myrrh; and have no particular use for any larger number. Even the traditions which style them kings do not give us their names, or tell us where were their dominions. They seem to come out of the unknown, and return thither again.

But even the little which Matthew relates of the Wise Men is full of significance. They came from their distant homes on no vain errand. They saw a celestial sign, and were not mistaken in the importance which they attached to it. They desired to be guided by it, and were led in exactly the right direction. Either before they began their journey, or somewhere along the way, their minds were impressed with the idea that the celestial sign told of the birth of a great prince, who was indeed to spring from a Hebrew lineage, but in whom all nations were somehow interested. By the time they reached Jerusalem, and, so far as the record shows, before they had exchanged a word with priest or rabbi in Judea, they were prepared to ask a direct and definite question: "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" They seek no aid in the interpretation of the sign in the heavens. They seem to know every thing except where they may find the new-born King. The fact that they were divinely guided to the place "where the young child was" speaks in their favor. God does not vouchsafe such guidance to the undevout, the faithless, the disobedient.

Another thing in their conduct speaks well. They are not staggered in their faith by the lowly circumstances in which they find the infant Prince. Coming from the East, where kings surround themselves with all the glittering insignia of power and wealth, they followed the guiding ray to Bethlehem, expecting possibly, every moment, to see the lofty walls of a palace rise before them, and hear the ring of the weapons, and the challenge of the guards who kept watch and ward at its gates. And lo, the star leads them to a rude structure erected for the gratuitous accommodation of strangers, where man and beast alike find shelter. They find the infant and his mother; but Mary and Joseph look like Jewish peasants instead of royal personages, and the child is lying in a manger. In the eyes of the wisdom of this world every thing is poor and mean, powerless and despicable. But they were taught of God; their faith failed not; they "fell down and worshiped him; and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh," not as benefactions bestowed upon the needy, but as offerings which loyal subjects lay joyfully at the feet of their sovereign. They may

have been surprised, but they give no indication of disappointment, doubt, or dismay. God has led them into the presence of the new-born Prince, and they know it is he.

And still another thing shows in their favor. The hypocritical Herod had commanded them to find the child, and then return to Jerusalem and inform him of the place. God warned the Wise Men in a dream not to return to Herod with the information which he sought. Three other warnings of the same character are mentioned in the second chapter of Matthew, as given to Joseph for the preservation of the Divine infant. Both Joseph and the Wise Men, consequently, are honored with a place as co-workers with God in the preservation of the young child, and are divinely informed in regard to the part which they are to perform. God does not thus commune with any but those that love him.

Who, then, can these Wise Men be? Where did they acquire this wondrous knowledge? How came they to know so much of God and his grand purposes? How did they so secure his favor that he should thus lead them into a distant country, show them his Son, and then, by another way, lead them safely home again? The whole story is full not only of the poetic element, but of incentives to thoughtful investigation.

The alarm of Herod was very natural. His determination to kill the child is easily explained. Herod was a king, but was also a subject of Rome. If the child whose birth the star foretold was to be a king, was he to supersede Herod and his sons in the favor of the Roman emperor? or was he to rule independent of Rome? Either aspect of the problem, as Herod saw it, portended only evil. On the one side he saw the downfall of his own family; on the other, war with the conquerors of the world. The people, too, heard of the coming of the Wise Men and the nature of their errand, and "all Jerusalem was troubled."

And what was portended by the star? It was an age of superstition. Astrology was one of the foremost follies of the learned, as well as of the common people. In all ages the stars have had a strange attraction for the eyes of men. In their sleepless watch, they seem to look down from the realms of eternal silence and peace upon the tossing deep of human life. Amid the mutations of earth they are the same, showing

no youth, no age, in their eternal years. And when men lost their hold on God, and were adrift upon a sea of uncertainty and fear, how natural was it for them to put their trust in any thing that seemed stable and enduring. Conscious of their inability to master the future, they sought to read it in the aspect of the heavens. When, therefore, the news swept through Jerusalem that a company of men led by a star had come from the East to seek a coming Hebrew prince, all the superstition and false religion of the times, as well as the true, conspired to attract attention to them and their movements. The inquiry on every tongue must have been, Who are they? Why do they come? What is foreshadowed in their mission?

These are the problems with which Professor Upham proposes to deal, and the most critical and faithless of readers will confess that the mystery lessens under his hands. In our English text the Wise Men are described as coming "from the East," having seen, "in the East," the star of the coming King. In the Greek there is a difference between the words rendered "the East," the one being singular, the other plural; the former being employed in the more restricted and definite sense. The same use of the words is not unknown to our own tongue. The expression, "the Eastern country," evidently sweeps a smaller circle, and is more definite in regard to location than the other, "the Eastern countries." Our author shows, that when used in the singular the term had a definite geographical signification, and designated Mesopotamia. He argues, hence, that when employed in the less definite sense it pointed to regions still farther east, to wit, Persia.

This interpretation of terms has an air of probability. Abraham sent certain of his children "eastward, unto the East country." Ezekiel prophesies the destruction of the Amorites by "the children of the East." Isaiah charges the people with adopting the superstitions of "the East." Solomon's wisdom is said to have "excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East country." These terms our author interprets as referring to the nearer East, while he construes the plural term to mean Persia. "In the Hebrew Scriptures the Far East twice means Persia. There, Cyrus is 'the man from the Far East,' and the Persian eagle is the eagle from the Far East." With this rendering of terms the Wise Men were Persians, who, sojourning

in Babylonia, or journeying through it, there saw the star of the advent.

Examining the original once more, we find that the Greek word translated Wise Men is μάγοι, *Magi*. If the interpretation of terms thus far is correct, we have the interesting conclusion that the Wise Men were Persian Magi. But the moment we reach this conclusion the question arises, Who were the Magi? Professor Upham has pursued this inquiry with great industry, and evoked much light on a subject little understood. He shows that the word Zoroaster, which ancient writers took to be a proper name, was the official title of the high-priest of Iran. The sacred books of the ancient religion of the Medes and Persians are all lost, except a certain collection of fragments called the Zendavesta. This book contains a few hymns and prayers, evidently very old, and some of them much older than the rest, possibly dating back to the time of Moses. The Persians of those early ages were not idolaters, nor were they fire worshipers, in any correct sense of those terms. They believed in an infinite Intelligence, the living Creator, whom they called *Ahura-Mazda*, contracted to *Ormazd*. They also believed in another self-existent spirit, called *Ahriman*. Ormazd was the author of all good, Ahriman of all evil. Ahriman, however, was inferior to Ormazd, and ultimately to be destroyed by him. This belief was evidently the basis on which Manes built his system in the third century.

The ancient Parsees erected altars to Ormazd the Creator, but made no images to represent him. They held that fire was his symbol, and he needed no other. Men, when they worship, should therefore turn their faces toward some luminous object—the sun, the moon, or flames of fire. Light, they held, comes from Ormazd, and is the vivifying principle of all things. Darkness they considered an emanation from Ahriman, and a symbol of all evil. The general character of their ideas may be learned from the following prayer or hymn, found among the oldest recorded utterances of this ancient faith:—

Blessed is he, blessed are all men, to whom the living, wise God, of his own command, should grant those two everlasting powers—health of the soul and immortality. For this very good I beseech thee, Ahura-Mazda, mayest thou, through thy angel of piety, give me happiness, the true good things, and the possession

of the good mind. I believe thee to be the best being of all, the Source of Light for the world. Every body shall choose thee as the Source of Light; thee, holiest Spirit. Thou greatest all good things. . . . I will believe thee to be powerful, holy. For thou givest, with thy hand filled with helps, good to the pious man, as well as to the impious, by means of the warmth of the fire strengthening the good things. — *Wise Men*, p. 73.

Flame being regarded as the visible symbol of God, and one form of the invisible fire which is the life of the world, figured prominently in their worship. To light the altar flame in due form was no small thing. Fire must be had from sixteen different places—fire generated by rubbing pieces of wood together in Indian fashion, fire from the dwelling, from steel workers, potters, dyers, all the mechanics, and, most important and sacred of all, from a funeral pile. That the altar flame was employed as a symbol only is proved by the prayer of Spitama, the best known of the Persian Zoroasters:—

When my eyes beheld thee, the Essence of Truth, the Creator of Life, who manifests his life in his works, then I knew thee to be the primeval Spirit. . . . I believe in thee as the holy God, thou living wise, because I beheld thee to be the primeval Cause of life in the Creation. For thou hast made holy customs and words. Thou hast given emptiness to the base, and good to the good man. I will believe in thee, thou glorious God, in the last period of creation. — *Wise Men*, p. 83.

The old Persian religion also held forth the idea of a Saviour to come. Sosiosh, a great prophet, commissioned by Ormazd, was to come to restore and make all things new, slay death itself, and usher in a resurrection of the dead. The belief of the Parsees of India, as taught at the present day in their various publications, shows that they are not idolaters, and that no low or degrading ideas of God or morality cling to their system of religion.

But if the Magi held these truths, including the doctrine of a coming prophet, divinely commissioned to slay death, how shall we account for the fact that they had learned the true time of his coming, and in what land he should appear? Vague hopes of this nature are not unknown among the heathen, but they generally assume a self-seeking form, and show a narrow spirit. Even the Jews, with the Word of God in their hands, narrowed down to their own race and country promises and

purposes as wide as the world. It is marvelous that these Wise Men should journey beyond the borders of their own land, and seek, among a conquered and despised people of another race, the prophet and Saviour destined to restore all things. Conduct so at variance with the principles which ordinarily determine human action could only spring from decided convictions and definite knowledge. Our author investigates this question in a very thorough and interesting manner.

The prophet Daniel was still a captive in Babylon at the time when the Medes and Persians overthrew the Chaldean empire. Darius treated him with great respect. The honors bestowed on Daniel indeed provoked the jealousy of the politicians of his time, but doubtless attracted increased attention to his character and conduct. We can hardly suppose that the leading priests of the ancient religion of Iran failed to accompany their king, or that, when in Babylon, they failed to converse with Daniel in regard to their respective systems of religion. Nor can we suppose that Daniel would hesitate to impart to them his clearer knowledge of God, or to place in their hands the sacred books of his people. The plot of Daniel's enemies to ruin him, their failure, his miraculous deliverance from death, and the royal decree of Darius, commanding that in all his dominions "men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel," must have created intense desire to know the faith of the Hebrews.

Daniel certainly pointed out to Cyrus the prophecy in which the Persian monarch is called by name, and appointed to lay the foundation of the temple of God at Jerusalem. Cyrus certainly did lay the foundation of the temple, and in many ways show his respect for the religion of the Hebrews. These things would almost necessarily lead the more active, earnest minds of the Persian priesthood to study diligently the sacred writings thus brought to their knowledge.

In these studies, the striking historic passage in regard to Balaam and his prophecy could not be overlooked. "Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said: He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the Most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open: I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but

not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall rise out of Israel." Num. xxiv, 15–17.

This prophecy would be especially interesting to the Persians, from the fact that Balaam was not a Hebrew, but a native of the very country which they had recently conquered. He was brought from Mesopotamia, "from Aram, out of the mountains of the East," to curse Israel, and instead of cursing blessed them in the name of the Lord. If we may assume that the knowledge thus acquired was not lost during the succeeding five centuries, we have a key to unlock the mystery of the Wise Men. They learned, by means of the information derived from Daniel and the Hebrew sacred books, that a great personage was to spring from the Hebrew race, and a great power of some kind arise in Judea which was to affect the destinies of the whole world.

The Persian priests may also have learned something of the prophecies of Daniel, and been watching for the great events therein foreshadowed. We know, from the pages of Tacitus and Suetonius, that there was a general expectation among the nations, that one born of the Jewish race should win the empire of the world; and we can account for it in no better way than the traditionary line which we thus trace.

In foretelling the advent of the coming One, Balaam had spoken of a star. The Magi were possibly at a loss how to interpret this part of the prophecy, whether to take it literally or figuratively; but their very uncertainty would lead them to scan the heavens with new interest, and be quick to detect any unusual appearance there. Thus, while the Hebrews waited for the coming of their Messiah, the Persians were hoping for the advent of Sosiosh; and some of them, at least, had broken away from all narrow views of his mission, and were expecting to find him in another land, and of a lineage foreign to their own.

And then appeared in the heavens that which the Magi interpreted as the forerunner of the coming One. But what was it? Balaam speaks of a "Star out of Jacob," which expression would be naturally understood as referring to the coming personage himself, and yet, owing to the hazy nature of prophetic language, would admit of various conjectures in regard to its signification. The Magi saw in the heavens that which

they and the evangelist call a star. They saw it first "in the East," that is, as our author interprets the expression, in Mesopotamia. Matthew says that "the star which they saw in the East went before them," in the night journey from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, "till it came and stood over where the young child was."

Professor Upham argues that this star was one of the heavenly bodies, created, it may be, untold ages ago, but whose beams first reached the eyes of men at the very time when they were needed to guide the Magi to the feet of the new born Prince; moreover, that a star was chosen for this office to show that the divine One, whose advent it heralded, is "Lord of all worlds, both of time and space." He contends that the evangelist knew what he was saying when he called it a star, and that we ought not lightly to question the literal correctness of the name; and that to construe the celestial guide as any thing less, is not only to pervert the language of the Scripture, but to degrade to the level of a "Jack-o'-lantern" one of the grandest of God's creation, set apart by him for one of the grandest of missions.

The prophecy of Baalam declared that "there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall arise out of Israel." On this passage our author remarks:—

> I am persuaded that the Scepter prefigured the cross; and yet there seems to be need further to prove that the Star and the Scepter foreshadowed things literally answering to themselves. This symbolism did foreshadow a real kingdom; but did it also point to other real things to be seen in their foreseen order, first a star, and then a scepter?—*Star of our Lord*, p. 62.

This question he answers in the affirmative, contending that the Scepter is a symbol of the kingdom of Christ, but that the Star means literally one of the stars of heaven. To this latter idea there are objections. As the names Jacob and Israel both are employed to designate the Hebrew people, it would seem that, by a very common Hebrew parallelism, the Star and the Scepter both refer to the same person or thing. Moreover, the Star is to come out of Jacob as truly as the Scepter; but how one of the literal stars of heaven is to come out of Jacob does not appear. To the author, however, the reasoning is conclusive:—

The conclusion seems to be certain that the Star of our Lord was one of the great lights of the immeasurable heavens; first seen by the eyes of man when, in mercy to the need of the human heart, God revealed himself in human form: a star whose rays journeying thitherward through long preceding time, touched the firmament of the human world with glorious light when the Word, by whom all things were made, came to dwell among us; a star now shining in that firmament, and there to shine till, at the word of Christ who called it into being, that firmament shall pass to whence it came.—*Star of our Lord*, p. 87.

It is true, as the author reminds us, that the notion of the age was that the stars control the destinies of men, and the prediction would therefore be likely to be construed literally; but this militates against the conclusion thus reached. If astrology was one of the superstitions of the day, we must also remember that it was a condemned superstition, one against which God had duly warned his people. All through their history, the Hebrews were commanded to "inquire of God;" and it was accounted one of the greatest of sins to resort to false diviners of any kind. Denouncing the Divine judgments upon Babylon and the Chaldees, the prophet Isaiah derides these very superstitions: "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast labored from thy youth. . . . Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee."

Assuming that to consult the stars was to depart from God, and to sin against him, Professor Upham's argument that the astrological tendencies of the times would set those who knew of the prophecy to look for a literal star is, therefore, an argument whose weight goes into the wrong scale of the balance. An interpretation shaped by error and superstition would have all the probabilities against it.

Nor is it clear how one of the stars of heaven could have guided the Wise Men. If its motions were the same as the other stars, it rose in the east in the direction of Persia, and set in the west in the direction of Palestine. Every hour changed its apparent place in the heavens. It could give no distinction in favor of the east, or the south, or the west; no hint of the place whither they were to direct their steps. In fact, there is no intimation of the Wise Men's being literally

guided by the star, except at the very end of their long journey, the six miles between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Here it did guide them: "When they had heard the king they departed, and lo, the star, which they saw in the East, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was." It is not stated at what point in this six miles' journey they first saw the light. They needed no supernatural guide to show them the way to Bethlehem. The outlay of a shekel of silver would easily procure for them one of the human sort, who would have answered every purpose. But when they reached the town a human guide could do no more. Then, it would seem, the star appeared and went before them. It is added that "when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy." The narrative seems to show that while there was no need of it, the star was not visible; but the very moment they were perplexed and at a loss it appeared, and, to their great joy, led them to the very spot which they were seeking. But a literal star far away in the heavens, shining from the zenith upon Bethlehem, would seem to stand directly over any house before whose door the observer happened to stop and look up; and consequently it could not "go before them" to guide them with the needed definiteness.

To escape this difficulty the author resorts to an extraordinary device. He supposes that in regard to the light, or a part of the light, of this particular star, the laws of refraction were suspended; that the rays which entered the atmosphere of the earth were gathered into a pencil, which "went before" the Wise Men, apparently only a little way in advance, till it led them to the place. This strikes us as a violent supposition, very damaging to the theory which needs it.

Moreover, if the Star of the Nativity was one of the great luminaries of the starry host, where is it now? It is true, changes are not unknown in the heavens. Our maps of the skies are incomparably more accurate and complete than those of the earth. Not only is every star which is visible to the unaided eye known, and its exact place noted, but the places and the apparent magnitudes of thousands which the telescope alone reveals are carefully recorded. It is known that during the last two centuries several stars have disappeared, and several new stars have come into view, to shine a few months, and

then fade away into the depths of the night. Consequently, considered from a strictly scientific point of view, there is nothing improbable in the idea that the Star of the Advent was one new to the eyes of men, nevertheless a permanent part of the stellar creation. But if so, where is it? When the Wise Men came to Jerusalem, and said that they had come thither because of the appearance of a new star, and Herod and "all Jerusalem" were troubled about the matter, it would be natural for Herod and all Jerusalem to look for the star; and if any particular star was pointed out, the fact could hardly fail to be preserved in some form, historic or legendary. To create a vast world merely to guide a little company of men to the place where the child was, seems to show an immense disproportion between the instrument and the work. It is like creating a whale to bring the half shekel needed to pay tribute. If we take the position that the star was created to show that Christ is Lord of all worlds, we are at a loss to account for the fact that the apostles and evangelists give no hint of it, and the Church through all the ages of the past never caught the idea; and that now, when science has prepared men to appreciate the grandeur of the thought, the Scripture is found to be silent in regard to the interpretation contended for; astronomy, with all the sciences, and all history and tradition to help it, cannot even guess at the star, and the whole notion, grand and beautiful as it is, seems to belong to the vast multitude which issue from the ivory gate of dreams. That Christ is the Lord of all worlds we do not doubt; but that the Star of the Advent was designed to show this fact does not appear.

To those who hesitate to accept the ingenious and beautiful interpretation of Professor Upham, there remains only the conclusion, that what the evangelist calls a star was simply a temporary light sent to guide the Wise Men, as the pillar of fire and cloud guided the chosen people in the wilderness. This is the simplest solution of the problem, and the one which best accords with the obvious import of the Scripture account. Still, it is not improbable that the Persian Magi knew of the coming Prince to be born in Judea; that there occurred among the stars a natural and yet very unusual phenomenon, making the impression that the hour of his appearance had come; and that He who rules all things, so adjusted the times of the nat-

ural and the supernatural that the one ministered to the other, the sign in the heavens creating wonder and expectation, and inciting to the journey.

Our author brings forward proof that such an event did actually occur about the time of the birth of Christ. As an attempt to interpret in a scientific way the Bible story, it is as hard to manage as the new star theory; nevertheless, truth never conflicts with truth, and so we cite the facts. In October, 1572, a star was discovered by Tycho Brahe in the constellation Cassiopeia. Its light was white, and for several months its luster increased. Then it grew yellow, and began to decline. As its light lessened it became red, and finally ashen gray, and so, at the end of about eighteen months, it disappeared. In October, 1604, Johann Kepler, a German astronomer, discovered another temporary star of the same kind, which went through successive stages like its predecessor, in about the same time, and then disappeared. Astronomy, in that day, had not yet escaped from its entanglement with superstition. In December, 1603, there had been a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, which had attracted attention. In March, 1604, Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars were in conjunction—a still greater astrological wonder. In October, in the very quarter of the heavens where two of these planets were still in conjunction, appeared the new star. It occurred to the mind of Kepler that thus, perhaps, the Star of the Nativity appeared, and that thus its appearing might have been heralded by other celestial phenomena. Tracing back the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn, he found that, in the year of Rome 747, they were in conjunction; and the next year the two were in conjunction with Mars, an event which occurs only at intervals of about eight hundred years. Thus it appears that a very remarkable conjunction of planets, which must have been watched with profound interest by the learned of that day, and which must have attracted the attention of all nations, did occur about the time of Christ's birth. The calculations of Kepler have been repeated, and the same result reached, by an eminent English astronomer of our own times, the Rev. Charles Pritchard, Honorable Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society.

Still, this astronomical discovery leaves us as far as ever from

a scientific interpretation of the account given by Matthew. The plain, direct statement of the Scripture is, that "the star which they saw in the East went before" the Wise Men "till it came and stood over where the young child was." This description of the celestial guide accords as ill with the conjunction of planets, as with the new star for which our author argues, and we are compelled to return to the old interpretation of the narrative. The author's objection, that to suppose the star to be any thing less than one of the permanent lights of the firmament is to degrade it to the level of a "Will-o'-the-wisp," is hardly valid. The guiding pillar of fire and cloud in the wilderness of Arabia was but a temporary light, yet there was nothing puerile or despicable about it.

But while we hesitate to accept the hypothesis about which much of the material of the two volumes centers, we do not undervalue the work itself. We regard it as one of the most beautiful and valuable publications of the modern press. Our hesitation in regard to a leading idea in no wise militates against the value of the abundant learning, the patient research, the devout spirit, the grand sweep of thought which characterize the whole. The geode crystallizes about vacancy, and yet is full of jewels. We can hardly go as far as the author would fain lead us, yet under his guidance we go farther than ever we went before, feeling that our feet are upon the rock at every step. The Magi were indeed strangers—heathen, as the Jews accounted them—and yet God was revealing to them his highest mysteries. The mission of Christ was not only to save man, but to reveal God to the universe of mind; and the glory of the Cross is destined to illumine the depths of space, and shine on through the eternal ages.

Professor Upham writes from the depths of his heart. He delights in his theme, and yet his enthusiasm in regard to it is not so much scientific or literary as it is religious, the outflow of a mightier passion, even love for Him for whom all worlds were made. This makes the whole work a lofty psalm of praise, a liturgy of holiest worship, in which Christ is all in all. The author is a believer in the full inspiration of the Scriptures, and studies them *con amore*. He sets many passages of holy writ in new light, and traverses the page of revelation as the well-taught searcher for diamonds trav-

erses his field, finding gems where less skillful eyes see only pebbles.

The style is worthy of note. It is clear, strong, beautiful, in itself a proof that grandest themes need nothing better than the simple utterances of our noble English tongue.

Art. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER.

The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer; being an Examination of the First Principles of his System. By B. P. Bowne, A.B. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1874.

In resuming our criticism of Herbert Spencer, as brought before us in Mr. Bowne's book, we cannot doubt that the great importance of Mr. Spencer's cherished doctrine that the Infinite is unknowable, and the prominent names by which it is to a greater or less extent supported, will be a sufficient excuse for prolonging our discussion so far as to glance at both the development and the application of that idea in the scheme which we are examining. It may aid our conception of the standing of this doctrine if we look for a moment into the genesis of it, as a part of Mr. Spencer's system.

As a thinker, Mr. Spencer stands distinguished for his achievements alike in physical science and in the profounder walks of philosophy. In the former, it is claimed for him by his friends; that, far more than Darwin, or Wallace, or any of the eminent naturalists who have maintained the doctrine of development, he is the author of that whole scheme of thought. The philosophy of evolution is pre-eminently his. It was announced by him, as a comprehensive principle, before Darwin had published a word on the subject; and the research has been carried on with the utmost consistency of aim in all his subsequent works. From time to time he has extended the scope of the doctrine, and by discovery after discovery he has mastered its laws. He has shown that it proceeds by methods, first, of *differentiation;* next, of *integration;* and finally, of *equilibration.* He has defined these laws, and brought them into relations with one another; and has thus given the only complete account of the comprehensive process which he was the first to proclaim.

To all this we have nothing to object. The reality of these laws, the universality of their application, and the value to be attached to them in human thinking, it will be for succeeding observers and reasoners to estimate. It cannot be questioned that Mr. Spencer's acquaintance with physical philosophy is real and great; nor that he is a marvel of industry and attainment. From these high claims some abatement must perhaps be made on the ground of an occasional inaccuracy in his statement of the infinite detail which the extended science of our day involves, and of consequent erroneous conclusions thence deduced; but any criticism of this part of his works would be a matter of mere detail, and we do not propose to enter upon it.

Without disputing any claims to eminence which Mr. Spencer's friends may set up for him on the ground of the consistent and progressive character of his opinions in physical science, and in regard to the rationale of evolution, it must be observed that no similar allegation can be made in regard to his philosophical speculations. These have been neither original nor consistent. Indeed, there are few examples of speculation so totally destitute of harmonious development as that which has now issued in the philosophy of the unknowable. This point we must take the time to illustrate.

The first work which brought Mr. Spencer's name prominently before the public as an independent thinker was his "Social Statics; or, The Conditions of Human Happiness Specified," etc., published in 1850. In this work he endeavored to establish a system of society and of morals; and, after discussing and rejecting all other grounds as insufficient, he deliberately laid the foundation of his doctrine of human liberty and human rights in the fact that God has given to all men faculties, and that this implies the right and liberty of using them. His language, in enunciating his fundamental principle, we quote as follows:—

> From this conclusion there seems no possibility of escape. Let us repeat the steps by which we arrive at it. God wills man's happiness. Man's happiness can only be produced by the exercise of his faculties. Then God wills that he should exercise his faculties. But to exercise his faculties he must have liberty to do all that his faculties naturally impel him to do. Then God intends that he should have that liberty. Therefore, he has a right to that liberty.—Part II, chap. iv, § 2.

This, then, was the original form of all Mr. Spencer's speculations upon the liberty and the rights of men, and this his basis of the social system—the will of God. It is almost needless to say how distinctly it recognizes God as knowable and thinkable not only, but as thinkable with a distinctness which makes this knowledge the foundation of all social philosophy. Not only do we know God, but we know him as an intelligent and designing mind, having purposes and intentions respecting the beings of whom he is the author; and these purposes and designs we know so definitely that our knowledge becomes the foundation of all that is sacred in rights, and all that is precious in liberty. Now, however, Mr. Spencer avows a very different philosophy of society. God, he now tells us, is incapable of being known, or thought, by the human mind; we cannot say that he has any designs or intentions whatever; we do not know that he is a personal being with a will, or even that he has any glimmer of intelligence or rationality. The very foundation principle—and the only one that Mr. Spencer, in his first work, consented to recognize—is formally abandoned. Social philosophy is to rest henceforth on a new basis; and Mr. Spencer has organized a system of inquiries which is to give us all the detail of social facts, with a view to the future discovery of the laws of sociology.

Here, then, we have no such consistent and progressive development as marks the construction of his scientific works. In place of an orderly progress, we have a radical and destructive subversion of opinions. The philosophical portion of the scheme can boast no such harmony as is claimed for the scientific part of it. The end is in utter conflict with the beginning. Instead of evolution we have revolution.

The radical change which has subverted the very foundations of Mr. Spencer's philosophy is largely due to those writings in which Sir William Hamilton taught that the infinite is not a positive in knowledge, inasmuch as by its very nature the concept has to be negatively formed and expressed. It is the correlate of the finite; and every finite object that we know, carries with it a conception of the infinite, from which it has to be distinguished. But this infinite, known thus as the not-finite, cannot, Hamilton said, become the subject of logical reasoning, because this process has for its sphere the relation of

whole and parts; and as the infinite is not made up of parts, it can never become the basis of philosophy.

For this reason originally, and principally, though not exclusively, Hamilton denied that any philosophy of the infinite can be formed. He limited our formal and philosophical thinking to that middle region which lies between the infinitely great on the one hand, and the infinitely little on the other; and he declared that philosophy, and formulated knowledge, belong only to the region of the finite.

By such reasonings as these, enforced as they were by the boundless learning and the extraordinary vigor of Hamilton's speculations, Mr. Spencer was so powerfully influenced as to be completely swept away from his foundations. The infinite which was thus denied to philosophy and to science, Hamilton by no means designed to remove from human thought and affection. Denying it as he primarily did, not to thought universally, but only to the formulated thought which constitutes philosophy, he restored it to our conceptions as an object of faith. The infinite, which we may not formally know by the methods of logic and philosophy, we may yet receive to our undoubting belief; and every great aspect of it which science cannot measure, nor logic embrace, nor philosophy expound or explore, we may conceive as distinct, and rely upon as real. Every religious affection of reverence, love, and gratitude may find its proper object in this infinite of our faith.

This devout spirit of Hamilton, which could not bear to rob the human mind of its chief solace and its strongest support, Mr. Spencer unhappily did not share. His more pitiless logic refused equally to faith, what Hamilton had denied only to philosophy. Nothing remained for him, therefore, but to organize the philosophy of the unknowable, and to exclude God alike from the knowledge, the faith, and the affections of men.

For this wide sweep of skepticism the habitual carelessness of Hamilton had provided too ample a justification. That great authority, in the subsequent progress of his discussions, did not confine his denials to the precise points to which he had at first limited them. Carried away by the earnestness with which he endeavored to defend his original thesis, that "the infinite, not being a positive in knowledge," cannot become the basis of our philosophy, he went on to declare the

idea of the infinite "unthinkable," and even "inconceivable;" and he indulged in an extravagance of statement which his original positions did not involve, and which he subsequently disavowed.

How a thing which is absolutely unthinkable and inconceivable can become the object of faith, Hamilton did not attempt to show. Faith is undeniably one of the forms of human thought, and that which is essentially "unthinkable," is as impossible to faith as to knowledge. Hamilton's unhappy development of his scheme had paved the way for a wider extension of it than he designed to give. Mansel followed in the track of his distinguished master, and affirmed even more broadly the same general doctrine; and when Mr. Spencer, devoid of that counteracting influence of religion which had restrained his predecessors, approached the subject, he found the way clear for the comprehensive denial which has become the principle of his system. The infinite, the absolute, the unconditioned, is unthinkable and inconceivable; it can then no more be grasped by faith than by philosophy, and can no more be believed than it can be known. All that remained was to recognize it as a real, though vague and indeterminate, postulate of our thought, which it is impossible either to formulate for our knowledge, or to distinguish for our belief; and of which, we can only say that we admit its existence, as something wholly beyond the bounds of definite knowledge. The work of giving the form and value of a profound philosophical doctrine, to what was originally only an oversight, Mr. Spencer seems to have cordially assumed. It has become his great aim to illustrate and enforce the idea that the absolute, the unconditioned, is beyond all possibility of our knowledge—or more briefly, *that the infinite is unknowable.*

That Mr. Spencer should have devoted to this hopeless and melancholy attempt all the high talents which have made him a leader of thought among men, is the more to be regretted because the work was not only needless, but really at variance with the bold and fine reasonings in which the foundation of his system is laid. The novel doctrines which mark the advance of our generation in physical speculation have changed the aspect of teleological questions, and have imposed new necessities upon the disputants on either side in that great

debate. Such a change in the position of their opponents the physicists have been prompt to discern, without, however, perceiving that a similar change is involved in their own. The almost limitless periods of geological history, the gradual evolution of the nebular hypothesis, and the now asserted doctrines of a universal evolution of the organic life of the globe, they clearly see involve a change in the natural theology of Paley, Brougham, Hugh Miller, and the whole group of teleologists of the last half century. What the scientists have failed to see, is the fact that the progress of scientific discussion has modified also their own position, and exposed all mere mechanical and materialistic views to attack from a new quarter.

The fundamental doctrine of our day is the affirmation of the reality and universality of *force;* and since force is not cognizable by any sense, or observable through any instrument, the whole foundation of the positive philosophy is swept away. That philosophy holds that science can recognize nothing but the facts of observation; and that all affirmation of abstract metaphysical entities, like cause and substance, is groundless and illegitimate. But force is as abstract as cause or substance; nay, it is more so, for causes and substances are existing things, cognizable through our perceptive faculties, while force is something not only abstract, but imperceptible. The positive philosophy of Comte which, in common with recent science, affirms largely the existence of force, is inconsistent both with itself and with our best scientific determinations, and Mr. Spencer loudly disclaims it.

But not only does the scientific mind affirm force as a universal reality; it moreover maintains that broad doctrine of the correlation of forces which implies their substantial unity under whatever varied forms. These are not separate and independent realities, but varying aspects of one great energy pervading the universe. This energy, too, is changeless and persistent, not increasing nor yet diminishing from moment to moment or from age to age, but unceasing in its action, and through all its mutations remaining absolutely fixed in amount.

Here, then, we have, as the result of all physical speculation, the existence of an eternal and unchanging reality called force

or energy, which is the ground of all the phenomena of the universe.

The bearing of this great determination upon teleological views, Mr. Spencer was the first of the eminent scientists of our time to see. He discerned that science and religion alike postulate the existence of a reality beyond our senses, and he has wrought out this conception into a beautiful distinctness.

In his discussion of the persistence of force,* he shows that the great physical doctrine of the continuity of motion can be inferred only from the assumption of the indestructibility of matter; and that, similarly, the indestructibility of matter can be deduced only from the continuity of motion. But to prove each of these doctrines by the other, is an illegitimate process. We cannot infer one of these truths from the other, and then turn and allege the derived truth as proof of that from which we have obtained it. Hence, we have no independent evidence of either of these fundamental truths of science; one or both of them must be ascertained by some other process than inductive reasoning.

The real and only foundation of these truths is found, he maintains, in *the assumption of the persistence of force.* In every attempt to measure or estimate the amount, either of matter or of motion, we must assume some unit of measure; and this assumption, fundamental to the whole proceeding, implies necessarily that the unit so assumed is to be taken as a constant quantity. The grain weight by which the chemist assures himself that the quantity of carbon in a given combustion is undiminished, and the greater unit of the astronomer who measures celestial attractions at the other end of the series of quantities, alike imply a reference to gravity, and assume it to be forever constant and unchanging. This constancy, however, cannot itself be proved, since, in order to prove it, we should need other weights and units of measure, which again must be gravitating masses. Hence we are driven to assume the persistence of force as the only possible basis of physical reasoning. The consequence of this view he states as follows:—

In chapter iv we saw that the unknown power of which neither beginning nor end can be conceived, is present to us as that un-

* "First Principles," Part II, chap. viii.

shaped material of consciousness which is shaped afresh in every thought. Our inability to conceive its limitation is thus simply the obverse of our inability to put an end to the thinking subject while still continuing to think. . . . And as we here see, the truth that force is indestructible is the obverse of the truth, that the unknown cause of the changes going on in consciousness is indestructible. So that the persistence of consciousness constitutes at once our immediate experience of the persistence of force, and imposes on us the necessity we are under of asserting its persistence.

§ 76. Thus in all ways there is forced on us the fact that here is an ultimate truth given in our mental constitution. It is not only a datum of science, but it is a datum which even the assertion of our nescience involves. Whoever alleges that the inability to conceive a beginning or end of the universe is a *negative* result of our mental structure, cannot deny that our consciousness of the universe as persistent is a *positive* result of our mental structure. And this persistence of the universe is the persistence of the unknown cause, power, or force, which is manifested to us through all phenomena.

Such, then, is the foundation of any possible system of positive knowledge. Deeper than demonstration, deeper even than definite cognition, deep as the very nature of mind, is the postulate at which we have arrived. . . . The sole truth which thus transcends experience by underlying it is the persistence of force.—Pp. 257, 258.

This great and remarkable conclusion lays the foundation for a doctrine of theism which is proof against all direct attack, and especially from such attack on the scientific side. If it is true that every exercise of our own physical force is met by a resisting force in objects around us, and that the two stand to each other in the relation of action and reaction, it follows that we have a most intimate relation with the infinite force of the universe, and that we are compelled to recognize the existence of that force in our every movement and act. No more solid basis for a harmony between the religious and the scientific determinations could be wished, or even imagined, than this doctrine is capable of furnishing.

But Mr. Spencer, after having thus successfully proved the existence of this infinite cause of all phenomena, and after laying claim to all the merits of the harmony thence arising, proceeds to nullify completely all that he has done, by assuring us that this infinite reality, the existence of which is the very deepest datum of consciousness, is forever unknowable. We cannot grasp nor formulate the idea, so as to give it a place in our

philosophy; we cannot make the reality which it discloses an object of faith, nor ally ourselves to it by any devout affection —it is the unknown God.

But on what ground is the infinite, of whose reality we are thus profoundly certain, cut off from our knowledge? Let us inquire a little into the reasons of the procedure.

The weakness of many of the assigned grounds Mr. Bowne has already shown us. It will not be worth while to spend time upon the allegation that we cannot conceive an eternal past and an eternal future, when the Infinite Unknown is declared by Mr. Spencer himself to be without beginning or end. Neither need we waste words in proving that the idea of self-existence is not unthinkable, since Mr. Spencer pronounces his unknown verity to be the first cause—the unoriginated cause of all phenomena. A being whose existence is underived is necessarily self-existent, whether we name it God, or call it matter, or pronounce it unknowable.

But Mr. Spencer contends that we can know only by classifying under some more comprehensive idea; and that hence the most comprehensive ideas, since they are incapable of being thus referred, cannot properly be known. Moreover, the first cause is, of necessity, singular—it stands alone. There is no other such thing with which it can be compared or classed, and therefore it can never be an object of knowledge. He says:—

> The first cause, the infinite, the absolute, to be known at all, must be classed. To be positively thought of, it must be thought, of as such or such, as of this or that kind. . . . There cannot be more than one first cause. . . . The unconditioned, as classable neither with any form of the conditioned, nor with any other unconditioned, cannot be classed at all.—*First Principles*, p. 81.

The weakness of this last consideration is something surprising. The first cause cannot be classed because there can be no more first causes with which to group it! Did Mr. Spencer never happen to think that the same thing is true of the first wheelbarrow, or the first steamboat? There is no other first wheelbarrow with which to class it, and therefore it, too, must be forever unclassed and unknowable! The greatest of dramatists—Shakspeare—must also be unknowable by the finite

mind, because knowing is classing, and there is no other greatest dramatist wherewith to form a class.

The first cause cannot be classed! When then, let us ask, is a thing classed? Plainly, when it is described by a general term, for this is but the name of a genus or class. Now the word "cause" is as truly and obviously a general term as any other in the language. Indeed, why does Mr. Spencer designate the infinite cause as *first*, except to distinguish it from others with which it is classed, and with which it would, in the absence of such designation, be completely confounded. But the first of a series, or group, as properly belongs to the series as the tenth, or the thousandth. The first cause, therefore, can be classed—is classed. It is a *cause*, whatever that may be; identified with the class of causes, and distinguished from all others of the class by its peculiar characteristic of *first*. Surely, this difficulty need not any longer give us concern.

But we are still farther told that the infinite, being the widest of all ideas, cannot itself be included under any other, and so cannot be known, since to be known it must be classed. This account of the nature of knowledge as consisting in classification, Mr. Spencer borrows again from Hamilton, and expounds at considerable length. We know a thing only as we can refer it to some wider group of which it forms a part; and, as the infinite cannot form part of any wider group, it can never be an object of knowledge.

This theory of knowledge, though true for the form, is incorrect for the substance, and in itself gives no intelligible account of the process of knowing. Classes are not any more readily known to us than individuals; nay, they are less directly known, for objects must first be known to us individually, and their common characters noted and named, before they can be formed into a class. Hence our knowledge of a class can never be more complete or satisfactory than has been our knowledge of the individuals composing it, from which every item and element of our class-knowledge has been derived. The individual, therefore, forever precedes the class. Subsequently, however, the developed thought-knowledge gives far greater breadth of view, and in this respect has an unquestionable superiority to the individual knowledge in which it originated. Class-knowledge, then, is simply the knowledge of that which

we have observed in individuals, and have generalized for future convenience.

Hence, when I refer a thing to its class, I do so only by noting in it as an individual, certain marks which I have before noted in other things. When classed, therefore, a thing is more comprehensible, simply because there are in our conception of it certain ideas which we have before observed and familiarized.

The alleged impossibility of classing the infinite arises from not distinguishing between the two applications of the term *infinite*. It may mean either the abstract idea of infinitude, or the concrete thing in which that idea is realized. Every general term has these two spheres of application—it describes both a group of ideas and a group of objects. Thus the term *man* sometimes designates a certain group of ideas; as, when we say that every man is a rational animal, these two ideas, *rational* and *animal*, form the class characteristics. On the other hand, we may say that every man is Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, or African. The general term in these two instances denotes the objects, and connotes the ideas, mentioned. Now classification implies both these things: it groups the objects, and it does this by means of the ideas, of our thought.

What is the object, then, to be classed, in this concept of the infinite? Not, certainly, the abstract idea itself; but the object by means of the idea. As long, therefore, as the infinite is simply the abstract infinite, we have only a concept, and no objective thing at all. Until it is embodied in some concrete reality, there can be no question of classing it, since it has no real existence. But when it is so embodied, then the infinite takes definite content; it becomes at once an infinite something —a cause, a power, a reality, or whatever else. Now as cause, or power, or reality, it can be classed. These are all class names; they distinguish and group objects into classes. The moment that the infinite or the absolute becomes real, that moment it becomes capable of classification. It must embody some additional concept, and may be classed by the content realized in it.

The process of knowing, indeed, on Mr. Spencer's theory of it, is wholly unsatisfactory. We know an object only by forming it with others into a class. This class, however, we can know only by including it in a broader one—which itself can furnish

no knowledge, because to know we must include the thing known in a generalization broader than itself. There is no point, therefore, at which knowledge can begin. Classification cannot give knowledge as long as there is a wider class in which to include the narrower, and by which to know it. But when we have carried the generalization so far as to reach the widest and most inclusive of all classes, this, we are told, is forever unknowable — cannot be formulated into knowledge at all.

A true theory of knowledge by classification teaches us, on the contrary that objects are perceived first as individuals, with a distinct, though partial, cognition. This knowledge becomes greater when we are able to group the individual with others previously known, in a class, by their common possession of some perceived character. This group we know still better when we can refer it by the same process to a yet larger class, through its possession of some element of wider application and still more familiar knowledge. At each step of the ascending scale of classes we gain some additional familiarity of knowledge; and when we have reached the widest of all conceivable classes, and include the object, originally observed as an individual, in the broadest of all conceivable generalizations, we attribute to it the most important element of all knowledge, as we discern in it the most fundamental and essential of all our ideas.

Thus to describe heat by referring it to the class in which it immediately belongs—its proximate genus, as the logicians say —might puzzle even the philosopher; but when we go to the remoter class in which that is included, and describe it as "a mode of motion," the two ideas designated, which are of the widest extension, are also of our most familiar knowledge. The information given is of limited amount, but it is of the clearest and surest kind. Motion is one of our familiar experiences, and any thing which is classed by that mark needs no farther explanation. So if we describe a *diatom* by its nearest class, by which alone the scientist cares to know it, the reference might, to many readers, be completely unintelligible; but if we refer it to its remoter and more comprehensive group, and call it a minute plant, the distinctions conveyed are few, and impart little knowledge; but that little is familiar in our experience, and the statement is of the most intelligible

character. Our widest conceptions are the most familiar to us; we meet them in every thing around us, and they possess, in consequence of this great familiarity to the mind, a clearness which makes them always intelligible to us, and fits them to explain and define, in some general way, every other and more specific form of knowledge or thought. Hence, as we approach the broadest and most inclusive terms of language, the familiarity of knowledge and the intelligibleness of thought increase upon us; and when we reach the ultimate and simple terms of our consciousness, they are knowable beyond all others. No terms are so intelligible as those which describe the simple activities of the mind itself, the forms of its thought and feeling, of its activity and its force, of its efforts and results.

Until, then, the infinite has some content describable by some one of those very general terms, it has no reality whatever. It is purely a figment of the imagination, and the question of its classification cannot arise. We do not classify mere dreams. But the moment that the infinite becomes realized, by embodying some one of the great essential elements of our knowledge—activity, force, power, intelligence, or whatever else—we can classify it by that element. If it is a cause, we class it with causes; if it is a reality, we class it with realities. Any infinite which is capable of existing, is capable of being classed. The whole difficulty arises from failing to distinguish between the abstract and the concrete, between the ideal infinite of our fancy, and the objective infinite of reality.

The same remark applies to the alleged impossibility of conceiving the infinite under plurality and difference. There may, indeed, be a concept of the infinite so wide as to include every thing, even the finite in all its forms; and this infinite, if it existed, could not be known by plurality and difference. We cannot know the all and something more. But this infinite, as Mr. Bowne has well shown, has no reality, and can have none; it is a mere product of the imagination, which cannot indeed be known, because it does not objectively exist. But if the infinite is known as a reality, then it must of necessity be distinguished from its opposite. If it exists as cause, it is not merely an effect; and being different from an effect, may be, and must be, known as so differing. Any infinite which is

undistinguished from its opposite, amounts simply to 0; it is wholly without content; and it is unknowable, for the same reason that any finite without content is unknowable—the very good reason that the idle figment of speculation has no reality, and no content, to be known. Any infinite, on the other hand, which is in its real nature distinguished from the finite, not only may, but must, be known under plurality and difference.

The reasons, then, which Mr. Spencer assigns for affirming that the infinite is unknowable, fail to support his view. They have their only basis in the confusion which attends reasonings on the very abstruse themes which come to view in these high and remote regions of abstract thought. In any exact analysis they fade quite away. A careful discrimination between the varying senses of the principal terms employed, shows that the infinite is amenable to all the ordinary laws of thought, in so far at least as to be an object of definite consciousness and knowledge.

The same fact will appear yet more distinctly from a consideration of the process of knowing. What is it to know? and when do we have knowledge? Without going into the nature of the process of knowing, two things may be affirmed about it. In order to know, there must be *certainty*, and there must be *discrimination*. We must first be certain that something exists, and next, we must be able to distinguish this existing thing, by some definite mark, from all things else. When these two conditions exist we have what may properly be called knowledge.

The realization, however, of these two conditions is by no means so simple a thing as may be supposed by those who have not been wont to analyze the process of knowing. Our knowledge of nature is not originally a knowledge of things as they exist; for things are aggregates of many particulars, and the knowledge of such an aggregate is a highly complex act, resulting from the synthesis of many minor, and more specific, cognitions. An apple is given to us, by perception, through the hand, as something smooth, spherical, and solid; through the eye, as something round, colored, and shaded; through the nostrils, as something fragrant; through the tongue, as sweet and aromatic; but each of these percepts came to us originally

as something independent and distinct; and the union of them into a single object was a work of time, and the result of a process of reasoning carried on according to certain laws of thought inherent in the mind itself. The statement and vindication of these laws would demand more space than we can now afford, and perhaps it is not needful. All that we now need to recognize, is the fact that a somewhat elaborate process of thinking is requisite to combine these primary elements of knowledge into a single whole of which the mind can predicate objective reality, and which it can recognize as a substance with distinguishable attributes. Without, then, entering into such a lengthened analysis, we may assume that the mind has a knowledge of things as existing under this great relation; and that this knowledge consists essentially in the two elements above mentioned—a certainty of the existence of the thing, and a discrimination of it from other things around it. The assurance of reality, alone, might be pronounced too vague and too loose an act to be considered true knowledge; but when to this we add the cognition of the object as a substance possessing distinguishable attributes, the process of knowledge is theoretically complete, and the reality of its object becomes undeniable. We know, when we are sure that a thing exists, and perceive in it definite marks by means of which we can distinguish it from every other thing. If this is not knowledge it will be difficult for any one to tell what knowledge is. Mr. Spencer has not made the beginning of an effort to discriminate and define it, further than the attempt, after Hamilton, to identify it with the process of classification.

With this view, then, of knowledge, we proceed to ask whether the infinite is knowable? That its reality is known, is not a matter of question. The "fundamental verity"—the "absolute reality" which underlies all phenomena—Mr. Spencer is foremost to proclaim. Whoever else is doubtful or ignorant about it, he recognizes, in varied forms of expression, and in instances without number, our certainty of the existence of the great Reality which surrounds and embraces us.

The second element of knowledge is equally unquestionable. We not only know, but we discriminate, this reality. It is no vague and undiscriminated thing that we know, but one which

is distinguished by many cognizable marks from all other objects of knowledge.

For the proof of this statement we need not go further than to the writings of Mr. Spencer himself. He is every-where prompt to disclose the specific and determinate forms of knowledge under which he cognizes the infinite. Let us look for a moment at some of the more positive and distinct of the names that he applies to it. It would quite astonish one who should judge simply from Mr. Spencer's dictum that the infinite is unknowable, to find by how many distinct and determinate marks he separates it from all other objects. It would be impossible to quote any great part of his numerous assertions of specific quality as distinguishing this unknowable reality. But referring to his "First Principles," we find that he designates it thus: On p. 99, as "an incomprehensible, omnipresent power;" on p. 108 he affirms our "consciousness of an inscrutable power;" on pp. 109 and 113 he terms it an "ultimate cause;" and on pp. 222 and 223, repeatedly "the unknown cause." Of this cause or force he declares that "our conception of space *is produced* by it," (p. 231;) that it is "*co-extensive with all orders* of phenomena;" that each thinker "is one of the myriad agencies through whom the unknown cause *works;*" and that "the unknown cause *produces* in him a certain belief." (P. 122.)

Let us sum up, then, Mr. Spencer's notices of the character and quality of the unknowable.

It is known as a "verity"—of course it is by that mark *classed* with verities and distinguished from falsities. By its grand characteristic of "reality," it is again classed with real objects and distinguished from imaginary ones. By its characteristic of "fundamental," it is placed in the category of substances, and distinguished from all mere phenomena. Furthermore, it is known as *active*, as *possessing force;* and it is abundantly affirmed to be *a cause*, and to produce effects.

Under all these varied, obvious, and great distinctions, is this transcendent thing discriminated and classed. It is a verity, a reality, a substance, a force, a power, a cause; it acts, it works, it produces, it is omnipresent through space, and persistent through all time. By what more definite or weighty marks could any object of thought be distinguished? Under what

clearer discriminations can any thing be conceived? Plainly, every element which can be suggested as contributing to the formation of knowledge is present in this instance; we have the strongest mental assurance conceivable—"deeper even," Mr. Spencer says, "than any definite cognition, deep as the very nature of the mind;" we have the clearest discrimination of the nature of the object as *real* and not imaginary, as a *verity* and not an illusion, as *fundamental* and not phenomenal, as *active* and *productive* and not passive. We classify it with realities, with verities, with substances, with forces, with causes; and we distinguish it, as one of these, from other substances and forces and causes; it is the first, the fundamental, the infinite, and the ultimate.

It is in vain, after all this formal, deliberate, and constant description and classification, to tell us that the infinite is unknowable. If such delineations do not prove the knowableness of that which they describe, there is no meaning in words. There can no longer be any pretense of ignorance or doubt in regard to the nature of that which is thus fully discriminated. If Mr. Spencer had been more cautious in his affirmation or more reticent in his expression, there might possibly have been some room left for the assertion of his position. Had he maintained that there may be something existing around us of which we can have no knowledge, of which we cannot tell whether it is force or not, cause or not; which may be substance and may be phenomenon; of which we can predicate nothing and deny nothing, and which, therefore, cannot be classed with any other object of thought; had Mr. Spencer confined himself to vaguenesses of this kind, there might have been some ground for the position that a thing thus utterly indeterminate lies beyond the limits of definite thought, and is absolutely unknowable. But when, instead of these dim intimations, we find him freely presenting the infinite to us as cognizable under such definite categories as reality, force, cause, etc., the affirmation that it is unknowable becomes simply preposterous; the two statements are absolutely contradictory to each other. We are assured that we know the existence of an infinite verity; we know it as real, know that it is a cause, a substance, a force; we know that it is active and productive, know the effects it produces, and yet it is absolutely unknowable! Surely nothing can be more ob-

vious than the mutual repugnancy of such statements as these. If we do know it in all these definite forms of cognition, the least that can be said about it is that the infinite is not unknowable. If Mr. Spencer knows the infinite so far as to be able to apply to it all these distinct predicates, who shall say that a more careful scrutiny may not find reason to affirm of it other predicates, such as intelligence, personality, and moral perception? and how can the latter affirmation be forbidden, on the ground that the infinite is unknowable, by a philosophy which proclaims that the same infinite is abundantly knowable as powerful, persistent, and productive?

Mr. Spencer endeavors to escape the pressure of objections of this kind by setting up a distinction in kind between these two forces, the finite and the infinite, a distinction which he explains in the following extract:—

> It was proved (§ 18) that though, on raising an object from the ground, we are obliged to think of its downward pull as equal and opposite to our upward pull, and though it is impossible to represent these pulls as equal without representing them as like in kind, yet, since their likeness in kind would imply in the object a sensation of muscular tension which cannot be ascribed to it, we are compelled to admit that force, as it exists out of our consciousness, is not force as we know it. Hence the force of which we assert persistence is that absolute force of which we are indefinitely conscious as the necessary correlate of the force we know. Thus, by the persistence of force we really mean the persistence of some power which transcends our knowledge and conception.—P. 255.

The reasoning of this paragraph must, we think, be deemed unsatisfactory. It adds nothing to the author's preceding arguments. The passage quoted does not in itself furnish any new reason for regarding the infinite and general force of nature as one which transcends our knowledge. The only support, then, for such a doctrine must be that which is derived from those previous reasonings of Mr. Spencer which we have already shown to be fallacious.

No attempt can successfully be made to separate the infinite force from our own, on the ground that the latter is justly conceived by us as muscular tension, while the former cannot be so conceived. This argument recoils with fatal effect against the scheme which employs it. For, if force, as originally known to us, is, as Mr. Spencer here affirms, conceived by us simply as

muscular tension, and if the infinite cannot be so conceived, then the infinite cannot be conceived as force, and Mr. Spencer's whole reasoning about the infinite as force, and power, and cause, must be rejected, as bringing the subject under a category to which it cannot be conceived to belong.

If, on the other hand, the infinite is known to us as a force, and yet cannot be conceived as muscular tension—both which points we freely receive—then it follows that force is not muscular tension, and that Mr. Spencer's conception of it as such is erroneous.

The latter conclusion brings to view the real error of the reasoning which we are considering. Force is not known to us as muscular tension, but as its intellectual and immediate *antecedent.* The force which we consciously exert does sometimes result in muscular tension, but it has also other forms of manifestation. This is only one of several possible forms through which our energy reveals itself, and which it will be worth while to consider for a moment.

That force is often exerted in the production of such tension is a familiar truth. We exert ourselves to lift a weight, or to thrust aside an obstruction. For this purpose our inward activity takes the form of muscular contraction; and the exercise of force becomes vividly marked in a consciousness of effort.

At another time we exert our utmost power to hear an indistinct sound, or to see a minute object. The shipwrecked sailor floating on a plank hails a distant ship, and listens for the answer. With what intensity of effort does he exert his utmost faculty of hearing to catch the reply on which his life depends! The microscopist examines some unknown organism; how intensely is he conscious of exerting his *power* of vision to mark the minute details of structure which are to give to the world a new type of existence! In these examples the exercise of our force-activity is as real, and the consciousness of it as marked, as in the case first cited; but the type of this exercise of power is not muscular tension, but a stimulus of the nervous sensibility—what is called innervation.

Again, a student is pondering some abstruse problem. He rejects all muscular exertion. He lies passive in his bed, he darkens his room, he shuts out every sound and every sight of objects around him, and exerts his inward force to its ut-

most stretch to solve his problem, to conceive his plan, or to perfect his invention. Here, neither muscular tension nor nervous excitement is the form in which force is manifested. When an architect conceives the plan of a building, or a poet the idea of a poem; when a reasoner constructs mentally the form of a great argument, it is the intelligence in the form of imagination or reason which is exercised; and this conscious exercise of the innermost faculty of thinking is attended with as definite a sense of the exertion of power as can be discerned in any one of the other examples mentioned.

Force, then, is not in any proper sense muscular tension; it is the stimulus of nervous sensibility, or the conscious power of inward thought, as well. All these are but manifestations of one great principle inherent in our spiritual nature—activity. We are by nature active, and we are conscious of the exercise of this activity in varied and numerous forms. It expresses itself in our inward movements by energy of resolution, by earnestness of passion, and by intensity of reflection; and in our outward acts, by vigor of muscular exertion, and by vividness of perception; but in all, we are conscious of the exercise of that inherent activity which is the characteristic of a spiritual and moral being—power or force. If, however, force is not to be identified with its lowest and humblest expression, muscular tension, but is to be properly conceived as the antecedent of it, then the argument of Mr. Spencer loses all its validity. If force as originally known to us is a spiritual activity, there is no longer any reason why the force of the infinite should not be conceived of as identical in kind with our own; that it, too, may be conceived of as a spiritual activity governing matter; and the assertion that the infinite force, not being conceivable as muscular tension, is unknowable, falls to the ground. The infinite force becomes, in such a conception of it, perfectly related to our own; the one is the type of the other. On the ground of this analogy of the two, Mr. Spencer's designation of the infinite as a force is intelligible and legitimate; and it is so on no other ground. The infinite force and our human activity are identical in kind, though at a boundless remove in degree; our consciousness of the latter explains to us the former. The infinite is, as Mr. Spencer has said, a cause, a force, a power, as each one of us also is; it is active and pro-

ductive, as we also are. Under these great and simple forms of thought, which express the most fundamental, important, and best-known qualities of our own being, the infinite is truly and justly conceivable by us, and therefore it is not unknowable. The conclusion is irresistible. If we truly know the infinite, the absolute, the unconditioned, as force, then we know it as analogous to that which we know best in ourselves; nor can it be maintained that the infinite force is unknowable, without also maintaining the absurd position that we ourselves are so. Force and cause, activity and production, we know and conceive only as we are conscious of them in ourselves; and to affirm the existence of a force not analogous to our own, is to affirm that of which we have no possible idea, and which is utterly unmeaning. Either the infinite is not a force, or it is knowable in so far as it is such; and if knowable in so distinct and important a particular, it cannot be declared unknowable, except in that vastness of extent by which the infinite is distinguished from the finite.

This universal and persistent force, then—the assumption of which is, in Mr. Spencer's view, the first necessity of science—is truly conceivable as analogous with our own; it is only by a narrow and unphilosophical conception of human force that he has contrived to separate them. Our own force expresses itself in conceptions of intelligence, imagination, and design, and in governing matter in accordance with these conceptions; we may justly, then, conceive the infinite as active in similar modes of exertion, and with similar results. The precise methods by which such results are accomplished are, in both cases, hidden from us. We know not by what agencies thought is carried on, or muscular exertion effected, by our own minds; it is no wonder, therefore, if we are equally ignorant—we cannot be more so—of the methods of the infinite; but the latter is no more unknowable on that account than the former. The conscious thought, the designing intelligence, the productive agency, of our own spiritual being, become to us types whereby to conceive of the infinite force that pervades nature; and no philosophy which is worthy of the name forbids the devout soul to recognize that infinite force, as the archetype in the image of which man is made.

We can scarcely deem it necessary to say that in affirming

the infinite to be knowable, we do not assert the possibility of a complete knowledge of it. Religion has always been prompt and clear in denying that we can "find out the Almighty to perfection." Knowable it is, and must be, only so far as it conforms to the type of our human minds; but its limitless extent through the abysses of space, and the eternities of past and future time, is beyond, is forever beyond, our ken. Yet in its own nature knowable any existing infinite must be, otherwise it is simply unknowable and inconceivable; and if unknowable, then, by the surest of logical conclusions, *unmentionable*, and indescribable as cause, force, being, or any thing else. Knowable, therefore, to some extent, and conceivable in its characteristic elements, the infinite must be to any one who speaks and reasons about it with sense or meaning.

Nor is it any presumptuous assertion of complete knowledge that Mr. Spencer censures on the part of the religious thinkers. His condemnation of religion is, that "it has all along professed to have some knowledge of that which transcends knowledge." (P. 101.) It is not a complete and exhaustive knowledge of the infinite that Mr. Spencer denies to religion; but even the claim of possessing *some* knowledge of this great reality is distinctly rebuked as an impiety.

But on this theme we need not dwell. We have abundantly shown that the whole foundation of Mr. Spencer's science is laid in the doctrine that we know the infinite not only as a reality, but under certain determinate forms of reality, such as cause and force. In this assertion he has cleared the way for a far more definite and complete harmony of religious with scientific teaching than, unhappily, he is willing to acknowledge. The alleged contradictions of knowledge in all attempts to conceive the infinite fade away, upon examination, into mere illusions, and leave the grand Reality intelligible and clear to us. He is not only the cause and author of our being, but its object and end. He is still the guide of our way, the defense of our steps, the companion of our pilgrimage, the object of our love, and our exceeding great reward.

Mr. Spencer's philosophy is, unhappily, likely to undermine the faith of many in a personal God and a moral Governor of the world, and is on that account greatly to be deplored; but one influence it must have of high importance and perma-

nent value. He presents so elaborate a defense of the doctrine of the unknowableness of the Infinite that it is difficult to see that any thing remains to be added to it. The discussion which this theory must provoke cannot fail to be thorough and complete. We have no doubts and no fears for the result. Out of the mist and confusion of the controversy, will emerge a clearer and more certain view of truth. Perplexing antinomies will give place to a substantial harmony of thought; the barriers which have been raised up to shut out the Absolute from human knowledge will be swept aside; and the Infinite will be henceforth clearer to our human view, and nearer to our human sympathy, for the discussions which Mr. Spencer has evoked.

ART. VII.—"TOINETTE."

A GENUINELY good novel is a work of art so exceedingly rare, even among our multitude of books, that every lover of good literature and healthy sentiment may well rejoice when one appears; but a good novel, by a new author, upon a new subject, is a rarity indeed. Such is Mr. Henry Churton's new novel, "Toinette," from the press of J. B. Ford & Co., of New York.

There is no doubt but the late war, taken in connection with its origin and consequences, must long constitute the most fertile field to the writer of American fiction. Owing to peculiar circumstances, this is yet almost an unworked deposit. Compared with the richness of its possible resources, the results have hitherto been but meager. Among all the novels based upon the war there has hardly been one really good one.

It is, therefore, a matter of no little credit to Mr. Churton that, with the vast riches of the last two decades of our national history spread out before him, he has selected the most poetic and important which it presented for the subject of his novel. He has cast aside the shell, and gone at once to the very heart of this era of unnumbered marvels. It is not a story of the war, and yet the war is a part of his story. Without violating the facts of history, he has been strong enough to prevent history from destroying the coherence and artistic development of his tale. Without ignoring the war and its incidents,

he has gone behind and beneath it, and builded upon its causes and consequences. With such skill and absence of partisanship has this been done, that it is nearly impossible to decide upon which side were his experiences of that struggle. That he has seen all that he describes no one can doubt. There is the faithfulness of the daguerreotype in all his delineations, but whether he wore the blue or gray, the keenest observer of his written page could not decide. He has worked out the problem of universal humanity which was hidden under the struggle, and traced the effects of bondage and freedom upon the classes which were submitted to the influences of the war and its effects. In so doing he has manifested the keenest apprehension of artistic truth, and entitled his first venture in the field of fiction to a consideration which cannot but deepen into admiration upon its perusal.

The novelty and interest of the subject, the strength and completeness of the plot, the vivid reality of the characters, and the cultured strength of the entire work, as well as the variety of opinion which it has educed from others, demand for this volume a somewhat elaborate notice.

The author professes in this book to portray certain phases of the "Miracle of Emancipation," as he terms it. For this purpose he delineates three characters belonging exclusively to the era and generation just preceding the war:—

Manuel Hunter, county attorney and successful politician, one of those men not so abundant in the ante-war South as at the North, whose own unflagging energy, unaided by family name or influence, has achieved for himself fortune and honor.

Arthur Lovett, an ante-war planter of cultured mind, retired habits, and possessed of an unfortunate attachment for his slave Bella, whom he attempts to free, but retains in his house as his paramour, and to whom he conveys his estate, though the law declares her a slave and still the property of the father of Lovett, by whose administrator she is sold, and, under the name of Mabel, becomes the slave of Manuel Hunter.

These three characters, with a few lay figures which are introduced and delineated with great skill and naturalness, belong exclusively to the era of slavery.

There are two other characters, the hero and heroine we shall have to call them, because an absurd custom has so de-

nominated the characters which serve to connect the various phases of the plot, who are just coming to maturity when the war of the rebellion broke out, and in whose related fortunes the effects of that struggle and of emancipation are traced. Geoffrey Hunter, the son of Manuel—luxurious, indolent, refined, without vice or infirmity, unless his passion for his slave may be termed the one or the other before the war—confederate colonel and hero, wounded and a prisoner during the war, still the impassioned lover of his former slave, seeking to renew their former sinful relation, spurning the idea of marriage, blind, but saved by her love, and repentant and humbled at the last.

Counterpoised with this character is that of his slave-girl, Toinette, who has given her name to this work. She is a young quadroon girl, presented to Geoffrey by his father with numerous other chattels and the plantation of Lovett Lodge. Learning soon after that it was his dead mother's wish, the young master decides to emancipate the girl as soon as he can prepare her by education for a life of freedom. To do this he undertakes her instruction, and they become mutually and naturally enamored of each other. There is no compulsion or over-persuasion on his part, no fear of power or yielding to the will of the master, as such, on her part. Both are the subjects or victims of a love as pure as any not sanctioned by the marriage-tie can be. The conscience of Geoffrey being awakened by the results of his well-intended experiment, he secures her emancipation, takes her to Oberlin, provides for her support, and comes back in time to act a hero's part in the war. Toinette becomes a mother, and, after a time, a nurse in a Federal hospital, being there considered a white lady. Geoffrey is brought in from the field stricken with an all but mortal wound, which renders him blind until the struggle is over. By Toinette's devotion and care he is saved and restored to sight. She proves to be the daughter of Arthur Lovett, whose will is found making her his heir, by which she becomes entitled to an undivided half-interest in Lovett Lodge, the plantation formerly owned, as was supposed, by Geoffrey Hunter, and is put in possession of the same by the executrix. Here Geoffrey meets her, and proposes a renewal of their former intimacy. She admits her love, but refuses to comply with his wish, and flies from him to avoid his importunities. She comes North, and the musical talent she had

shown when young, and which Geoffrey had developed, being cultivated still farther, she makes her *débût* at the Boston Jubilee as a public singer, where Geoffrey finds her again, and, after becoming incurably blind, sees what he could not see until the scales of his peculiar past had dropped from his eyes, that a love more priceless than rubies awaited him whenever he would recognize it as the peer of his own possession.

There is another character which also touches the two eras, that of slavery and emancipation, Betty Certain, a "poor white" woman, who, by a series of most ingeniously contrived incidents, became the affianced wife of Arthur Lovett, and after his death his executrix and residuary legatee. We do not propose to give a *résumé* of the plot of this book. It is not seemingly unusually intricate, and yet when we come to think of making an analysis, we find each incident so important to the conclusion that the task is a very difficult one. We can only say that it is thoroughly consistent, artistic, and natural in its plan, and the counterplot is woven in with unusual skill.

What we wish to notice first is, that slavery is drawn without indorsement, and yet without malevolence. There is not a hint of harshness or brutality, of starvation or exposure, or any of the physical ills which constituted the stock incidents of the abolition novel. The three masters delineated are victims of, or apologists for, slavery, rather than supporters and advocates of it. Manuel Hunter is a fair representative of a great class at the South, who regretted slavery, feared its results, and yet could see no way to its extinction. There is not a whip or a blow, a harsh word or a hint of punishment, in the book. There is no evil attributed to slavery except such as of necessity inevitably grows out of the habitual and compulsory subjection of one will to another. Every ill depicted is the natural outgrowth of this abnormal relation. The effect of this relation upon the three classes—the master, the slave, and the poor white—are traced with admirable skill and faithfulness. The mind of the author seems to be thoroughly impartial, and, while nothing is hidden or extenuated which needed to be told, still nothing is set down in malice or depicted in unreal colors.

The effect of the changed relations following the war, and

growing out of it, upon these three representative minds, is so naturally and subtly drawn as hardly to impress one with its peculiar beauty until most carefully considered. The distinctions in the effects produced upon each, though clear enough when called to our attention, are so delicate that one wonders how the writer came to observe them and build upon them.

It has been objected by some, that there is no need at this time of a book of this character. This objection is based upon the following ideas: First, the assumption that slavery vanished with emancipation; and, secondly, that wonderful timidity, which nearly a hundred years of patient forbearance made almost an essential element of our American thought the strange idea, that whatever there is or was of wrong growing out of the enslavement of the African must be covered up and hidden, carefully kept out of sight and out of mind, lest somebody's feelings should be hurt. Before the war, it almost made one an outcast to insist upon the discussion and consideration of slavery. Our people were so tender of the sinner that they could not abide that any one should reprove the sin. This feeling descended from generation to generation, until it became a part of our almost universal thought. Only its desperate assault on the national life aroused the American mind to a proper estimate of slavery. Even then, our first reply to the challenge to arms was coupled with a declaration that the national power would carefully foster and protect this institution. For a hundred years American politics, American law, and American religion had been haunted with a fear that it might offend the jealous autocrat of the sunny South, slavery. The Church, the Bench, and the Legislatures teemed with plausible apologists, who vied with each other in adulation and support of an institution and defense of a fact which they all pretended to deplore as an evil of the first magnitude, but which they were bound to make no effort to check or remove. No such sentiment has ever been cherished toward any other evil. No one has ever failed to denounce murder, or blamed him who did it, out of regard for the murderer's feelings; nor larceny, lest the thief should be offended; nor drunkenness, lest the heart of the rumseller should be wrung. It was only slavery which could claim this exemption from exposure or rebuke. This spirit is not yet extinct. Whatever refers, even remotely,

to the evil attendant upon or resulting from slavery, is yet not infrequently tabooed as "abolition literature," and we are told that we have no need of such a book at this time.

It was with a sigh of relief when the war was over, and emancipation an accomplished fact, that our people said, "Thank God, that bone of contention is gone!" The whole matter was regarded as settled. Church and State would be at peace hereafter. The eternal negro was laid forever, and could never more trouble saints at worship nor senators in council.

It was a strange, and is likely to prove a sad, mistake. Limbs may be freed by a stroke of the pen, shackles may be broken by the blow of a hammer, but soul and mind cannot throw off the marks of servitude in an hour. The worst elements of slavery were beyond the reach of proclamations, constitutional amendments, or legislation in pursuance thereof. Emancipation was but the beginning of the cure of slavery. It removed in a great measure its physical ills. Its moral and intellectual evils were untouched by it. They still remain deeply engraven on the soul of the master, the poor white, and the freedman, in different characters on each, but in each case revealing the same sad record of degradation and demoralization resulting from the continued existence of this monster evil. Emancipation removed the fact of bondage; time alone can remove its results. Instead of being ended, this work is just begun.

This is the lesson of "Toinette," a lesson which should be carefully conned by every Christian mind. It is not a work of the past. The whip, the task, the physical side of slavery, has no place in it. The soul-blight of that moral sirocco, and its influence upon men and women of to-day, alone is portrayed. It is a lesson for the present and the future which is shadowed forth in its pages. The author has most appropriately put upon his title-page the words of Delilah to Samson, "Thou hast put forth a riddle unto the children of my people." The riddle which this volume propounds, put in a sentence, is this: Slavery has seared the eyeballs of all who were submitted to its influences, how shall its brand be obliterated? The author does not profess to give a remedy. He only states the proposition, ascertains the disease, and leaves the solution,

the remedy, to others. It is true that he hints at fuller knowledge, a broader culture, as a remedy, but it is only a hint. He evidently does not consider the remedy within the purview of this work; and the completeness with which he has put forth the riddle can but leave every thoughtful mind to hope that Mr. Churton may ere long find himself at liberty to state, with equal force and exactness, the solution.

As a work of art, "Toinette" leaves but little to be desired. The hand of the scholar, the mind of the philosopher, and the heart of the Christian worker, illuminate every page. A pre-Raphaelite fidelity of description and delineation marks every character and incident of the work.

It should be noted, too, that there is no character in it which awakens our disgust, no monster of iniquity, no deliberate doer of evil. Of error and misfortune there is enough to awaken our pity, of crime and mystery enough to awaken horror, but all is traced with unmistakable accuracy to the horrible shadow which has darkened every life which is portrayed. How grand a character would have been old Manuel Hunter if he had not carried weight in the race of life? How fragrant might have been the life of Arthur Lovett, with beautiful and kindly thoughts and acts, had not slavery blasted it? What suffering might not have been spared Geoffrey and Toinette had its baleful star never glared upon their lives. And Betty Certain, what might she not have been had she not grown up, as she says, "sorter between the hammer and the anvil!"

As to this character, Betty Certain, we must say one word. The conventional division in works of American fiction of the entire population of the South has been into the planter, the slave, and the poor white, the latter of which has been usually portrayed as the very picture of mental and moral degradation. This has long been a matter of just and indignant denial by the people of the South. Here at length we have one of the non-slaveholding class of southern whites—a woman, poor and uneducated, except such culture as an eager mind gathers from books which chance throws in her way, who, for stern integrity, undying devotion, and the grandeur of Christian forgiveness, has rarely a peer in fiction. She is *the* character of the book, and alone is worth a whole host of the volumes of chit-chat of which we consume so many.

It has been intimated that the fact that Manuel Hunter and Betty Certain sometimes use the dialect of the common people of the South, and at other times employ unexceptional English, is unnatural. This objection argues little knowledge of either human nature or southern life. With regard to the old lawyer, any one who will drop into the office of one of the old time practitioners at the South even at this day, can convince himself in an hour of the author's literal adherence to truth in the old man's dialect. As to Betty Certain's language, it is well explained by herself on page 173:—

> Do you mind your horse, Polydore, that you bought of Mr. Duke? He was branded when he was young on the left shoulder. It don't show when he comes sleek and glossy to your library door for you to mount in the morning. He is just wrapped in gleaming silver then, and the badge of ownership and service is hidden. But when he has been ridden a day, and dust and heat have soiled his coat, and he comes home sweaty and drooping, then the brand stands out plain, "D." He is your pet horse now, worthy of the finest stall and keeping, but he was once Mr. Duke's scraggy foal, and slept in an old field without his supper. The brand tells the tale on him when he sweats. So when trouble comes on me the mark comes out strong, and I show the "poor-white" brand. It's on my tongue and in my heart, "Mr. Geoffrey, an' will be while I live on earth; and after I go to heaven, too, if people who own niggers and put on airs come there."

Every close observer of human nature knows that under strong excitement, or in recounting the events of our younger days, the tongue almost invariably goes back to the language of early life. That the author of "Toinette" should have observed this law of mind, and made his characters conform to it, is one of the clearest proofs of his ability as a novelist. It is noteworthy, too, that for the first time the dialect of the country people of the South has been correctly reproduced. Whoever is familiar with the peculiarities of expression among the poor people of the various sections of the South, will see with what scrupulous exactitude the author has confined himself to the dialect of the region where his plot is laid. The quaint humor of these people is also preserved with the greatest faithfulness. Betty Certain is a thoroughly natural "poor white" of the hill-country of the Atlantic slope. In all her elements she can be paralleled in almost any school district of that sec-

tion. She is a grand type of that class to whose sturdy elements the South must look for its future redemption.

Every thing about the book is fresh and original. Even the author's views of public characters are strikingly unique and graphic. It will startle many to think of the "martyr-President" as the typical "poor white," yet such is the view here taken, and we must admit its force, though half unwillingly. In those of Lee, Davis, and others, there is the same analytic power displayed that marks his own creations. The pictures of the war, though somewhat incidental, are peculiarly vivid and realistic, as are all the author's descriptions.

As a whole, then, in literary merit, in moral tone, and in artistic power, as a picture of southern life, and a statement of a great moral problem, "Toinette" must stand in the front rank of American fiction. Whoever begins its perusal will not rest until it is completed, and will then find upon his lips so sweet a "farewell," as the southern people say of the taste after the liquor is drunk, that they will long for another draught from the same fountain.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, April, 1875. (Philadelphia.)—1. Present State of the Baptismal Controversy. 2. The Philosophy of Evolution. 3. Charter of Brown University. 4. Sibboleth. 5. The Vatican Council and Civil Allegiance. 6. The Native Language of Palestine. 7. The Puritan Exodus. 8. Dean Alford.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, April, 1875. (Andover.)—1. Principles of Textual Criticism. 2. The Conservative Reformation and its Theology. 3. The First Chapter of Genesis. 4. Assyrian and Babylonian Monuments in America. 5. Professor Albert Hopkins. 6. The Power of Islam.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1875. (Cincinnati.)—1. John Frederic Oberlin—A Great Life. 2. Illogical Ethics. 3. The Religious Education of Children. 4. Professor Tyndall's Belfast Address. 5. Man's Relation to the Divine Government. 6. Faith.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, April, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Theron Baldwin. 2. Plymouth and the Bay. 3. A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New England: A Reprint. 4. Mutual Criticism. 5. The Imaginative Element in Preaching. 6. History of Susquehanna Association. 7. Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1874, 1875. 8. The Seminaries and the Education Society. 9. Congregational Necrology.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1875. (New Haven.)—1. The Letters of Sarah Coleridge. 2. The Metaphysical Idea of Eternity. 3. The Last Work on the Gudrundichtung. 4. Langland's Vision of Piers Plowman. 5. Zwingli's Theology. 6. Battle of Bunker Hill. 7. Modern Philosophy and the Theory of Evolution.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of M. Guizot. 2. Letter of Judge William Cushing. 3. The Munson or Monson Family, of Conn. 4. Nantucket in the Revolution. 5. Marriages in West Springfield, Mass. 6. Brooks Family of Woburn, Mass. 7. Early Paper-mills of New England. 8. The Bennet Family of Ipswich, Mass. 9. Ezra Green, M.D. 10. The First Minister of Mendon, Mass. 11. Transfer of Erin. 12. The Hon. Marshall P. Wilder's Address before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, January 6, 1875.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Comtism. 2. The Recent Revolutions in Japan. 3. Pauperism. 4. Spenser. 5. The Granger Movement.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, April, 1875. (New York.)—1. The Spirits in Prison. 2. An Open Letter to Professor Tyndall. 3. Calvin's Life and Labors. 4. Materialism in Germany. 5. Christian Work. 6. The Controversy with Pharoah not upon a False Issue. 7. Theistic Relations in Modern Speculation. 8. Dr. Gillett's Works on Natural Theology. 9. The Papal Question in England.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, April, 1875. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Christian Sabbath. 2. Catechisation. 3. The Pulpit as an Intellectual Instructor. 4. Chronology of the Hebrew Testament. 5. The Church, the only Institution of True Reform. 6. Religious Opinions of J. Stuart Mill.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1875. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketches—Walter Balfour. 2. Science *vs.* Religion. 3. The Wrestling of Jacob at the Brook Jabbok. 4. Was Origen a Universalist? 5. Universalist Conventions and Creeds. 6. The Kingdom of God.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, April, 1875. (Baltimore.)—1. The Idea of God. 2. The Chinese. 3. American Church Music. 4. The Test of Prayer. 5. The Court of George II. 6. Bulwer's Last Works. 7. The Republics of Ants. 8. The Relation of the Will to the Feelings. 9. The Clouds.

Dr. Bledsoe furnishes a discriminative, yet highly complimentary, notice of Dr. Crane's volume on "Holiness," and a severely critical one on Mr. Dunn's. Without giving any opinion of our own on the notices, we lay the former of the two before our readers:—

It would be very easy, if we were so disposed, to criticize adversely some things in this small and unpretending, yet eloquent, volume of 144 duodecimo pages. But, on the whole, it is one of the most suggestive books we have ever read. It has, indeed, in regard to its leading idea, produced a revolution in our mind; causing a multitude of thoughts, long stored away therein, to crystallize in new forms of beauty and power. We acknowledge our indebtedness to the author. But the theme of which he treats is too vast for his small volume; much more for a book-notice. We shall, therefore, seize the first opportunity that offers, consistently with our other duties, to repay, as far as possible, our great indebtedness to the author.

In his preface the writer says: "It might possibly be appropriate for me to apologize for so brief an utterance on so great a theme. It would in nowise be difficult to make a larger book. The subject is vital and attractive; and it touches the Christian system at so many points, both doctrinal and experi-

mental, that wide fields of thought open in every direction." All this, and more too, is true. As we have read his pages, we have seen fields of thought, and mines of thought, and constellations of thought, opening in all directions around us.

Having discussed, in his second chapter, "Wesley's search after truth," and shown how it was that he made mistakes, and fell into various inconsistencies, the author then, in the following chapter, enters on his own line of independent thought. This third chapter is entitled, "A new departure, and new questions," in which he vindicates, without asserting in words, his right to think for himself. Some men imagine that they are the true followers of Mr. Wesley because they watch his footsteps, and are careful to plant their feet exactly in his tracks. Not so Mr. Crane. On the contrary, he imitates Wesley's spirit, which is at once profoundly conservative and irresistibly progressive, by exploring for himself, with careful, cautious, wise navigation, the great, the illimitable ocean of truth. If, for this manly course, any apology were needed, the following graceful one, offered by our author, is amply sufficient: "It is not given to any one man to *discover* all truth. One lays the foundation, others build upon it. One man, like the Genoese explorer, guided by a half-truth, commits himself to unknown seas, and discovers a new continent; but years elapse, and the aid of other busy minds is invoked, before the outlines of the new world are traced and its dimensions known. Wesley's contributions to the practical religious thought of the age are invaluable. The doctrinal system which he taught is steadily gaining ground in all directions, and the indications seem to be that it will ultimately become the faith of the general Church. Still, amid the incessant toils of his ministry, he could not be expected to complete all that he began. Moreover, fearless as he was in the search after truth, he was also conservative, and relinquished an old opinion with great reluctance, especially if he found it incorporated in the teachings of the Church of England."

No truer words than these were ever uttered. Hence it is that we intend to start from the "new departure," reached by our author, and consider the "new questions," which lie beneath, and beyond, and above the range of his admirable little book. A pigmy, it has often been said, may, by standing on the shoulders of a giant, see farther than the giant himself. It is thus that Mr. Crane, though by no means a pigmy, has been enabled to see in various directions farther than Mr. Wesley ever saw; and he will, we feel sure, be the first to congratulate the man who, standing on his shoulders, shall venture to tell the world what he has seen. The principal defect of the work before us is, we believe, that, although it treats of holiness, it

nowhere gives us a clear and satisfactory definition of the nature of holiness. This is a very old question—as old certainly as the time of Plato—and this, it seems to us, should have been settled on a clear and firm basis before he undertook to discuss his "new questions" respecting holiness. It would have given clearness, and force, and depth, and height, and comprehensiveness to his views of the "new questions" considered by him. But more of this hereafter; either in an article of the *Southern Review*, or in a separate treatise. It is, indeed, the great question of questions, for all who would understand the religion of Jesus as a glorious system of truth.—Pp. 479–481.

Our own inference from all this is that it is not quite possible on the subject of holiness to run all minds through the same mold, or put them through precisely the same train of psychological experiences. A view which one mind condemns and demands should be suppressed, another mind equally clear and Christian finds suggestive of rich "constellations of thought." Let us all "follow after holiness," and allow due liberty for others to follow and attain by the path most clear to the eyes of their own faith.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, A CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, April, 1875. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Sources and Sketches of Cumberland Presbyterian History. 2. The Twofold Cause of the Death of Christ. 3. The Signs of the Times. 4. Theanthropy. 5. The Parable of the Potter and the Clay. 6. The Almighty. 7. Foreknowledge and Decrees. 8. Evolution and its True Goal.

If we rightly read, our "Cumberland Presbyterian" brethren are omitted from the list of those bodies invited to the General Presbyterian Council. We suppose this omission arises from the fact that they reject the *decretum* of Calvin. Yet they differ from Methodists in maintaining the doctrine of Final Perseverance, rejecting the Wesleyan Christian Perfection, and adhering to the Presbyterian form of government. The present number of their able Quarterly contains two Articles ably discussing points of difference with Calvinism and maintaining the Arminian ground.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay-street.)—1. Gaspard de Coligny, Amiral de France. 2. The Higher Pantheism. 3. Björnstjerne Björnson as a Novelist. 4. Livingstone's "Last Journals." 5. Kinglake's "History of the Crimean War." 6. Ultramontanism and Civil Allegiance. 7. Mr. Gladstone's Retirement from the Liberal Leadership. 8. Internal Evidence in a Case of Disputed Authorship.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company. 41 Barclay-street.)—1. New Series of Wellington Dispatches. 2. The Geology and Races of India. 3. Malouet's Memoirs. 4. Modern Architecture and its Assailants. 5. Reminiscences of William Macready. 6. Arctic Exploration. 7. Supernatural Religion. 8. Kinglake's Battle of Inkerman. 9. Papal and Catholic Reform.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1875. (London.)—1. Calderon. 2. Last Journals of David Livingstone. 3. M Guizot. 4. Conscience. 5. The Philosophy of Natural Theology. 6. Autobiography of Dr. Granville. 7. Theories of the End of Evil.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 41 Barclay Street.)—1. Macready's Reminiscences 2. Indian Missions. 3. Lord Shelburne—First Marquess of Lansdowne. 4. National Education in the United States. 5. Dr. Newman, Cardinal Manning, and Monsignor Capel. 6. Last Journals of David Livingstone. 7. The Statue of Memnon. 8. The Transition from Medieval to Modern Politics. 9. England and Russia in the East.

The statue of Memnon at Thebes, in Egypt, which gave forth a strain of music at sunrise, has long furnished topic of allusion to poets and orators. It is really one of two statues of Amenoph III., who began his reign about 1400 years before Christ. Miss Martineau thus describes them:—

"There they sat"—so writes Miss Harriet Martineau, describing her first sight of them—"together yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their untired watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt. I can never believe that any thing else so majestic as this Pair has been conceived of by the imagination of Art. Nothing even in nature certainly ever affected me so unspeakably; no thunder storm in my childhood, nor any aspect of Niagara, or the great Lakes of America, or the Alps, or the Desert, in my later years."

Such were Miss Martineau's words of wonder derived only from a transient glance in her up-stream voyage. But on her return, when she passed many days at Thebes, she found her first admiration very far from enfeebled, and she has expressed it with her wonted vividness of style: "The Pair sitting alone amid the expanse of verdure, with islands of ruin behind them, grew more striking to us every day. To-day, for the first time, we looked up at them from their base. The impression of sublime tranquillity which they convey, when seen from distant points, is confirmed by a nearer approach. There they sit, keeping watch—hands on knees, gazing straight forward, seeming, though so much of the faces is gone, to be looking over to the monumental piles on the other side of the river, which became gorgeous temples after these throne-seats were placed here—the most immovable thrones that have ever been established on this earth!"

These gigantic statues, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson has measured or computed, are forty-seven feet in height; that is, above the present soil, for they extend to seven feet more below it. They appear like islands during the yearly inundations of the

Nile, which cover the plain around them. Each was at first of a single block, although the one to which we shall presently and more in detail advert has been repaired in five blocks, from the middle upward. Those five blocks came from a neighboring quarry; but each original monolith was of a stone not known within several days' journey of the place, so that the means adopted for their transport are not easy to imagine or explain. What countless multitudes must have been required to move these stupendous masses!—P. 279.

One of these statues was somewhat shattered by an earthquake, and from this event became the object of poetic myth.

To the half-statue, which then remained, the Greeks gave the name of Memnon. They believed it—notwithstanding the strong asseverations of the natives, who rightly alleged Amunoph—to represent the fabled son of Tithonus and Aurora, the valiant prince extolled by Homer, who brought a host of Ethiopians to the aid of Priam.

But ere long a rumor rose that this was no ordinary statue. As ear-witnesses affirmed, it would sometimes, in the first hour after sunrise, send forth a musical voice. The sound, they said, was like that when a harp-string breaks. "What more natural," exclaimed the Greeks, "than that the son of Aurora should hail in tuneful tones the advent of his mother!" Even those philosophers who might not admit the argument could not deny the fact. Men and women of rank came from distant lands "to hear Memnon," as was then the phrase; and we find the Vocal Statue celebrated all through the classic times. Thus when Juvenal, in his fifteenth Satire, is describing Egypt, he speaks of it as the country—

"Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ."

Not all, nor nearly all, who "came to hear Memnon" succeeded in their object. On many mornings the statue remained obstinately dumb. When, on the contrary, the expected Voice came forth at daybreak, the foreign visitors frequently desired to engrave on the Statue itself a record of their gratification. Thus at the present day we find the whole lower part of the Statue covered with inscriptions from the classic times, in Greek or in Latin, in prose or in verse.—Pp. 279, 280.

The numerous inscriptions given by the Review we omit, and hasten to the solution which modern research has given of this beautiful pseudo-supernaturalism. The London Quarterly boasts that its own pages suggested the solution, furnished in an article by Sir David Brewster.

In the same Article we proceeded to point out that this is no solitary instance. There are several other well-attested cases of

musical sounds which issue at sunrise from the like crevices, and which are explained by the same cause. Above all, we quoted the observations of the celebrated traveler, Baron Humboldt, when wandering on the banks of the Orinoco: "The granite rock," he says, "on which we lay is one of those where travelers on the Orinoco have heard from time to time toward sunrise subterranean sounds resembling those of the organ. The missionaries call these stones *loxas de musica.*" "It is witchcraft," said our young Indian pilot. ..... But the existence of a phenomenon that seems to depend on a certain state of the atmosphere cannot be denied. The shelves of rock are full of very narrow and deep crevices. They are heated during the day to about 50°. I often found their temperature at the surface during the night at 39°. It may easily be conceived that the difference of temperature between the subterraneous and the external air would attain its *maximum* about sunrise, or at that moment which is at the same time farthest from the period of the *maximum* of the heat of the preceding day."

Nor did the acute mind of Humboldt fail to notice, even though very vaguely, the close connection between this case and that of the Theban Colossus, for he goes on to ask: "May we not admit that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, in passing incessantly up and down the Nile, had made the same observation on some rock of the Thebaid, and that the music of the rocks there led to the jugglery of the priests in the Statue of Memnon.—Pp. 282, 283.

In the year before our Lord, 194, the statue was visited by the Roman Emperor Severus. The statue was, probably, by him repaired. "But alas for the result! In his new construction he, of course, filled up the ancient crevices, and in consequence silenced Memnon forever. Aurora continued to rise as usual, but received no further greetings from her son."—P. 284.

We may here suggest that the remarkable demonstration lately made by Mr. Crooks, of England, that light is a force, dealing a physical impulse, may aid in solving this problem. The music was produced by a proper "sun-stroke" upon some resonant piece of the statue.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1875. London.—1. Dr. M'Cosh on the Scottish Philosophy. 2. Family Worship. 3. The Vatican Dogma. 4. On the Study of Assyrian and Egyptian. 5. The Philosophy of Religious Revival. 6. The Proposed Presbyterian Council. 7. Supernatural Religion: The History and Results of Modern Negative Criticism.

Our Presbyterian brethren are, as appears in Article VI, preparing for an ecumenical union in 1876. It might be difficult to say what is the precise test of the eligibility of any Church

to a membership in its organization; but, so far as we can discover, by the enumeration of the bodies given in this Article, it is doctrinal Calvinism. If a Presbyterian polity were the test, then the Wesleyans of England and Canada would be entitled to a seat. Nay, if the theory that our own Church is Presbyterian be true, then our Methodist Episcopal Church is entitled to an admission ticket. But it is clear that we have had no invitation card, and so we are left in the condition of spectators, a position which we enjoy as enabling us to witness the proceedings with a sincere interest and hearty good will.

The following extracts will give a general view of the movement:—

NAME OF THE ORGANISM.

The name of the proposed body is a point of some interest. In the rough form which the proposal first assumed, a considerable variety of names was given to it. It has been called a General Presbyterian Council; a Confederation of Presbyterians; a Pan-Presbyterian Council; an Ecumenical Presbyterian Council; a Presbyterian Congress; a Presbyterian Conference; and, doubtless, on the other side of the Atlantic, a Presbyterian Convention. For the most part, the title adopted is that "General Presbyterian Council."—P. 337.

INITIATION OF THE MOVEMENT.

It was at the time of the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in the United States in 1873 that the first steps were taken toward actually bringing together a general council of the Presbyterian Churches. Before that time, the subject had been repeatedly discussed on both sides of the Atlantic. It is astonishing how many persons claim to be the father of the scheme. The truth is, it took possession simultaneously of several minds, and utterance was given to it at sundry times, and in diverse manners, unknown to persons at a distance. We think, however, that the credit of being the chief mover must be given to President M'Cosh, of Princeton. In the United States, the subject had been spoken of at a great meeting held in 1872, at Philadelphia, to celebrate the ter-centenary of the Scottish Reformation, and in the following May the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church appointed a committee to promote the object. In the same year, the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland passed resolutions to the like effect; that Assembly having had the honor to move a full year before any of the Assemblies in Scotland. On the 6th of October, 1873, a meeting was held at New York under the auspices of the General Assembly's Committee. It was attended by about a hundred and fifty persons, representing the various Presbyterian Churches in the United States and Canada; in England, Scotland,

Wales, and Australia; in Italy and Germany, and (virtually) in France. The committee formed at this meeting was authorized to communicate with the Presbyterian Churches throughout the world; and it is in consequence of the efforts thus made that the scheme has reached the degree of maturity which it has attained. —Pp. 330, 331.

THE PRUSSIAN CHURCH DESIRING ADMISSION.

It is also a fact of great interest, that a strong desire to join such a council has been expressed by members of an important Church which, in name at least, is not Presbyterian—the United Church of Prussia. At the meeting in New York in 1873, Professor Dörner and other Germans affirmed that, while they could not commit their Church to their opinion, they themselves hailed with delight the proposal of a Presbyterian Conference as what they had been long yearning after, feeling as they did that, on the Continent especially, they had been almost completely severed from the fellowship of their brethren in England and America. This was equivalent to a formal claim on the part of these members of the United Church of Prussia to be considered Presbyterians; and the other continental deputies present concurred with much warmth. It might be an event full of important results, not only to Germany, but the world, if the Prussian Church were to be brought into such contact with the Presbyterian Churches as to become more like them in doctrine and in spirit.—Pp. 332, 333.

Universal Presbyterianism, it seems, counts up 20,000 congregations; the Methodism of the United States alone counts about the same number. Catholic, that is, Universal Methodism, so far as numbers are concerned, is therefore the greater force. And it is wonderful that with our pre-eminent organizing tendencies we have been behind our Presbyterian brethren in a union movement.

On the subject of *name* we throw out a suggestion. *Pan*-Methodism has an odd sound to unclassical ears, that do not know that the prefix has no relation to a frying-*pan*. And even to ears not incognizant of Greek, it has, in spite of the *Pan-Anglican* precedent, an intrinsic uncouth sound. We propose that the fine old Christian term, *Catholic*, be restored to its true use to designate true churchly universality. Our people are rightly taught to say in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the Holy *Catholic* Church." Some unwise brethren have proposed to mutilate the Creed by abolishing from it this word *Catholic*; a word of surpassing beauty, inherited from the early Church,

and enshrined in the vocabulary of all the languages spoken by the Christian world. The fact that it is appropriated by the Romanists is the very reason why we should not surrender it. Its universality in the papal use is justly and truly limited by the prefix Roman. *We* do truly belong to the Catholic Church. Universal Methodism is Catholic Methodism; and a Conference of all our Methodist Churches in union would be a General Conference of Catholic Methodism. So much for names, which are often "things," and powerful things too.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. 1875. Third Number.)—*Essays:* 1. BEYSCHLAG, The Johannean Question. 2. GRIMM, Critico-Historical Review of the Lexicons of the New Testament Greek since the Reformation. 3. WIESELER, Contributions to a History of the Times of the N. T. *Thoughts and Remarks.* 1. SEIDEMANN, Luther's First Lectures on the Psalms. 2. RITSCHL, The Prologue of the Gospel of St. John. *Reviews:* 1. SEVIN, Chronology of the Life of Jesus reviewed by Rösch.

Professor Grimm, of Jena, well known as a learned exegetical writer, in the above article reviews all the lexicons of the New Testament Greek, and briefly discusses their merits and demerits. The only attempt of this kind that had previously been made was by G. W. Meyer, in his *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung.* (5 vols. Goettingen, 1802–1809.) Schleusner, in the last edition of his own Lexicon, had confined himself to giving the titles of the other works. According to Prof. Grimm, the first compilation of words contained in the Greek New Testament was made in the "Complutensian Polyglott," which was printed in 1514, but not published until 1520. The vocabulary, which contains ninety-five pages in folio, is very meager, and hardly worth mentioning. Of much greater importance was the *Clavis S. Scripturæ*, published in 1567, in Basel, by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, one of the prominent Protestant theologians of the sixteenth century, which was subsequently revised by Musæus and Suicer, the last edition appearing in 1719. The work was chiefly composed for doctrinal and political purposes, and it therefore devotes special attention to words like "faith" and "sin." The first work of a philological character, and constructed on the basis of our present lexicons, was compiled by George Pasor, (born, 1570, in Nassau; died, 1637; appointed

professor in Herborn, 1587; and at Franecker in 1597, then a University in Holland.) None of the many works that have appeared since has had so wide a circulation, and passed through so many editions. It was published in succession at Herborn, Franecker, Amsterdam, Naumburg, Leipzic, Lubeck, Erfurt, London, and Geneva, and revised by Lewsden, Schöttgen, and Fischer. Several abridgments of it were made, which likewise had a large circulation. The first lexicon published in England was by Edward Leigh, the first edition of which appeared in London in 1650. It was soon translated into Latin, and both the English original and the Latin translation passed through several editions. Among the best works published in the eighteenth century were those by Stock, Professor in Jena, (*Clavis Linguæ s. N. T.* 1725;) by Mintert, Reformed minister in Heerde, Holland, (*Lexicon Græco-Latinum in N. T.* Frankfort;) by Schöttgen, (*Novum Lexico-Græco-Latinum in N. T.* Leipzig, 1746;) and especially that by Schleussner, President of the Theological Seminary at Wittenberg, (*Novum Lexicon Græco-Latinum in N. T.* Leipzig, 1792. Fourth edition, 1819,) who had carefully compared all the lexicons, commentaries, and other exegetical and philological writings referring to the subject. But although a great advance over all previous works of the kind, Schleussner's work was soon found to be insufficient, in view of the great progress of the biblical studies in Germany and other countries; and, from 1824 to 1829, Germany produced two entirely new works, both fully superseding the entire previous literature, and disputing with each other the favor of theological scholars. They were Ch. A. Wahlz's—member of the Consistory of the kingdom of Saxony, died in 1855—*Clavis N. T. Philologica,* (Leipzig, 1822. Third edition, 1843,) and K. G. Bretschneider's—Superintendent-General in Gotha, died 1848—*Lexicon Manuale Græco-Latinum in libros N. T.*, (Leipzig, 1824. Third edition, 1840.) Greatly inferior to these two works is Wilke's *Clavis N. T. Philologica.* Dresden, 1841. The author, a Protestant clergyman, subsequently joined the Roman Catholic Church, and from the doctrinal stand-point of this Church prepared a new work, entitled *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in libros N. T.*, which, after his death, (1855,) was published in 1858 by V. Loch. The Greek-German lexicon by Schirlitz, professor at the Gym-

nasium of Wetzlar, (*Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zum N. T.* 1851. Third edition, 1868,) is more intended for the use of college students than of theological scholars. Professor Edward Robinson, of New York, translated the first edition of Wahl, (1825,) which was subsequently followed by the publication of an entirely new work, entitled "Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament," (1836.) The work was reprinted in England in several rival editions, and has had a large circulation in all English-speaking countries. A good work in the Dutch language was published in 1863, at Utrecht, by Dr. Harting, a Mennonite minister of Holland. In 1868, Professor Grimm, the author of the article from which we are quoting, published himself a *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in libros N. T.* He had been called upon by the publisher of Wilke's *Clavis* to prepare a new edition of the latter, but on examining the book more closely he regarded it as almost worthless, and preferred to prepare a new one. An English translation of it is now in course of preparation by Thayer, professor at the Theological Seminary at Andover. The dictionary of Herman Cremer (*Biblisch-Theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität.* Gotha, 1866. Second edition, 1872) is more a biblical theology of the New Testament, in lexical form, than a philological dictionary, and is chiefly devoted to developing the theological meaning of the new ideas contained in the Greek of the New Testament. Besides the works before mentioned, a number of others are quoted, but all of them, according to Professor Grimm, are of an inferior character. It is remarkable that, of all the works named in the article of the "Studien," not one is from a Roman Catholic author, except the meager vocabulary published in connection with the Complutensian Polyglott, and the work of the formerly Protestant Wilke.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.

For several years the movements going on in the Reformed Church of France have attracted the attention of the Protestant world. For more than two hundred years this Church had been unable to obtain permission from the French Government to assemble its Synod, which for the last time had met in 1659, when King Louis XIV. sent a communication

to the body demanding its permanent dissolution. Napoleon III. professed an intention of restoring to the Reformed Church the right of convoking a national Synod, but never carried out his design. It was not until November, 1871, that the French Government, at the head of which was then M. Thiers as President of the Republic, issued a decree, conferring upon the Church the right to again hold provincial and national Synods, and authorizing the election of delegates to the national Synod, which was to meet on June 6, 1872. During the time which had elapsed since the meeting of the Synod, in 1659, a very wide diversity of faith had been developed among the ministers and members of the Church. A "liberal" party had grown up with views substantially Unitarian, and had obtained the ascendency in quite a number of the consistorial districts into which the Church is divided. The "Evangelical party" felt greatly mortified that the Church, in the absence of a national Synod, was unable to rid itself of this element, and a small number, led by the Rev. Frederic Monod, even preferred secession from a Church tolerating such a party, and some twenty-five years ago formed the Union of Evangelical Churches of France, a body which is entirely independent of the State. Notwithstanding this loss, the Evangelical party still believed itself to be strong enough to obtain control of the national Synod, and to commit this body to a fixed basis of doctrine which would exclude all Unitarianism and rationalism. The expectations of the party were fully justified by the election of delegates to the national Synod. When the Synod met at the appointed time, the candidate of the Evangelical party for the office of moderator, Pastor Bastie, of Bergerac, was elected by nine majority over the candidate of the Liberal party, Pastor Viguier, of Nimes. A motion made in behalf of the "Left," (Liberals,) declaring "that the Synod, as it does not really represent the Church, since some consistories are larger than others, be regarded only as a consultative body, with no power to make any organic or constitutional law," was rejected, and the competency of the Synod to legislate for the Church was declared by a vote of 61 to 45. A profession of faith emphatically orthodox, and asserting the continued adhesion of the Church to the old orthodox standards, was adopted by 61 to 45 votes. Other resolutions were adopted providing that the candidates for the ministry must adhere to the faith of the Church as defined by the new profession of faith, and that all electors must declare themselves heartily attached to the Reformed Church, and to the revealed truth as it is contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments. The design of the Evangelical majority of the Synod was to permit the Liberal members and ministers to remain in the Church, but to prevent in future the ordination of ministers belonging to that party.

In November, 1873, the Synod reassembled at Paris. A letter was presented from the Liberal members declaring that the latter could take part in the proceedings of the new session only if the majority would declare that the Confession of Faith adopted on June 28, 1872, was obligatory only upon its authors and adherents. The majority declined to

give this declaration, and forty-two Liberal members therefore withdrew from the Synod. The majority resolved to ask permission from the Government to publish the new Confession of Faith, and the decision concerning the candidates for the ministry.

The condition of the affairs of the French Reformed Church during the earlier months of 1874 is described in a Circular issued by the Permanent Commission, June 27, and addressed to the members of the Synodal session of 1873. The Circular was, in effect, a report of the proceedings of the Commission, published to make known the result of its efforts to secure the support of the Government to the execution of the decisions of the Synod, and to represent the actual condition of ecclesiastical affairs. It recited that at the time the Synod met at its second session, in 1873, a ministerial Circular had announced to the Presbyterial councils and the consistories that the elections for their triennial renewal would be held during the first fortnight of January, 1874. The parochial registers were to be closed on the 31st of December, 1873. These dates were the habitual ones, and were designated without reference to the changed condition of affairs in the Church. The Synod determined that the minister should be requested to adjourn the elections, so that the parochial registers might be revised in conformity to the new religious conditions which had been formulated by the Synod at its first session, and voted anew by it at its second session. The Government granted this request. A new Circular was published under date of December 22, 1873. It was accompanied by a ministerial decree postponing the elections to the second fortnight of April, and the time for closing the registers to the 31st of March. The minister assigned the request of the Synod as the reason for this delay, and notified the Presbyterial councils and consistories concerning the new religious conditions. These conditions having been thus made known in the same manner as the conditions previously exacted had been announced in 1873, they were considered equally binding, and their application equally obligatory.

A certain number of Presbyterial councils and consistories, however, did not agree to this view. The Circular left room for possible reclamations. It had in view only those which might be produced on the part of the electors in reference to the revision of the parochial registers. It was desired to apply the same provision to the consistories and Presbyterial councils. It was argued that these ecclesiastical bodies were authorized, if not encouraged, to judge whether the religious conditions formulated by the Synod were good, and whether it was convenient to apply them. Influenced by this supposition, some of the consistories and Presbyterial councils decided that the elections should be adjourned, but that they should be held without regard to the synodal decision.

At this juncture the Commission thought it its duty to interfere. Having been expressly invested with the function of securing the execution of the synodal decisions, it could not permit those which concerned the parochial electorate to be annulled by a quibble. The Commission held a session at Paris, when a note was drawn up to be submitted to the

minister. This note, after an exposition of the question of the parochial electorate as it had stood since 1852, asked the minister to declare whether he had intended to make an inquiry, or whether he had not limited himself to giving notice of the religious conditions formulated by the Synod in the name of the Church of which it is the legitimate representative.

The Commission were given an audience by the minister on the 6th of March, 1874, and were assured that they had correctly interpreted the intention of the Government. Finally, on the 24th of March, the minister addressed a very explicit letter to the President of the Commission. He declared that he had done all that belonged to him to do in bringing to the knowledge of the Presbyterial councils and consistories the decisions given by the competent authority on the subject of the parochial electorate. This authority, he said, "is that of the Church; to it belongs the right to determine the religious conditions of the electorate." In the face of such expressions equivocation was impossible. The Church had made use of its right; the General Synod, the only competent authority, had spoken; the subordinate bodies of the Church had nothing to do but apply its decisions.

A number of the consistories and Presbyterial councils, which had mistaken the purport of the ministerial Circular, receded from their error, and declared their intention to conform to the new conditions of the electorate. The greater number adhered to the resolutions they had already made.

The Circular of the Commission continued with a review of the situation as it appeared at the time. The elections which had been held without regard to the religious conditions determined by the Synod had been made the objects of petitions and remonstrances upon which the ministry would have to decide between the contending parties. An early solution was promised, and the Commission were confident that the resolutions of the Synod would be confirmed as the law of the Church. It was important that the populations adhering to the Church should be correctly informed respecting the force of those decrees. The members of the Synod to whom the Circular was addressed were exhorted to support them actively, and uphold the Commission in their efforts to get them carried into effect. The Consistory of Nimes and forty-one other bodies had either abstained from voting, or had conducted the elections in disregard of the religious conditions imposed by the Synod.

The following Circular, issued by the Minister of Public Instruction and Religion on the 7th of October in reference to the Consistory of Nimes and the Presbytery of Milhaud, defined the attitude which the Government intended to occupy respecting the questions involved:—

PARIS, *October* 7, 1874.

M. PRESIDENT: I have examined the returns of the elections which have been held for the seventh partial reorganization of the Reformed Church Consistory of Nimes and the Presbyterial Council of Milhaud. It appears from these returns that no account was taken in two parishes of the district of the resolutions adopted by the General Synod at its sittings of November 20 of last year. The legality and authority of the Synod having been fully established by the Council of State

at its sittings of November 13th and 14th, 1873, and the modifications made by the Synod concerning the religious conditions of the electorate having been brought to the knowledge of the Churches in the usual time by the circular of my predecessor, dated September 22d last, it is not possible for me to consider as regular and valid the elections held in the district of the Consistory of Nimes, nor consequently to give them my approbation. I therefore annul them, as also the act by which the consistory chose its president, and I direct you to give notice of this decision without delay to the Consistory of Nimes and Presbytery of Milhaud. Measures ought to be taken so that the parish registers, which were to be closed December 31st next, may be revised conformably to the synodical prescriptions, and the elections begun anew in the second fortnight of January 1875. The former president of the consistory, together with its members and the Presbyterial councilors of Milhaud, who are not subject to replacement, will take the necessary steps to carry out these measures, and will besides provide for the urgent affairs of the consistory and the parishes until the ecclesiastical organization can be regularly completed. Be pleased to accept, M. President, the assurance of my very distinguished consideration. A. DE CUMONT,

Minister of Public Instruction and Religion.

The Circular of the Minister of Public Instruction and Religion annulling the election at Nimes was published while the conference of Liberal parties was holding its regular session in that city. The following address of reply was immediately prepared and adopted:—

The members of the Liberal Conference assembled at Nimes October 7th and 8th, numbering eighty-five persons, representing the different districts of Protestant France, are unanimous, in the presence of the grave crisis which has come upon the Reformed Church, in making solemnly the following declarations: 1. "It is their profound desire that the Reformed Church remain united and schism be avoided. They make a last appeal to their orthodox brethren in the name of charity, in the name of the common memories, in the name of their common faith in their Master and Saviour Jesus Christ. 2. If the Orthodox Protestants are definitely unwilling to continue in communion with the Liberal Protestants, the latter know how to claim all their rights, and will refuse to submit to a spoliation, which they will denounce to the Christian world, in case it is accomplished, as a monstrous iniquity. 3. If administrative rigors, such as the nullification of the elections, the destitution of pastors, and the interdiction of pulpits, are enforced in the expectation and hope of forcing them under the dogmatic rule of an oppressive majority, the Liberal Protestants will repel as an injury all idea of capitulation and submission; they declare that they will rely upon God, the Gospel, and their consciences, and that they are ready to resist and suffer rather than be false to their principles and their faith.

The National Evangelical Conference of the South met at Montpelier, October 28 and 29. It was attended by one hundred and nineteen members, of whom eighty-six were pastors and thirty-three were elders. It adopted a resolution expressing adherence to the profession of faith which had been set forth by the Synod. It also considered the protest of the conference of Liberals at Nimes of October 7 and 8, and adopted a reply to it. The conference was of one mind upon all the points touched in the protest, and in its reply to the same, except as to the nature of the declaration it should make concerning a division of the property of the Church and the patronage of the Government. Several members were unwilling to pledge the conference to any utterance favoring the claim of the Liberals to a share of property and the support of the Government, while others would not vote for a denial of such claim. The

conference contented itself with denying any intention to deprive the Liberal party of their just rights, and with quoting the declarations of previous conferences and of the General Synod on the subject of property. The address as adopted justified the position of the orthodox party as being in accordance with the decree of the Synod; while, on the other hand, the Liberal party had assumed an attitude of antagonism to the ruling of the supreme body of the Church. It reaffirmed the Synod's declaration of faith, and the religious electoral conditions which had been adopted in conformity with it, and declared that the Reformed Church would remain what it had always been—a Christian, Reformed Church. It affirmed that the orthodox party were upholding the traditional principles of the Reformed Church as based upon the Scriptures, and charged the Liberals with seeking concessions by the granting of which the Church would be left without defense against the introduction of novelties, and its pulpits would be opened to those who deny "the miraculous birth of the Saviour, his perfect holiness, his redeeming death, his glorious resurrection." It expressed the surprise of the conference that the conference of the Liberals should have charged their orthodox brethren with violent designs, (quoting in illustration from the protest adopted at Nimes the words, *une spoliation, une monstreuse iniquite.*) Such designs, it averred, had been often disavowed in the journals, in the conferences, and in the General Synod. Thus the conference held at Cette, in 1872, had declared:—

> We protest against the intention which has been imputed to the Synod of imposing its decisions upon the minority, or of excluding them from the benefit of the Concordat. None of the articles adopted by the Synod implies such a pretension, and the Evangelical National Conference itself is unanimous in repelling it.

So, also, the General Synod itself at its second session had adopted an order of the day giving clear expression to the doctrine of the liberty of parishes and of individuals, as is shown by the following clause quoted from it:—

> Considering that the Synod has never adopted any resolution the nature of which was directly or indirectly to restrain such liberty; that it has never thought of opposing pastors and parishes who may reject the faith and the institutions of the Reformed Church withdrawing to found a new Church upon different bases, or obtaining for it, with the recognition of the State, the advantages of the Concordat, and an equitable share of the ecclesiastical temporality.

Finally, the address declared:—

> We shall separate from each other, but the separation will appear to all legitimate and necessary, demanded by conscience. We shall separate with sorrow, but with a mutual respect, and it is not we who will oppose your receiving an equitable share of the goods of the House which were for so long a time both ours and yours.

A meeting of delegates appointed by the Liberal consistories for that purpose, with the presidents of the consistories and the delegation who had been appointed in 1873 by the Liberal members of the Synod to take care of the rights of their party, met at Paris to consult upon

the situation, with a view of making a representation of their cause to the Government. The meeting resolved to address a manifesto to the Liberal members of the Reformed Church, to proclaim the agreement of all Liberals of whatever dogmatic shade they may be, and assert their firm intention to maintain their rights as members of the Reformed Church, as well as those liberties which hitherto they have peaceably enjoyed. It begun by saying that immediately upon their assembling at Paris the delegates had felt the need of communicating with their brethren, and continued:—

> The same sentiments animate us, the same fundamental faith sustains us, our consciences hear the same voice. Directly the ecclesiastical crisis, which we did not provoke, appeared, we came hither to defend your threatened liberties and to claim your imprescriptible patrimony. In the same spirit as the Conference of Nimes, we are unanimous in affirming with you the rights of the Christian conscience. Disciples of Jesus Christ, we would have no other master. We do not recognize in any human power, in any synod, in any council, the rights to separate us from its communion. We claim the glorious liberty of the children of God, and we will not suffer any one to put us back under the yoke of servitude on the pretext of formulating the faith of the Church in an authoritative confession voted by a small majority in an assembly arbitrarily elected, which arrogated to itself the right to limit the development of religious life in our Churches. We claim loudly the right to live and to grow in the paternal house by the same title as those of our brethren who call themselves orthodox, and we will not willingly be deprived of the name or the rights of Reformed Protestants, which were bequeathed to us by our fathers, the Huguenots. The hour is decisive. We implore light from above to fulfill our mission and to fail in none of our duties. Unite with us in prayer. Let us raise our hearts to the source of grace, and pray our heavenly Father to assist us to surmount our troubles and fill us with the spirit of his Son, our Saviour. May we, in rendering without hesitation to the State what is the State's, not injure that which belongs only to God, the sovereign author and master of our souls! You will aid us to be firm and constant, upright and vigilant. You will support us by your confidence; and in fraternal union, in profound affection, with but one soul and one heart, we will show ourselves worthy of our traditions and of the height of the destinies reserved to true Christianity in our country. If God be for us, who can be against us?

This paper was signed by thirty presidents of consistories. The Conference also resolved to maintain, by frequent communications, constant relations with the Liberal members of the different Reformed Churches of France and Algeria, so as to give more weight and authority to the active measures which its agents were about to take in regard to the Government.

THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

A new statement published by the Old Catholics of Germany concerning their numbers shows, if correct, that the movement is far from having passed its climax, or even from standing still. The increase, on the contrary, comparing the new figures with those of April, 1874, (see Meth. Quar. Rev., 1874, p. 657,) is remarkable. Prussia is reported to have 32 Old Catholic congregations, and 18,765 members; Baden, 35 congregations, and 14,998 members; Bavaria, 51 congregations, and 13,000 members; Hesse, 1,240 members; Oldenburg, 193; Wurtemberg,

102. After the precedent of Baden, the Prussian Diet has also adopted a law securing to the Old Catholics a share in the property of the Catholic Church proportionate to their numbers. In Baden the Old Catholics claim to be a majority, at least of the adult male population, in fourteen parishes, and this gives them, according to the law of the State, not only a joint use of the Church edifices, but the right of electing the parish priest. The report that Dr. von Döllinger had entirely disconnected himself from the Old Catholic movement is again authoritatively denied. He is, on the contrary, actively engaged in making preparations for a second union Conference, to be held in August at Bonn. He has invited, among others, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who has accepted the invitation and appointed four prominent theologians to attend the conference.

The consolidation of the Old Catholic Church in Switzerland is proceeding slowly, and the election of a bishop had, at the end of May, 1875, not yet taken place. The number of parishes which, in virtue of the new Church laws of the Cantons of Berne, Geneva, and others, have passed under the control of Old Catholic priests has steadily increased, and a number of other cantonal governments are disposed to follow the example of the Canton of Berne, and recognize the Old Catholic Church as the only true representative of the Catholic Church which was recognized in Switzerland before 1870 as a State Church. Even one of the cantons, whose population is overwhelmingly Catholic, Soleure, has shown this disposition, and the policy of the Liberal Cantonal Government has been repeatedly indorsed by an overwhelming majority of the Catholic voters. A faculty of Catholic theology has been established in connection with the University of Berne, and is now in successful operation.

The Old Catholics of Italy effected the organization of a national Church on May 1, when they met in a general assembly at Naples. The large hall in which the assembly was held was densely crowded. Votes to the number of 2,739 were cast for the first bishop of the new Church, a coadjutor bishop, and a vicar-general. Of the whole number of votes 7,061 were cast by Signor Paura, Secretary General of the Societa Emancipatrice, as proxy for members not in attendance. Monsignor Dominico Panelli, Archbishop of Lydda, was elected bishop. At the close of the proceedings it was decided that a memorial of the events should be inscribed on a marble tablet and suitably placed. It was expected that Bishop Panelli would take the oath of office May 16. Among the members of the convention were deputies of the National Parliament, members of the bar, priests, literary men, and numerous representatives of the working classes. As yet the movement is confined to Southern Italy, where it has reached Naples, Salerno, Foggia, Bari, Palermo, Messina, Syracuse, and many other towns.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A new commentary to the Epistle to the Romans has been published by Prof. G. Volkmar, of the University of Zurich. (*Paulus Römerbrief.* Zurich, 1875.) The author is one of the most prolific writers of the German liberal school of theology. Like all the theologians of his school, he recognizes the Pauline origin of this epistle, which, according to him, occupied in the earliest edition of the Pauline letters, as well as in that of Marcion, the fourth place, while in the "Old Catholic" edition, which is used by Irenæus and Tertullian, it has advanced to the first. The original conclusion of the epistle, which, in the opinion of many theologians of this school, is no longer extant, appears, according to Volkmar, in the two sections, xv, 33, to xvi, 2; and xvi, 21–24.

The "History of the Times of the New Testament," by Professor Hausrath, has been completed by the publication of the third volume. (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, third vol. Heidelberg, 1874.) It embraces the time of the martyrs and the post apostolic age.

No German scholar has done so much for elucidating the history of the earliest heresies of the Christian Church as Prof. Lipsius, whose work on the "Sources of Epiphanius" (*Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius.* Vienna, 1865) is still considered a standard authority. The subject has since been discussed in Germany in a number of essays, and has even called forth several special works, as those by Heinrici (*Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die heil. Schrift.* Berlin, 1871) on the Valentinian Gnostics, and by Dr. A. Harnack on the "Sources of the History of the Gnostics." (*Zur Quellengeschichte des Gnosticismus.* 1873.) The latter has caused Prof. Lipsius to publish a new work on the "Sources of the History of the Most Ancient Heresies." (*Die Quellen der ältesten ketzergeschichte.* Leipzig, 1875.) The high value of this work has already been recognized by theologians of all schools.

One of the most important recent theological publications is a new biography of Luther by Dr. Julius Kostlin. (2 vols. Elberfeld, 1875.) A new work on the great reformer of the sixteenth century was one of the greatest literary wants of the theological literature of Germany, which abounds in excellent biographical works, but as yet has no biography of Luther worthy of the great man. The author has made this subject a special study for more than twenty years, and has published in the theological periodicals of Germany a number of essays on prominent events in Luther's life. He was probably better qualified for the difficult task than any other German theologian.

The new volume of the *Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik*, ("Ecclesiastical Year-Book,") which contains the history of the year 1874, is edited by A. Werner. It is somewhat larger than the former volumes; but the part of the book referring to American affairs is as unsatisfactory and incom-

plete as ever. It contains very brief notices of Bishop Cummins and the Reformed Episcopal Church, of temperance societies, of Unitarians and Shakers, but not a word of Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Unseen Universe; or, Speculations on a Future State. 8vo., pp. 212. New York: M'Millan & Co. 1875.

What becomes of all the pins? Millions upon millions of them are manufactured and used; they disappear, and never a ghost of them reappears, and it would take a ghost to tell what becomes of their corporeities. The authors of this work move even a profounder question: What becomes of the stupendous amount of force expended, as the latest science tells, and poured into an unknown immensity by the material universe? The entire system of worlds is growing weaker as it grows older. Its fires are going out. Already our satellite, the moon, once a whirling fire-ball, is a cold, dark block. The planets, satellites of the sun, are losing their heat; and the sun, satellite of some other center, is wasting in space his vital fire. Meanwhile their orbits are narrowing, and they are all, slowly but surely, concentrating into one final fireless, rayless, lifeless, hopeless dead-head. Whither goes the universal Force that is thus separating from universal matter. Our authors answer: These forces go into immensity in order to crystallize into an "Unseen Universe," which is that Future State to which our faith is looking, including that "new heavens and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness," of which an apostle utters "promise." And, negatively at least, theology may appropriate this key-thought to answer science when she asks, *Where is this heaven about which you talk and sing so sonorously?*

If *heat* be merely what Professor Tyndall calls it, "a mode of motion," then a mere *mode of moving* in space, with nothing to move, would not form a very tangible world. If, however, heat be a real entity, a self-subsistent Force, then we have no difficulty in conceiving a purely dynamical system. If force is self-subsistent and "space-filling," then it may be made compacted and solid, and fulfill all the offices of matter; and a world so constructed would seem to be a veritable solid *world.*

What, then, becomes of the force-deserted dead-head? With this question the writers seem a little perplexed. If they accepted this

dynamical theory in regard to our own mundane Matter, it would be easy to conceive that the dead-head, composed of pure force, should dissolve, disperse, and go into other forms and uses. But this theory they reject. Yet we might here suggest that, as the authors believe in the existence of an Evil and a Gehenna even in the new eternal future, this Dead-head may be the Gehenna they require. Inasmuch as the entire present worlds of matter, the whole present material universe, exhibit all the defects and scars which theology has hitherto viewed as the results of sin, so all may be under the doom of sin. Why, then, may they not forever stand, the dead-head monument of the evil of sin; the eternal monitor of the criminality of rebellion by God's free creatures against holiness and God? The Bible abounds in dim reminiscences of sin before man; of the fall of a more ancient order of beings, of whom the Satan who instigated the sin of Eden is a specimen. What the relation of the universal corruption of the material system, extending through the system as far as our knowledge can reach, may be to this earlier sin, we cannot fully know. But the sentence of destruction for sin may rest upon the whole. And so the final mass of earthly and stellar matter, including the resurrection bodies of the finally-lost men, may concentrate into one awful eternal Gehenna. It may, indeed, be objected that by that theory the flames of "the Lake of fire" are finally extinguishable. The reply is, that if fire is one of the images of the final penalty, "outer darkness" is another. Each may be, in its own way and time, true.

That the ancient conception, both of the Old Testament and classical antiquity, which found Hades in the bowels of our earth, finds no disproof from the physical nature of the interior of our globe, (which is in fact unknown,) may appear from the following extract given by our authors from an eminent physicist:—

The deservedly famous Dr. Thomas Young has the following passage in his lectures on Natural Philosophy:—"Besides this porosity, there is still room for the supposition, that even the ultimate particles of matter may be permeable to the causes of attractions of various kinds, especially if those causes are immaterial: nor is there any thing in the unprejudiced study of physical philosophy that can induce us to doubt the existence of immaterial substances; on the contrary, we see analogies that lead us almost directly to such an opinion. The electrical fluid is supposed to be essentially different from common matter; the general medium of light and heat, according to some, or the principle of caloric, according to others, is equally distinct from it. We see forms of matter, differing in subtility and mobility, under the names of solids, liquids, and gases; above these are the semi-material existences, which produce the phenomena of electricity and magnetism, and either caloric or a universal ether. Higher still, perhaps, are the causes of gravitation, and the immediate agents in attractions of all kinds, which exhibit some phenomena apparently still more remote from all that is compatible

with material bodies. And of these different orders of beings, the more refined and immaterial appear to pervade the grosser. It seems, therefore, natural to believe that the analogy may be continued still further, until it rises into existences absolutely immaterial and spiritual. We know not but that thousands of spiritual worlds may exist unseen forever by human eyes; *nor have we any reason to suppose that even the presence of matter, in a given spot, necessarily excludes these existences from it.* Those who maintain that nature always teems with life, wherever living beings can be placed, may therefore speculate with freedom on the possibility of independent worlds; some existing in different parts of space, others *pervading each other unseen and unknown, in the same space*, and others again to which space may not be a necessary mode of existence."—Pp. 160, 161.

Our authors in their entire theory make large concessions to the latest demands of science. Their fundamental purpose is to secure the principle of *Continuity;* that is, the permanence of an eternal order of nature throughout the universe. God is the primitive Unconditioned upon whom all else is conditioned. He is the living personal Absolute upon whom and from whom all depends. Yet he is made by them to recede into the back Eternity. In that back eternity alone is Creation, and all in time is Development. The authors rank themselves, therefore, most fully on the side of Development; able and ready, as they conceive, in accordance with the strictest biblical Christianity, to grant if necessary all that a Spencer or a Darwin may ask. And Development, they affirm, is *threefold;* namely, of Matter, of Globe, and of Life. Out of the anterior Unseen, *first, is Matter* developed. From primordial matter in nebular form comes Globe development. Last comes Life development. But nothing but a verbal gain, we think, is made when the origination of matter and life is called development rather than creation. One is as much of a break of Continuity as the other. And when our authors come to miracles, and bring them within the law of Continuity, by defining them as the product of the operation of the anterior Unseen World upon the present visible world, so that the Continuity is uninterrupted, nothing is gained. We think the law of Continuity is easily maintained even with miracles if that law be viewed as an Idea in the divine Mind. We would state it thus.

The divine Mind finds permanent and regular laws imposed upon Nature to be necessary in order to the well-being of finite created beings. Only thus can finite intelligences be enabled to reason, to calculate, and to regulate their conduct. All our reasoning is based upon regular and orderly classification of objects and events for which law is necessary. Hence, laws of nature are God's Epistle to his creatures, informing them what to depend upon, how to infer, and what to do. Permanent law is the medium by which an intelligent God is in constant communication with his intelligent crea-

tures. Things operate according to Law, because Force; the persistent emanation from the divine Will, (which Will is *causa causarum*,) in-dwells, in-forms, and actuates them. The Law itself is *upon* nature, but *in* the divine Mind. As under a Mind surveying the whole, absolute permanence is what we are to expect. The waves of the sea will not roll back from drowning a saint; a wall will not tumble to break the head of a villain: for public good requires a permanent Law. But as the Law is a Law of Reason, whenever an exigency occurs by which the universal Good requires, the same Reason that imposes the special physical Law will require an interposition. And that interposition is really a fulfillment of the true and permanent Law, the Idea in the divine Mind. And the true Law of Continuity is maintained; since it is eternally true that when the same exigency really shall occur the divine Mind will make the same interposition.

Our authors seem to imagine that the doctrine of a corporeal Resurrection is irreconcilable with the nature of the future Unseen world framed from Force. On that doctrine they attempt to fasten burlesque, in a style that indicates that witticism and sarcasm are not their gift. If we adopt the theory of the dynamical nature of matter, namely, that even our "hard matter" is fixed or "frozen" force, our bodies and the future world would then be con-substantial; for both would be dynamical. But even on their view, that matter is a unique "stuff," our theory (which is also Paul's theory) of a material body suffused with spirit, supposes a body able to tread on the solid pavement of the New Jerusalem, if the force be compact enough. Nay, it would be what this theory demands. Our etherealized material body would then contain in its material elements a wonderful remembrance of a former world; an eternal memento that the man was once a sinner in a sinful earth. It would be a perpetual mark of man as a special order among the celestials, identifying him on one side with the lost material universe, and on the other with the glorified Man who wrought redemption.

Our authors assume a previous invisible world, then this world, then a next invisible world. But such a view requires, in consistency, that as the present world is a temporary æon, so should the preceding and succeeding be. Thus we are forced to an eternal series of temporary worlds. We need no other preceding world than that recognized in Scripture, viz., God and the angelic orders, celestial and infernal. Then we understand that the future state is an eternal state. This implies no denial that new globes are being formed from nebula; nor even that new nebula is coming forth

from the will of the Absolute. Those new globes may go through a history more or less similar to ours, terminating in an eternal state.

Our authors fully appreciate that the human race must, according to the latest science, disappear from our globe long before its heat has departed. And thence we venture to reason from a first miraculous Advent to a second. By some method, perhaps a miraculous separation of the oxygen from the nitrogen of the atmosphere and its use as an instrument of combustion, our planet is to undergo a fiery disintegration. Conflagrations of stellar bodies are no unknown event in the astronomic system. Even if they were, the ready instrumentalities are at hand upon our globe. A dissolution of the earth by fire is an article of ancient faith; generally including its renewal and beatification. But it is remarkable that the two passages of the New Testament which describe that event, avoid declaring that the new heavens and the new earth are identical with the present globe. Both seem to intimate a new sphere of existence. 2 Peter iii, 13; Rev. xx, 11; xxi, 1. Thus there arises a harmony between this view, the views mentioned in our notice below of Dr. Dawson's volume, and the view of our authors touching the genesis of the Future state, that is rather plausible. It may be used, perhaps, as a provisioned hypothesis to solve the problems proposed by the present science to the present theology. The following words of Professor Stokes, in his presidential address to the British Association at Exeter, show that the scientific world is not quite surrendered to materialism:—

> Admitting to the full as highly probable, though not completely demonstrated, the applicability to living beings of the laws which have been ascertained with reference to dead matter, I feel constrained at the same time to admit the existence of a mysterious *something* lying beyond, a something *sui generis*, which I regard, not as balancing and suspending the ordinary physical laws, but as working with them and through them to the attainment of a designed end. What this *something* which we call life may be is a profound mystery. . . . When from the phenomena of life we pass on to those of mind, we enter a region still more profoundly mysterious. We can readily imagine that we *may* here be dealing with phenomena altogether transcending those of mere life, in some such way as those of life transcend, as I have endeavored to infer, those of chemistry and molecular attractions, or as the laws of chemical affinity in their turn transcend those of mere mechanics. Science can be expected to do but little to aid us here, since the instrument of research is itself the object of investigation. It can but enlighten us as to the depth of our ignorance, and lead us to look to a higher aid for that which most nearly concerns our well-being.—P. 184.

Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation. Fifth Edition. 8vo., two volumes, pp. 485, 512. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1875.

Two imposing volumes, devoting nearly a thousand octavo pages to a heroic effort to show that miracles are an impossibility, that

the records that narrate them are unreliable, and the religion founded upon them is untenable. The work assumed forthwith upon its appearance a lofty position, a conceded stand in the highest stratum of theological thought. It was aided in the securing of this high position by reports that its author was actually one of the most venerable Bishops upon the bench of the Established Church. Then it was attributed to a son of Dr. Pusey. Then the "Athenæum" announced that its author was Rev. Vance Smith, a leading Unitarian divine, one of the board of the revisers of the English Version of the Bible; by whom, however, its authorship was promptly denied. Upon the standard character of the work, its immense erudition, its candor, its profound logic, the acute critics of the highest periodicals of the day showered a profusion of the most unqualified compliments. Not only is the work, as they assure us, inexorably sweeping in its logic, but its pages are so freighted with massy paragraphs of learned references in support of its positions—references to all the high authorities, German, Dutch, French, and English, that for the last century or two have discussed the topics—that criticism has nothing to do but to surrender at once to a display of erudition so dismaying. The *finis* of New Testament Christianity is at last written, by the hand of this great destroyer. Before so crushing and grinding an avalanche of learning and logic, rolling down from the summit of intellect, what is to become of the poor puny four Evangelists?

The work is divided into two parts. The first, embracing near three hundred pages, discusses the credibility of miracles, and professes to show that no evidence—at least, no existing evidence—can authenticate the miraculous. The second part, assuming the axiom that the supernatural is incredible, professes to show that there is no authentic trace of our four Evangelists prior to the second half of the second century, and, consequently, that the supernatural part of the Christ-history is unhistorical, and not entitled to credence.

It is, we think, not quite correct to say, with one of the ablest of the opponents of this book, that its first part renders the second part unnecessary—unnecessary, inasmuch as the proved impossibility of all miracles is the proved unreliability of the Scripture miracles. The first part does, indeed, establish a far-gone conclusion for the second part—namely, that any reliance upon the miraculous narrative is a mistake. Nevertheless, it remains an important work to analyze the source, nature, and true solu-

tion of that mistake, and to show *how* the Christian records are a contradiction indeed, but no valid contradiction to the axiom. The question is, then, in fact, not so much, Are the Christian records authentic, or true? but, What is the true solution of the apparent discrepance between these records and the axiomatic truth? The answer is furnished by showing how the record is in itself unreliable.

This showing is professedly made in this work, as it may be roughly estimated, in three ways: by proving that the supposed quotations from the evangelists during the first half of the second century are, or may be, either passages received by oral tradition, or quotations from other documents than the four Gospels; or by assigning a later date to the writers making the quotations; or by totally invalidating the authenticity of the writings in which the supposed quotations are found. The argument of our author is limited to the four Gospels, and the chronological ground it covers is the fifty years following the usually assigned date of the death of St. John, namely, the close of the first century. The work, therefore, for the Christian champion is to show that *during these fifty years the four Gospels had existence and unique authority.* The work calls out replies from some of the most eminent biblical scholars of England. Prominent among these is Professor Lightfoot, the learned commentator on Galatians, Philippians, and Clement of Rome. Five articles from his pen have appeared in the "Contemporary Review," to be followed by others. These articles impugn the scholarship of the author not only in higher criticism, but in that elementary knowledge of Greek taught in the ordinary High-School Greek grammars. A strong suspicion is thrown over the reality of his erudition by the fact that a large share of his numerous references really contradict the statements they are adduced to confirm; and, in fact, one large paragraph of authorities appears to be taken in mass from Cureton's Ignatius, and that without giving any credit to Cureton. If Professor Lightfoot's future articles are as damaging to the author as those now published, unless ably refuted they will leave but a very small remnant of this work.

Christ and Humanity. With a Review, Historical and Critical, of the Doctrine of Christ's Person. By HENRY M. GOODWIN. 12mo., pp. 404. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

If it be the purpose of Mr. Goodwin to render the doctrine of the incarnation less a strain upon our faith by being more acceptable to our rational faculties, it accomplishes for *us* quite the reverse work.

He writes to maintain the theory that in the incarnation the Infinite God, literally and essentially, minifies himself down to the magnitude of a human soul, and thus becomes a sort of man!

We can conceive the Divine as identifying itself with the human, and taking the human into identification with itself. The union of finite spirit with body so as to produce one person is the ordinary fact of humanity. And such a union being once recognized, even though not clearly comprehended, the union of the infinite with the human is easily accepted. Its uniqueness, its soleness, as never but once taking place in known history, constitutes its main difficulty. But, then, as Horace Bushnell once said, it is as easy to understand that God should be *incarnated* in Christ, as that he should be *inworlded* in the universe; the magnitude of the corporeity making no difference. God exists in the full perfection of his attributes at every point of the universe, and so can identify himself with so minute a point as a human personality. But when instead of this we are called to believe that the Infinite essence dwarfs himself and becomes finite, that the Omnipresent is shorn of his omnipresence in order to be cut down to a point, that the Omnipotent becomes impotent in order to become man, we have a doctrine of which we find no hint in Scripture, and which is as incredible to our own mind as any mathematical absurdity.

This theory exposes us to atheism. In maintaining the argument from effect to cause we arrive at God. The atheist then demands a cause of God; and our reply is that he is the necessary self-existent First Cause. But then, as self-existent first Cause, he must be necessary and not contingent in his essence, and in the fullness of all his attributes. If he may cease to be infinite and omnipotent First Cause, then atheism is possible. It is then reasonable to suppose that he can annihilate himself.

Again, the theory impugns the Trinity. If the second Person of the Trinity became human by ceasing to be God, then during the incarnation there was no Trinity.

Again we have Socinianism. Either the minified God became truly a human soul, or he did not. If he did not, then Christ was not a man. If he did, then Christ was not divine; the fullness of the Godhead did not dwell in him bodily; and he was, as Socinus asserted, a mere man.

The two main texts adduced entirely fail to prove the dogma. John i, 1, "The Word became flesh," is far from saying that the Infinite essence became a finite soul. In the word *flesh*, as designating our humanity, the corporeal nature is the primitive idea,

and never ceases to be the leading element. The divine soul became flesh or *human* just as the human soul becomes *flesh* or human, by being incarnated in the human body. And so Phil. ii, 5–8, He "humbled," or emptied, himself, simply describes a phenomenal fact as viewed by men, to whom he is presented as an example. To the eye of humanity Christ is an example of humility, because the truly divine in him condescends to be latent in the human. Though in the form of God, that is, the express image of God, he consented to vail himself in the form of a servant. This implies no vacation of his place in the Trinity so as to leave only a duality in the divine nature, no reduction of the divine to the human so that the Divine Second Person ceases to exist.

The American Evangelists, D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, in Great Britain and Ireland. By JOHN HALL, D.D., New York, and GEORGE H. STUART, Philadelphia. 12mo., pp. 455. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Wonderful is the contrast between the feeling of the Churches toward our Evangelists, and that feeling when Wesley and Whitefield "evangelized" England a century ago. The newspapers, however, are largely now as hostile as then. Our own "New York Times" is as supercilious as the London "Times." They can bear and encourage any amount of *political* excitement. They make grand columns in reporting a rowing match or a horse race. But a large *religious* movement—vast multitudes meeting to send up their penitent prayers to God, or listening to plain pointed talk about forsaking their sins and become good Christians—are an offense to the editorial olfactories.

The Wesleyan doctrine of attaining a higher plane of Christian holiness, of "power" against temptation and sin and "cleaving to God," seems to be infusing itself spontaneously into the belief and acceptance of all earnest evangelical Christians. The doctrine is all the more powerful by taking "its place" in a symmetrical Christian faith and practice. Says Mr. Moody, "Some temperance men make a grand mistake, and that is—*they lug in the question every time they get the chance.* Every thing in its own place! If I go to a prayer-meeting I do not want to hear temperance or the higher Christian life. There is a man who comes to our noon-day meetings; no matter what the subject is, *he gets up and talks every day on the higher life.* A friend, in going out of the meeting one day, said to me, 'I like a fiddle with a thousand strings, not with this one of higher life played on every day.'"—P. 124.

The power of these evangelists resides in their great faith and gift of realizing the old truths. Says Mr. Moody, "I believe that

heaven is real, hell is real, the devil real. God is real. If God did not wish us to speak about heaven, he would not have put so much about it in the Bible."—P. 424. And what a thrilling illustration of the atonement is here!

The Spanish authorities in Cuba had arrested a man who, though born in England, was a naturalized United States citizen. He was charged with conspiracy against the Government, and ordered to be shot. But the consuls of both England and America believed the man to be innocent, and used all the persuasion and entreaty in their power for his release, but the proud Spaniards haughtily disregarded their petition.

The hour of execution had now arrived, and a company of soldiers were drawn up in line. The condemned English-American walked out before them, calmly awaiting his fate. He stood at the foot of the grave, already dug, his coat off, and his hands pinioned behind him. The officer ordered his men to load, and at the word "present," they brought their rifles to their shoulders, awaiting the word of command to fire.

In the awful suspense, suddenly there sprang forward from the bystanders the two consuls; the one drawing from his breast the Stars and Stripes, wrapped it right round the prisoner, while the other threw over him the Union Jack. The consuls now stood on either side, defying the Spaniards, who dared not fire on the flags of two of the mightiest nations under heaven, and the man was released, and proved his innocence to the satisfaction of the authorities.—Pp. 442, 443.

The Parting Words of Adolph Monod to his Friends and the Church. October, 1855, to March, 1856. Translated from the fifth Paris Edition. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1875. Price, $1 50.

The pulpit of the eminent French preacher was for six solemn months a continuous dying bed. Medical science had pronounced his disease incurable, and his decease at any moment probable. He spoke then pre-eminently "as a dying man to dying men." Such a condition was a pledge of sincerity, earnestness, and intense realization of the Invisible. The discourses were addressed during successive Sabbaths to a number of invited friends, and are rich in thought, eloquent in language, and deeply, sometimes Calvinistically, evangelical in sentiment. We could give, did space allow, many a beautiful paragraph; but we prefer to touch upon a point or two upon which we doubt, or disagree with the dying preacher.

The following seems, at first, a deep suggestion, but of dubious possible consequences:—

There is one feature of the Holy Scriptures which is of itself sufficient to prove them to be the Word of God: I mean that *every thing found there is ideal.* They contain nothing but the absolute and the perfect. Holy Scripture never calls us to a certain measure of holiness by a certain measure of faith, for degree or measure of any sort is contrary to the instinct of the Bible, because contrary to God. . . . Scripture invariably presents to us *sin* as ideal. None of us can form the faintest idea of the horrible sinfulness of sin in the sight of God. We have always lived in an atmosphere so saturated with sin, upon this earth which drinks in iniquity like water, and devours it like bread, that we are no longer able to see the sin that surrounds us in all directions. . . . *Pardon* is also represented to us every-where in Scripture as ideal. If only a part of our sins were pardoned, if out of a thousand or a million (were it possible to number our sins) a single one

were unforgiven, our pardon would avail us nothing. But our pardon is complete. The passage which has just been read to you (2 Cor. v, 21) is one of my favorite verses. Jesus Christ has not only expiated some of our sins, but has expiated *sin* in its entirety. He has not been regarded as a sinner, but has been made *sin* itself, and—mystery of mysteries—the curse of God in its full force has fallen upon his innocent and holy head. . . . Lastly, Holy Scripture is ideal in what it teaches us of *sanctification*. We do not form any adequate idea of what Scripture requires of us, nor of the degree of holiness to which we can and ought to attain.—Pp. 23, 24, 26, 27.

It might be said by some that the removal of sanctification into the "ideal" would produce a dispensing, in practice, with the *real*.

Monod advocates the practice of *daily communion*. There may, indeed, be individuals for whom the daily eucharist is profitable. But we think the Church is correct in making its less ordinary solemnization the general practice. We believe its actual effect is more powerful by placing it in a more special and periodical position.

Binney's Theological Compend Improved. Containing a Synopsis of the Evidences, Doctrines, Morals, and Institutions of Christianity. Designed for Bible Classes, Theological Students, and Young Preachers. By REV. AMOS BINNEY and REV. DANIEL STEELE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 195. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

Our ministry are often called upon, both by our own membership and by others, to furnish a brief and clear statement of our religious doctrines. To us they appear so true, consistent, and beautiful, that it is a pleasant work to circulate them through the world. This summation is well furnished in Mr. Binney's brief work, and also in briefer and still more popular, but less symmetrical, form by Dr. Bostwick Hawley in his "Manual of Methodism."

Nearly forty thousand of the old edition have been sold, and it has been translated into German, Swedish, Arabic, Chinese, and other languages. The present edition has received the benefit of the author's maturer studies, and the aid of the critical hand of Dr. Daniel Steele. It is wonderful to note how complete a body of divinity can, by lucid arrangement and clear expression, be compressed into so small a space. Had the authors been writing for outside inquirers alone, perhaps a greater fullness would be given to those doctrines in which we are peculiar and different from other denominations. It is admirably prepared to instruct the student into an orderly view of Christian doctrines.

A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. By F. GODET. Translated from the second French Edition by E. W. SHALDERS, B.A. Two volumes. 12mo., pp. 441, 462. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. Price, $6 00.

Godet is an evangelical thinker, of great freshness of style and individuality of thought. The work opens with an admirable

Introduction reviewing the literature of Luke, its authenticity, and the relations of the genuine Gospel to the modified Gospel of Marcion. The notes are free and full, containing opinions with which we do not always concur, but bringing discussions down to the latest dates, and furnishing every now and then delightful suggestions. It concludes with a very interesting retrospect of the entire work.

We regret that the author did not, with Grotius and other eminent scholars, identify Luke with the Lucius of Acts xiii, 1. Thereby he would have, perhaps, been led into a whole volume of coincidences and facts in regard to Luke, drawing out a life-size portraiture of the great evangelist. The outlines of this portraiture were sketched with great skill by Charles Taylor, editor of the English "Calmet," and republished in this country by Professor Robinson. Thence the outline was taken by Mr. Baynes, and filled in, in his Horæ Lucanæ, with a very rich plenitude. The philological difficulty as to the identity of the names Lucius and Luke is, we think, nugatory, as we have tried to show in our note on Acts xiii, 1.

The Miracles of our Lord in Relation to Modern Criticism. By F. L. STEINMEYER, D.D., Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated, with Permission of the Author, from the German by L. A. WHEATLEY. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875. Special Edition imported by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Retail price, $3 75.

Steinmeyer is one of the most eloquent preachers as well as one of the most able professors of Germany. The present work, though it comes from an orator, is written with the simplicity and clearness of an able thinker. It furnishes matter both for Christian evidence and New Testament commentary. In response to the criticisms of Schleiermacher, Baur, and Strauss, it enters into the *rationale* of our Lord's miracles, gives them a philosophical classification, and thereby furnishes interior ground of their reality and truth. It thus stands in much the same class of treatise with the very able works of Trench and Westcott on the same subject. In each of these three authors our ministry will find deep confirmations of faith and rich topics of discourse.

Love Enthroned: Essays on Evangelical Perfection. By DANIEL STEELE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Church has, we believe, given a hearty welcome to Dr. Steele's contribution to one of the most important departments of Christian thought. His fine scholarship, intellectual acumen, and

rich Christian experience, enable him to speak with authority and clearness. Without indorsing as our own all the views and expressions in the work, we may say that, as a whole, it presents what we view to be the Wesleyan and true doctrine; and we trust it will be crowned by the divine benediction with an abundant success in spreading the power of Christian holiness!

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Recent Origin of Man, as Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology. By JAMES T. SOUTHALL. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 606. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

It is nearly twenty years since Sir Charles Lyell startled the scientific world with the announcement that he was converted to the doctrine that man's age on earth must not be limited to the Mosaic period, but must be estimated by hundreds of thousands of years. The later publication of Mr. Darwin's "Origin of Species," proposing to trace man's pedigree through billions and trillions of ages to the primitive monads, was a still further complication. Under one pressure or another, probably a large majority of scientific men discredit the limited age of man. Able counter views have been furnished by distinguished scientists; among which the articles in our own Quarterly, by Professor J. S. Jewell, of Evanston, are entitled to high rank. But in this whole period nothing has appeared at all comparable in extensiveness of research, and elaborateness of argument, brought down to the latest period, as the work before us by Mr. Southall.

It may be that it arises from our unacquaintance with the scientific world of our day that Mr. Southall's name has hitherto escaped our notice. Of two of his mentioned co-laborers, Professor George Frederick Holmes, of the University of Virginia, and Professor Edmund Andrews, of the University of Chicago, the former was once a contributor to our Quarterly, and the latter, as it happens, a quondam pupil of its editor. The work has probably received much aid from the rich classical and historical lore of the former, and the latter has contributed a large amount from his experience in American geology to check the hasty conclusions of the *savants* of Europe. We would speak with the diffidence of a non-professionalist; but we feel little doubt that the work of Mr. Southall will make a very decisive impression upon the scientific world. We may in the future hear a great deal less of the stupendous geologic antiquity of our race. We

doubt whether paleontology will have much more to say in contradiction to venerable Genesis.

The geological proofs of the pre-adamic man are based upon the depth of strata in which the bones and implements of man are found, as in caverns and river gravel; upon the association of those human remains with the remains of animals long since extinct, as the cave-bear and mammoth; and especially upon the association of human remains in Central Europe with fossil animals of arctic species, as the reindeer, showing that both lived in a period of arctic cold in a southern latitude. And this last fact is further complicated by the appearance of tropical animal remains, as the lion, the hippopotamus, and the hyena, in the same localities with the arctic animals, suggesting the theory of "oscillations" of periodic alternate heat and cold, and so requiring still greater ages. Man must, therefore, have existed in or soon after the great "glacier period," when the northern hemispheres of Europe and America were lying beneath a stupendous stratum of ice countless ages ago.

Mr. Southall admits the great glacial period, but maintains that its termination was but a few thousand years ago. He admits the depth of strata at which human remains are found, but maintains that those strata were deposited rapidly by the cataclysms that attended the breaking up of the glacial winter. He admits that earliest European man, paleolithic man, appeared before the glaciers had fully left Northern Europe; and it is for this reason he avers that no paleolithic implements are found in Northern Europe. This paleolithic period, lasting but a few hundred years, while the northern glaciers were retiring, was in Central Europe a period of alternate cold and warmth, the variations of a great spring time; and hence man, and the northern and southern animals, were contemporary associates in life and death.

Mr. Southall furnishes a valuable chapter on the subject of extinction of animals. Many of the animals lately supposed by paleontologists to be extinct are now really living, and perhaps all supposed to be extinct long ages ago are now known to have survived late into the historic period. This is a vital point; for it is on the assumption of the contemporaneity of human remains with extinct animal remains that the pre-adamic man is asserted. After detailing the facts of late survival of such animals, adduced in proof, Mr. Southall thus summarizes: "We have thus shown that the *Bos primigenius* was living in England during the occupation of the Romans, and in Germany in the twelfth century; that the aurochs

existed in Prussia a century ago; that the reindeer lingered in Scotland until the twelfth century, and that it was found in Germany about the beginning of the Christian era; and that the great Irish elk continued in Ireland down to the age of iron, and in Germany, probably, until the twelfth century. These animals were the companions of the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros. Would it be strange if they, too, lingered down to a more recent period than we have been taught to believe? We have already found the remains of the existing African elephant in a cave in Central Spain."—P. 319.

The reindeer is twice mentioned by Julius Cesar, as seen by him in France; by Isadore, in the seventh century, as existing on the Rhine, and as receiving its name from that river; it was hunted by Gaston de Foïx in Norway and Sweden in the twelfth century, and said by him to be then seen in Prussia. The mammoth existed in America beyond reasonable question during the last thousand years. On the other hand, most of those animals to which, as being extinct, paleontologists have prefixed the epithet *cave*, as *cave*-bear, *cave*-lion, and *cave*-hyena, are either surviving, or else represented by a slight living variety. And, so far as Central Europe is concerned, these animals have all doubtless been exterminated by men in the *locally* prehistoric period, but within the general historic period of our race. It is by some peculiarity in the ancient variety that Dr. Dawson seems to think that these species may have endured the climate of Central Europe two or three thousand years ago. At any rate, traces not only of the above-named arctic animals are found in Central Europe during the historic period, but also of the tropical animals. Mr. Southall quotes Aristotle and Herodotus in proof that the lion once existed in Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly. He might have also quoted Schliemann in proof that he found images not only of the lion, but also of the *hippopotamus*, among the relics dug up at Troy.

Upon the great question of the "stone, bronze, and iron" ages, Mr. Southall's elaborate chapters are very conclusive. Geologists have drawn magnificent pictures for us of the ages hundreds of thousands of years in length: first, the old-stone, or paleolithic age, in which men used no metals, but rude instruments of "chipped flints;" and then the new-stone, or "neolithic" age, in which the implements were rubbed and smoothened. Then followed a few hundred thousand years of the "bronze age," in which the race had attained the use of brazen tools and weapons. Finally followed the iron age, the period of initial civilization. This sort

of time measurement was essentially based on the half Darwinian assumption that during all these ages man's *brain* was gradually growing from its primitive monkeyhood, a process of slow infinitesimal advances; which assumption is completely exploded by the plentiful proofs from the latest fossil discoveries that earliest man possessed a magnificent brain! But this whole theory of *lithic* ages Mr. Southall overwhelms and demolishes under an immense mass of facts. There are large tracts of country in America, Europe, and Australia, where men are *now* in this paleolithic age. Men without metals always use stone, if obtainable, for instrumental purposes; and from the imperishability of the material the stones shaped to their purposes become, in certain respects, permanent monuments of their degree of civilization. But how long it will take for a race to learn to smoothen their rough stones is a question with no definite answer. Peoples sometimes adhere tenaciously to old customs for centuries. Ordinarily a single generation might suffice. Abundant facts show that contiguous peoples use, the one, metals, and the other, stones; that the same people often use both metal and stones at the same time; that the smoothest stone remains are often found mixed with the fossils of the most ancient animals; and, in fact, that localities are found where conclusively *the stone period succeeded the metal period in the order of time.* Here, in New Jersey, immense quantities of stone implements are to be found, on or near the surface of the earth, some of rough chipped, and others of smoothened surface. The same intermixture of remains that proves to the paleontologist that mammoth and man were contemporaneous, proves that there paleolithic and neolithic implements were contemporaneous. Yet a paleontologist surveying these heaps of stones, finished with different degrees of completeness, would say: "Here is a true paleolith, made a million of years ago. This is a neolithic; it requires ages to make such vast improvements." And yet, very probably, they might have both been made by the same hands a few hours apart in time.

Mr. Southall quotes a decisive passage from Mr. Tylor, saying that a Tasmanian is at the present day often seen to pick upon a stone, chip it to his purpose roughly, use it, and then abandon it. In half a century a tribe of the Tasmanian level might be supplanted by a more advanced tribe with smooth stone or metal tools; or it might in the same period be taught by intercourse with some other tribe; or might by some impulse make a quick intellectual advance in its own processes. Reversely, a more

civilized tribe might be forcibly supplanted by a savage race; or might degenerate by its own inertia; or might emigrate and be succeeded by an inferior tribe; so that the order of advancement would be reversed. Schliemann in his work at Troy, noticed by us on another page, has furnished an instance of this last reverse too conspicuous to be overlooked by the most enthusiastic paleontological eyes. Mr. Southall states the case of flint implements with great judiciousness: These implements are proof of a stage of civilization, but are no measures of time. They tell us how uncivilized a tribe was, but do not tell how long it remained uncivilized, or definitely define its age.

And now for the "river-gravels." This is an important point; for it was by the "river-gravels" of the Somme, in France, that Sir Charles Lyell was converted to the pre-adamic man. The case may be most clearly stated when stated a little ideally. Before you, then, is a small stream, flowing on a slightly descending floor of primitive chalk. On both sides, its banks rise two hundred feet high. Take, now, your stand on the chalk floor and count the strata of the steep but receding banks. Well, it must have taken ages on ages to lay those strata; and besides, they belong to the old "drift." But, pause. In one of the *lowest* of those strata are found flint implements, human bones, and mammoth bones mixed together. That intermixture must have taken place, therefore, ages on ages ago, and man must be many ages old. But, pause again. Since those ancient strata were laid this little stream has been cutting its way from the top down, deeper and deeper, until it has reached this chalk floor. How long does that require? Additional ages on ages! How old the human race must be! Pause yet again. Since this stream came down to this floor there have been piled up on the floor thirty feet of peat, and every foot or two of peat requires a thousand years to grow. How old is the human race? The blood rushes to your head, and you reel back in a slight vertigo. But read Mr. Southall and recover your balance.

For along to the Somme comes Professor Edmund Andrews, all the way from Chicago, and says: "If these European *savants* knew any thing about forest peat, such as grows in the western woods, where I was brought up, they would understand that it would not require many centuries to pile up a peat bed like that. And this 'river-gravel' is not the old 'drift,' but a wash-up of water floods a few thousand years ago." Next comes Mr. Alfred Tylor, an English *savant*, and says: "There was unquestionably a

great 'pluvial period,' an age of storms and floods resulting from the break-up of the glacier period, by which these banks were rapidly laid, and this river, then a flood-stream, was as rapidly interposed between." Then comes Mr. Southall, with masses of facts "too numerous to mention," and shows that all this took place while the glaciers were receding from Northern Europe, about five or six thousand years ago, while man was immigrating from Asia into Central Europe. You begin to query whether there is any thing in the "Somme valley" to contradict your ancient catechism, which said: "*Quest.* Who was the first man? *Ans.* ADAM."

And, now, says Mr. Southall, save in exceptional instances there are no stone ages in Palestine, in Babylonia, in Egypt. Why? Mark the answer, which he presses with great beauty and power. There are no paleolithics in these primeval abodes, because there was no age of prehistoric barbarism. The oldest born of Adam was a city builder. Before the flood lived "Jubal, father of all such as handle the harp and organ," and "Tubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron." The deluge required the architecture of the ark, and was followed by the building of Babel and the Pyramids. There was no room for a paleolithic age. And history and tradition tell the story why. Chaldea was studying astronomy from her tall observatories, and Egypt was building her pyramids and writing her hieroglyphs when or before European man was building his lake huts or chipping his flint to battle with the cave-bear and mammoth. And all tradition and history point to this Orient as the center of man's creation. Thence immigration comes. Thither human recollection turns. Open the records of Genesis, and you will learn the reason why.

This view may, perhaps, be overstated. But even when moderately pressed it greatly neutralizes the argument against the Mosaic narrative. Whether or not all races sprung from Adam, it is either ignorance or prejudice that assails the truth of the Adamic history. If there were several "centers of creation" this was one, the latest, the noblest, the Caucasian. It alone has its history. And when that history is read, divested of all mistaken interpretation and unobscured by all pseudo-science, we believe that it utters perfect and divine truth.

The thanks of not only the religious but the scientific world are due to Mr. Southall for his fearless, faithful, and very conclusive work. It will make its mark upon the age.

Nature and the Bible. A Course of Lectures Delivered in New York, in December, 1874, on the Morse foundation of the Union Theological Seminary. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of M'Gill University, author of "Archaia," etc. 12mo., pp. 258. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1875.

Dr. Draper and others have advised that our clergy should all include science in their course of study, and become *savans* in order to realize the bearings of science on theology. We might reciprocate this excellent advice, and counsel our scientists to go through a course of theology and biblical literature as a preventive against the utterance of many things which are not science, though coming from scientists. But as it will ever be but the rare few who will become profound masters of two great opposite hemispheres of human thought, these mutual advices so graciously given are likely to be as graciously disregarded. Our only resource then is, when a master of the two hemispheres presents himself, to make the most of him. We lately mentioned the late President Hitchcock as a mediator, who in his day performed a rare work in keeping the two at one. The re-perusal of the "Archaia" a few months since reminded us that in the same position President Hitchcock has now no worthier successor than Principal Dawson. And we respectfully suggest to our friends, the Carters, that a republication of that work in better style, and with the author's latest improvements, would be just now an event for the times. It would be surprising to note how largely and beautifully Dr. Draper's late book was therein answered a good while before it was written.

From the brevity and varied topics treated in these lectures no one department can be thoroughly treated, but a great number of incidental hints are given. There are six Lectures with appendices, mostly discussing the relations of the Mosaic with the scientific cosmogony, including the origin of our race.

In Lecture Second we have a survey of the *threefold biblical heavens.* By the biblical language we find that there are, first, an atmospheric heaven, the visible space below the stars; a starry heaven, including the entire stellar universe; but where is the third heaven, where God resides? Dr. Dawson suggests, the pure immensity of space that surrounds the stellar universe, assuming the stellar universe to be finite. And, according to the author of "The Unseen Universe," elsewhere noticed, the energies of our present earth are thitherward flowing to crystallize into a new heaven and a new earth, and thither the resurrection will bear the spiritual bodies of the glorified. Or, alternatively, Dr. D. thinks the highest heaven may be the central sun, around which all other suns and systems revolve their orbits. Dr. Dawson seems

to prefer the latter. But the latest dogma of astronomy is, that all the systems are both losing their heat and narrowing their orbits, destined in the far future to fall into the most central sun, all in due time to become a dead and frozen char. Unfortunately, this last theory makes the highest heaven coincide with this last central dreariness.

Let us then take the alternative view. The essential God encompasses the stellar system with his highest heaven, yet extending his omnipresence, and his volitions in the shape of laws, to the stellar center. All, then, seems in place. From the earth as our abode, the atmospheric space, the starry regions, and the circumambient immensity, are the first, second, and third heavens. The anthropocentralism of biblical theology, so much reprehended by Dr. Draper, then stands justified. But Dr. Draper will then ask in the name of Science, Where are Hades and Gehenna? The reply must then be, as heaven is *up* so hell must be *down*. And this points us to the earth, and brings us back to the doctrine of the old Puritan theologian, Dr. Ridgeley, that the "lake of fire" is the earth in conflagration. We can, then, surrender the earth to the fearful destiny pronounced by modern astronomy upon it. And this accords with the ordinary phrase of Scripture that finds the *infernum* in the subterranean, as it finds heaven far above us. That the physical character of the subterranean regions contradicts not this view may be seen from Dr. Young's words, quoted in our Notice of the "Unseen Universe."

On the interesting topics of the antiquity of man and the derivation of species as indicated by geology and palæontology, Dr. Dawson presents some valuable pages. He rejects the "stone ages" as furnishing any chronological measure, and banishes the terms paleolithical and neolithical from his scientific vocabulary. Yet he recognizes an earlier and later prehistorical period, and an earlier and later aboriginal race in prehistoric Europe. The earlier race of the type of the fossil men of Mentone, and Cro-Magnon, and Engis, so far from exhibiting any ape character or dwarfish size, are really larger, perhaps, in brain and body than the modern European man. The "missing link" is more missing than ever. The awful chasm between man and brute, so distressing to "evolution," yawns more portentously than ever, and refuses to be bridged. Geology yields no "developmental" consolation to the souls of Darwin, and Draper, and Youmans. The Mentone fossil, perhaps the earliest of all fossil men, possesses the size of a giant, the brain of a philosopher, and the lower jaw of a savage. Dr.

Dawson identifies him and his fellows with the *nephilim*, or "giants" of Genesis, whose lofty savageism called for the Flood. These were the men of the mammoth period. Later, in the "reindeer period," a people of small stature appears, post-diluvian in epoch, Turanian in race, apparently kindred of the Lapps.

The geological proofs of the antiquity of man grow small by degrees and beautifully less; but historical and physiological doubts remain. How is it that these Lapps, so different in race from the Noachian or Caucasian, appear so soon after the flood? And in tracing the post-diluvian "dispersion" we are perpetually falling upon an understratum of an inferior race, multitudinous in number, and apparently far older in time. This difficulty, unlike the geological argument, is mitigated if we assume, with Rawlinson, the Septuagint chronology, and so add a thousand years or so. But the variations of race can, as we conceive, even be then explained only upon the supposition that primitive man was more plastic than modern man, and that racial changes were sudden. Similarly the immense numbers of the underlying race seems to presuppose a greater primitive fecundity. And both this plasticity and fecundity seem to bear some analogy with the immense magnitude of the great mammals as well as the great age of the antediluvian patriarchs. Paleontology, at any rate, warns us to be careful how we pronounce too positively on the laws of ancient life from purely modern analogies.

Troy and its Remains: a Narrative of Researches and Discourses made on the Site of Ilium and in the Trojan Plain. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN. Translated with the Author's Sanction. Edited by PHILIP SMITH, B.A., Author of the "History of the Ancient World," and of the "Student's Ancient History of the East." With Maps, Plans, Views, and Cuts, representing Five Hundred Objects of Antiquity Discovered on the Site. Pp. 400. London: John Murray. 1875.

Excavations into the mysteries of antiquity are the order of the day, but none have dug so satisfactorily to the classical scholar as Schliemann, the man of the simple heart and brave soul. For ages tradition had located the Homeric Troy at Hassirlik; but in more modern times some sage critics had selected other places as more suited to their notions of the conditions required by the Iliad. Schliemann appealed to the logic, not of the pen, but of the pick-ax and spade. He dug his way to the truth. His excavations demonstrated that there were no relics of a city in those other places, while his tools unearthed at Hassirlik four towns in succession; and the third in descending order of these four is without reasonable doubt the Troy of Homer's song, yet magnified and idealized by the poet's fancy. Upon the rich treasures of

archeology flung up by his excavations we have no room even to remark; and we are sorry to say that our Quarterly has as yet failed to receive a full article on the subject, expected from the pen of an eminent scholar whose name appears in the book itself.

One of the most remarkable surprises afforded to Schliemann by his spade was the discovery of a stratum of stone implements, and a stratum of metal implements. But, wondrous to tell, the order of strata was reversed; the metal layer was lower and older than the stone layer. Copper preceded flint! The strata would willfully and unscientifically persist in upsetting Sir John Lubbock and the antiquity of man. The unscientific character of this order of strata appears indeed in two respects: First, the stone-age succeeds the metal-age, thus invalidating the scientific conclusions as to pre-historic progress. Second, Two or three of these ages come and go with an unscientific brevity of time. They ought to employ at least a hundred thousand years about it. But, most ignominiously, the whole thing has been done, apparently, since the day of the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy.

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1874. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the Assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 665. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Dr. Baird has devoted nearly two hundred pages to a summary of the progress of science during the past year. The rest of the volume is made up of brief miscellaneous "notes" and items. The summary is clear and concise, and very valuable. The notes are scrappy, and often unsatisfactory, though conveying as a whole a mass of information. Prefixed to the whole volume is a very full analytical table of contents, which seems to give system to the entire miscellany. Every thoughtful man needs such a work in order to keep himself posted up in the wonderful advances of contemporary science.

It seems that several fossil human skeletons have been found at Mentone, we should infer from the very confused statement on page 298, four or five—one of a youth supposed to be about fifteen years of age.

On page 328 is mentioned a human "fibula bone," found in a Yorkshire cave, held by a Mr. Tiddeman to be "pre-glacial." It is good proof of the thoroughness and most modern research of Mr. Southall that his book, above noticed, deals very amply with this same "pre-glacial" fibula, and invalidates the conclusions drawn by Geike and Dawkins from it.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Remains of Lost Empires: Sketches of the Ruins of Palmyra, Nineveh, Babylon, and Persepolis; with some Notes of India and the Cashmerian Himalayas. By P. V. N. MYERS, A.M., Associate Author, with H. M. Myers, of "Life and Nature under the Tropics." With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 531. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1875.

This journey in search of the relics of lost empires was made in 1871–2 by two brothers, who seem to have been well qualified by nature and education for the work which they undertook. In 1867 the Lyceum of Natural History connected with the Williams College sent out a scientific expedition to explore the tropical regions of South America. The Myers brothers were members of the company—botany being the chosen field of the one, while geology was the favorite study of the other. In 1870 the Lyceum sent a similar expedition to Central America, of which H. M. Myers, the botanist, was the conductor. The brothers then planned an expedition of their own, the main point of scientific interest being the Himalayas of India, the one anxious to investigate the flora of their forests and table-lands, the other curious to examine their geologic formation, and to study in them traces of ancient glacial action, and both swift to see and gather up knowledge of every kind.

Their plan was to spend the summer in Europe, then visit Egypt and Palestine, cross the Syrian desert to Babylonia and Persia, reach the mountains of India in time to spend the summer among their cool retreats, explore the plains during the second winter, and then return home by way of China and Japan. This plan was carried out in the main; but H. M. Myers was stricken down with fever in India, and died at sea as the vessel was approaching Ceylon. The materials of the present volume, gathered by their joint labors, were prepared for the press by the surviving brother, who very appropriately dedicates the work to him whose remains sleep among the palms and cinnamon trees of the island of spices.

No mention is made by the author of the summer in Europe, nor of the time spent in Egypt and Palestine. The narration begins with the setting out of the expedition from the gates of Damascus, with Turkish guards and Arab attendants, to seek Palmyra, the Tadmor of Scripture, and the journey, with varied observations and adventures, proceeds amid the ruins of fallen empires and the dust of perished cities. They visited Palmyra, Ha-

math, Apamea, Mosul, Aleppo, Nineveh, Bagdad, Babylon, Shiraz, Cashmere, the Indian mountains, and the populous plains which lie at their feet. The varied sights and incidents, the desert and the caravan, the Turk and the Arab, the ruined city and the arid plain, the weary ride on horseback, the perilous voyage on the Tigris on the raft of skins, the ancient grandeur and the modern squalor, are all well described. Our tourists know what to examine, and what to record. There is little space given to trifles; but the book strikes the reader as the work of manly minds and hearts, intent on garnering up valuable information. No one can read it without gaining an enlarged conception of the grandeur of those fallen empires, and a clearer idea of the moral causes of their overthrow.

The style is good, clear, vivid, and yet unambitious. The illustrations and the general workmanship are Harpers' best—which is all that need be said of it.

Spiritual Struggles of a Roman Catholic: An Autobiographical Sketch. By Louis N. Beaudry, Author of "Army and Prison Experiences with the Fifth New York Cavalry." With an Introduction by Rev. B. Hawley, D.D. 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

This is one of many books bearing on the Romish question, and, in not a few respects, it is one of the best. It is the work of a convert from Romanism, and in its tracing of the great transition is a true autobiography. The author was born in Vermont, but his parents were French Canadians, devotedly attached to the Roman Catholic Church, and diligent in inculcating its principles and practices upon their numerous children. He was convinced of the errors of Rome, and converted to the true Catholic faith when about twenty years of age. The author's early training gives him a knowledge of the machinery of the Papal Church, its forms and ceremonies, its methods of argument and popular appeal. Moreover, he understands the superstitions and the prejudices, the thousand ties, strong, and yet by outside observers dimly seen, which bind to the hopes, the fears, and the beliefs of childhood and youth, and resist the introduction of clearer light. The story is given in the form of Sunday afternoon conversations with the author's children, and an occasional visitor. There is interwoven throughout a considerable amount of information in regard to Rome and its errors, and yet there is no bitterness, nor spirit of strife. The style is animated; and by the introduction of various characters, each thinking and talking from his or her own stand-point, the conversation becomes life-like

and real, and the reader learns without the labor of acquisition. It is a good book for our Sabbath schools, and young people generally.

The Life of Christ. By FREDERICK W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 12mo., pp. 472. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Retail price, $2 50.

Repeatedly as the great Life has been written, Dr. Farrar's presentation is about as fresh and vivid to the reading as if it were the first. His qualifications for the work are unsurpassed. A finished collegian, and an earnest Christian, he prepared himself by a reverent visit to all the scenes of the Saviour's life. He then prosecuted a course of recondite reading, tracing every statement and view to the fountain head, and gathering in from various resources many a rich spoil, hitherto unnoticed, both of thought and fact. These he has combined into his narrative with consummate skill. His style is rich and glowing, rather that of the orator than the writer. This last will be one of its attractions to many a young preacher. But for the people, for thousands of our plainer laity, it will be a drawback. We wish it could have been written for them with the transparent beauty of a far inferior work read by us within the same week, Bosworth Smith's Mohammed. Transcendental sentences like the following (with *our* italics) do sometimes occur: "Those who expect to find in it new theories about the divine personality of Jesus, or *brilliant combinations of mythic cloud tinged by the sunset of imagination of some decadent belief*, will look in vain." Yet for our ministry and reflective laity this biography of our Saviour has no equal.

The Living Wesley, as he was in his Youth and in his Prime. By JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. With an Introduction by JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 12mo., pp. 269. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

When we first noticed these chapters as they were first published in the "London [Wesleyan] Quarterly," we expressed our deep regret that Tyerman could not have been the collector of facts, and Rigg the biographer of Wesley. Tyerman gives facts as crude and uncouth as he finds them, without the slightest capacity for their interpretation. Few men ever undertook history with as little of genuine historical ability. Mr. Rigg understands the true import of facts; he portrays character with truth and life; his style is fresh and pictorial, and he would have given us the Wesley the world is longing to see. We have read nothing on the subject surpassing their graceful pages.

Our King and Saviour; or, the Story of Our Lord's Life on Earth. In which its Great Events are arranged in the probable Chronological Order, and so set forth as to make their Reality and Meaning clear to the Understanding, and attractive to the Imaginations and Hearts of Young Persons and General Readers. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. With Eighty-three Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 367. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Dr. Wise's title is a book-notice. The book describes and recommends itself. And to both title and recommendation we say *ditto.* As a life of the Saviour for the young, and for the old who are in heart young, it is a book that for its purpose has, we think, no rival.

Literature and Fiction.

Glaucia. A Story of Athens in the First Century. By EMMA LESLIE, Author of "Daybreak in Italy," "Constancia's Household," etc. Three Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 308. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Flavia; or, "Loyal unto the End." A Tale of the Second Century. By EMMA LESLIE, Author of "Glaucia," etc. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 311. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Quadratus. A Tale of the World in the Church. By EMMA LESLIE, Author of "Glaucia," "Flavia," etc. Three Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 308. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The Sunday-School Department of our Book Concern has given our young people in these volumes the first installments of a series of twelve, all of which are to be on the same plan. They are from the pen of Mrs. Dixon, an English lady resident in London, but at present on a visit to the United States. She is widely known in literary circles at home under her *nom de plume* of Emma Leslie. The idea of the series is a succession of pictures of Christian life at different periods from the time of St. Paul to that of Luther, exhibiting it in its contact with the family, the customs, the prevalent religious thought and philosophy of the several ages presented. The first belongs to the time of St. Paul, the second dates a hundred years later, and the third opens with the conversion of Constantine. They vividly and accurately portray these times, so that the reader is for the hour breathing the atmosphere of Athens, Rome, and Alexandria. We predict for them a wide popularity with all classes of readers.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Tod, Fortleben, and Auferstehung. (Death, the Middle State, and the Resurrection, A Biblico-Apologetical Essay, with special reference to recent literature on the subject.) Von FRANZ SPLITTZERBER. Pp. 243. Halle: Julius Fricke.

An excellent work of Splittzerber on "Sleep and Death" was noticed in the Quarterly of October, 1868, page 621. The present work is the fruit of continued study in the same direction. That work was inductive and psychological; this one is psychological, historical, and exegetical. It concentrates all the light the author could gather, from whatever quarter, upon the difficult subjects embraced in its title. The result is a very curious book—curious because of the author's own views—curious because of its citations of strange and suggestive opinions from others—curious because of the *naïveté* with which the author attempts to answer every imaginable question which the rashest curiosity could ask as to the whys, hows, and wherefores of man's condition in the unseen world. With all its defects it is a very valuable little book. We owe its author our thanks for his effort. The Scriptures evidently intend that Christians should have some opinions on the nature of the life of the soul between death and the judgment, and especially on the significance of the resurrection. The author gives *his* views, and deserves a candid hearing. The following is his general position:—

Death in all its forms is the fruit of sin. Death in nature is the result of the reaction of man's sin upon his surroundings. But ruin and devastation prevailed on a wide scale in the ante-Adamic periods. This can be but the reflex upon the cosmos of the fall of Satan and his hosts. But what *is* death? It is the violent unnatural severance of the soul from the organ of its communion with the world of matter. Thereby the soul enters into a condition of nudity and lack, and the body falls into apparent ruin. But what *is* the body? Wherein consists its identity? Not in its crude matter, for that is constantly changing. The octogenarian dies with the same body wherewith he was born; but the matter of his body has been, in the mean time, many times changed. Its identity lies in its organic ground-form. This invisible organic form persists throughout his existence. It is modified by the inner soul-life, but it itself is ever the same. It is, so to speak, the mold into which flows the crude matter of flesh and blood. Death is simply the emptying out of its crude contents. This ground-form is the

spacial vehicle of the spirit. It gives shape to the soul; for the soul, in order to be related to locality, must have outlines. If it has not shape, then it is either every-where or nowhere. This notion of an ideal body has no relation to the crude notions of Swedenborg. It is the sole conception which gives identity to the body, and saves the spirit from evanescing at death into the All. It is the maturing beauty of this inner body that beams out in the face of the noble and the holy. It is its radiance that sparkles in the inspired eye. It is its sunset glory that sometimes plays over the face of the recently departed. At death the soul passes in this ethereal body into Hades, and there continues its development toward holiness, or the contrary, until the general resurrection and judgment. This Hades life is a time of inner ripening, rather than of outer activity. It is a transitional time of awaiting, and with it waits also the whole groaning cosmos. The general resurrection will be but a part of the great transformation that awaits the entire sin-affected cosmos, when there will be "new heavens and a new earth." The resurrection will simply be the putting of the immortal soul into concrete communion with the renewed world. This world will be a transfigured one; the soul will, therefore, need a transfigured corporeality in order to be at home in it. But wherein will consist the resurrection? In this: that the denuded ground-form of the soul will now be clothed with a transfigured corporeality correspondent to the renovated cosmos. But how will this body be identical with the buried body? The new body will certainly *be less* than the coarse body, which was long since dissolved and mingled with the general chemical elements of the world. It will, probably, be *more* than the ideal ground-form which the soul took with it into Hades; for this form was simply the ideal form of the body, but not a material body at all. Hence there are possible two solutions of the question: either the identity lies exclusively in the ideal ground-form of the soul, (and then the "rising out of the grave" will have to be regarded as simply a popular expression for "returning from the state ensuing upon death,") or we must assume the existence of an ethereal organic germ, invisible and indestructible by any chemical analysis, which goes into the grave at the death of the body, and then, at the general renovation of the cosmos, constitutes the vital point at which the denuded soul enters into organic contact with the new world, and from that starting-point develops for itself a glorified body. In this glorified body, then, the reintegrated man will inhabit the reintegrated earth. Then the petition, "Thy kingdom come,"

will be fully answered. But we need not be terrified lest this new earth offer inadequate accommodation for all humanity. Who knows but that the planetary and the stellar heavens above us may be as accessible to our glorified natures as now one continent or island is accessible to the inhabitants of another? But what will be the relations of the glorified among each other? All the normal bonds and ties between normal humanity will exist among reintegrated humanity. Friendship, government, worship, will doubtless reappear under some form. Even the differences of male and female will not be obliterated. The Scriptures teach only that the generative function will discontinue, but not that the normal characteristics of the two sexes will be lost.

These and many other points are discussed by Professor Splittzerber. He is confident that he is approximately right. He writes devoutly, and thinks his views are warranted by Scripture. His book, with all its weak points, deserves the attention of all who study the subject of the resurrection. The authors most largely used and quoted are Karsten, Z. B. Althaus, Rinck, Martensen, Nitzsch, T. H. Fichte, Delitzsch, Rudloff, Böhrenger, Kurz, Steffens, G. Jahn, Göbel, Stähelin, and others.

Miscellaneous.

Johnson's New Universal Cyclopedia: a Scientific and Popular Treasury of Useful Knowledge. Illustrated with Maps, Plans, and Engravings. Editors in chief, Frederick A. P. Barnard, President of Columbia College, and Arnold Guyot, Professor of Geology and Physical Geography, College of New Jersey. With numerous Contributions from Writers of distinguished Eminence in every Department of Letters and Science in the United States and in Europe. Not to exceed four volumes, including Appendix. Volume I, A—E. 8vo., pp. 1696. New York: A. J. Johnson & Son. Pittsburgh, Pa.: W. D. Cummings. Boston, Mass.: C. F. Alden. San Francisco, Cal.: H. D. Watson. 1875.

Horace Greeley said that in writing he always wanted three books at his elbow, a well-measured cyclopedia, a world-atlas, and Webster's Dictionary. The first, we suppose, would verify his facts; the second, their whereabouts; and the third, the words in which to express them. Mr. Johnson, his friend "A. J.," had already furnished the second; and he now is furnishing the first, according to the measure and model of his deceased friend's wishes. The work, as indicated by the present volume, belongs emphatically to the department of *solid* literature, being crowded and packed

with the largest possible matter in the given space, as with a purpose that the purchaser shall have the worth of his money. A list of twenty-three Editors stands on the title-page, among whom we find President Wolsey, George P. Marsh, Dr. Krauth, Professor Seelye, Dr. Schaff, Alexander H. Stevens, Abel Stevens, and T. O. Summers. Eight pages of contributors are also given for the entire work, embracing fifteen hundred names.

The names of Dr. Abel Stevens and Dr. Thomas O. Summers, as representatives of their respective Churches, are guarantee that Methodism will be well stated. As a whole, the work may be characterized as presenting the facts of science unembarrassed with the philosophy of atheism, and as comprehensively Protestant in biblical literature and theology. As such, it may be safely recommended to our readers who wish a Cyclopedia full enough to be sure for the fact needed, and yet moderate enough in price and size to be purchasable and handy.

Among the more notable articles are Architecture of American Aborigines, richly furnished with striking illustrations, by Lewis H. Morgan; Bombardment, taking the case of Fort Sumter as its sample, by J. G. Barnard; Botany, by Professor Asa Gray; Darwinism, *pro* and *con*, by Professor Youmans and Professor Seelye; Chemistry, by Professor Barker; Climate, by Professor Guyot; Comparative Anatomy, by Professor Cope; (the Comparative Philology is too brief, and Comparative Theology is wanting;) and a very admirable article on Evolution, by Henry Hartshorne.

The old antithesis of Calvinism and Arminianism re-appears in tolerably full dimensions; represented on the Calvinistic side by an able article of seven pages, from the pen of Professor A. A. Hodge, and on the Arminian side an article of nearly equal length by the editor of this Quarterly.

The Satire of A. Persius Flaccus. Edited by BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Ph. D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 231. New York: Harper Brothers. 1875.

A fine edition of a standard classic. The Introduction contains a brief biography, and an elegant critical review of Persius. The notes are copious and in a high style of scholarship.

Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes. Three Lectures delivered before the Students of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, January 13, 20, 27, 1875. With an Appendix by RICHARD S. STORRS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 233. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1875.

Rape of the Gamp. A Novel. By C. WELSH MASON. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 152. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

All for Christ; or, How the Christian may Obtain, by a Renewed Consecration of his Heart, the Fullness of Joy referred to by the Saviour just previous to his Crucifixion. With Illustrations from the Lives of those who have made this Consecration. By Rev. THOMAS CARTER, D.D., 16mo., pp. 192. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation Unraveled. By Bishop ULLATHORNE. Pp. 91. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1875.

The True and the False Infallibility of the Popes. A Controversial Reply to Dr. Schulte. By Dr. JOSEPH FESSLER. A Work honored by a brief Approbation from his Holiness Pope Pius IX. Translated from the Third Edition by permission of the Editors of the late Bishop Fessler's Works. 12mo., pp. 162. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1875.

Pax. The Syllabus for the People. A Review of the Propositions condemned by his Holiness Pope Pius IX., with Text of the Condemned List. By a Monk of St. Augustine's, Ramsgate. Pp. 51. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1875.

Religion and Science in their Relation to Philosophy. An Essay on the Present State of the Sciences read before the Philosophical Society of Washington. By CHARLES W. SHIELDS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 69. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875.

The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa, from Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-five to his Death. Continued by a Narrative of his Last Moments and Sufferings, obtained from his faithful servants, Chuma and Susi. By HORACE WALKER, F.R.G.S. With Portrait, Maps, and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 541. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The Early Kings of Norway. Also, an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox. By THOMAS CARLYLE. 12mo., pp. 257. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Hours of Christian Devotion. Translated from the German of A. Tholuck, D.D. By ROBERT MENZIES, D.D. Second Edition. 12mo., pp. 541. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1875. Price, $3 00.

The Christian Sabbath Harmonized with Creation Seventh Day. By Rev. E. M. H. FLEMING. 12mo., pp. 20. Council Bluffs: Christian Advocate Press. 1873.

The Conscious and Continued Existence of the Soul after the Death of the Body, and the Punishment of the Wicked shown not to be Annihilation. The Second Advent of Christ. By Rev. E. M. H. FLEMING, 12mo., pp. 20. Council Bluffs: Christian Advocate Press. 1873.

Arctic Heroes. Facts and Incidents of Arctic Explorations, from the Earliest Voyages to the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin; embracing Sketches of Commercial and Religious Results. By Rev. Z. A. MUDGE. Four Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 304. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Helena's Cloud with the Silver Lining. By the Author of "How Marjorie Watched," etc. Two Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 185. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

God's Word through Preaching. The Lyman Beecher Lectures before the Theological Department of Yale College. Fourth Series. By JOHN HALL, D.D. 12mo., pp. 274. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from his Diaries and Letters. Edited by Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart., one of his Executors. 12mo., pp. 721. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

The Invasion of the Crimea. Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEX. WM. KINGLAKE. Vol. 3—Battle of Inkerman. 12mo., pp. 344. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Conquering and to Conquer. By the Author of "The Schonberg-Cotta Family." 12mo., pp. 181. New York: Dodd & Mead.

American Pioneers and Patriots. The Adventures of Chevalier de La Salle and his Companions in their Explorations of the Prairies, Forests, Lakes, and Rivers of the New World, and their Interviews with the Savage Tribes Two Hundred Years ago. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 384. New York: Dodd & Mead.

Pastor's Visiting Book and Pocket Ritual. Arranged for Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. R. HARCOURT. 16mo., pp. 48. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN, M.A., Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford. With Maps and Tables. 12mo., pp. 823. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1875.

ART. I.—MOTLEY'S JOHN OF BARNEVELD.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL.D., D.C.L. Two vols. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE life of Barneveld involves very largely a history of his times. So intimately, indeed, were his life and achievements interwoven in the great historical tapestry of the Republic, not to say of all Europe, that the history of the latter, and particularly of the Netherlands, Britain, France, and Germany, can hardly be thoroughly appreciated without a knowledge of the designs, the labors, and the fate of this man. True, owing to the singular constitution and historical position of the Republic whose destinies he guided, as also the peculiar and abnormal office which he held, all combining to cast a vail over his individuality, Barneveld's presence upon the great European theater, where he was so long a chief actor, seems to have been quite impersonal and shadowy; yet none the less on this account were his efforts and achievements there manifestly foremost among those productive of long-enduring, wide-spread, and most beneficent results. In the meantime, while thus a public man in the fullest sense of the term—touching at every point the general history of Christendom—it was in the provinces, where, even to this day, his name—so typical is it of a party and a faith, and so indelibly associated is it with a great historical cataclysm—kindles political passion in the form either of ardent affection or enthusiastic hatred; and particu-

larly during the period of the Truce, the last decade of Barneveld's singularly eventful life, and the period specially covered by the two volumes indicated at the head of this article, this man will be found to have been pre-eminently the central personage, the foremost citizen, and the master-spirit.

On the 14th of September, 1547, the year of Martin Luther's death, was born at Amersfort, in the province of Utrecht, of an ancient and knightly house, John of Olden Barneveld. The name was an imposing one. The Olden Barnevelds of Gelderland were a race of unquestionable and very antique nobility. From his earliest youth John was a profound and indefatigable student. Having studied law at Leyden and Heidelberg, he practiced for a season as an advocate in Holland and Zealand. An early and ardent defender of civil and religious liberty, he soon came under the notice of William the Silent, who at once recognized his ability, and learned to rely largely on his services. His manhood being almost contemporary with the great war of freedom, we are not surprised to find young Barneveld taking an active and disinterested part therein, serving as a volunteer, and at his own expense, through several perilous campaigns. Indeed, we first meet with the young man, in connection with the history of the Netherlands, as a soldier, bearing his *snaphance* on his shoulder, in the memorable and disastrous attempt to relieve Haarlem, he having been one of the very few survivors of that bloody night. Later, we see him, in company with the Prince of Orange, standing outside the walls of Leyden when that magnificent destruction of the dykes took place, by which that long beleagured city was saved from the fate impending over it; he, in this instance, having been so disabled by sickness and exposure as to have been deprived of the joy of witnessing the triumphant conclusion of that famous siege. At a still later period we see him, in company with young Prince Maurice, landing from the gunboats upon the Knowenstyn on the fatal 26th of May, when the attempt to throw succor into the besieged city of Antwerp proved so disastrous a failure.

These military services, however, though by no means inconsiderable or unworthy, were yet really but brief episodes in a career of almost uninterrupted and life-long statesmanship and diplomacy.

While engaged in successfully practicing his profession before the tribunals of Holland, Barneveld was called, at the comparatively early age of twenty-nine, to the important post of chief pensionary of Rotterdam. So long as the great Prince of Orange lived, Barneveld was only too proud and happy to be among the most trusted and assiduous of the councillors of this man, so emphatically all and in all to his country. When the hand of the assassin struck down this founder of his nation's independence, and by the same blow also struck the young Republic with paralysis, Barneveld was foremost among the statesmen of Holland to spring forward and help inspire the country with renewed confidence and energy; a task all the more arduous from the fact that the land at the time was sadly distracted by opposing and bitterly belligerent factions. Every national interest, indeed, seemed for the moment to be in deadly peril. A writer in the New York "Independent" has well said:—

> The Provinces had gained much, but they had not yet reached the end longed for; and now that their great leader had fallen, there seemed no possibility of a successful continuance of the conflict. To the genius of Barneveld more than to any other cause it was due that the States were not riven asunder by hopeless discord.

The negotiations for conferring the sovereignty of Holland upon the Prince of Orange, which at the time of the latter's death were almost completed, of course were brought abruptly to a close by this untimely event. At the suggestion of Barneveld, the confederates in this hour of their confusion, not to say dismay, hastened to lay the sovereignty, or at least the protectorship, of all the Provinces at the feet, first of England, and then of France. Barneveld was placed at the head of this embassy; and, indeed, was the indispensable head of all similarly important embassies during this period. The offered crown, in which was involved a war with the greatest power in the world without any apparently compensating dignity or benefit, having been refused, nay, spurned, by both monarchs, Barneveld returned to find himself vehemently urged by the nobles and regents of Holland to accept the post of Advocate at that Province,* an office which, after repeatedly declining it,

* The Advocate and Keeper of the Great Seal of the Province of Holland—a province richer and more powerful than all its six sisters combined, and hence

he finally consented upon certain conditions to accept; and from this time forth his career may be said to have been practically identical with the history of the commonwealth itself.

One of the first and most serious problems that occupied the attention of the new Advocate was the adjustment of difficulties, or complications occasioned by the unhappy intervention of England in the Netherland politics. Elizabeth had, indeed, waived the offered sovereignty of the Provinces, yet she consented to appoint a governor-general of the same, and, upon certain conditions, to send over a small contingent of troops to assist them in establishing their independence of Spain. Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a man whose reputation for public affairs was hardly less contemptible than his private life was scandalous, was made governor-general. The latter was most generously received, and intrusted at once with the supreme command. So high-handed, however, and unscrupulous was his administration of affairs, that he speedily drew down upon his head such a remonstrance from the States as, for the time, quite disgusted him, and caused his return to England in a little more than a year after his first arrival in the country.*

not unwilling to assume a sort of supremacy, which, on the whole, was practically conceded by the rest—was virtually prime minister, president, attorney-general, finance minister, and minister of foreign affairs of the whole Republic. He took the lead in the deliberations both of the States of Holland and the States-General, moved resolutions, advocated great measures of State, gave heed to their execution, collected the votes, summed up the proceedings, corresponded with and instructed embassadors, received and negotiated with foreign ministers, besides directing and holding in his hands the various threads of the home policy, and the rapidly growing colonial system of the Republic. Indeed, the Advocate may be said to have been practically the Republic itself; for, though dignified and draped and concealed by the overshadowing title, "The high and puissant Lords, my Masters, the States-General," yet the informing and master-spirit thereof, molding so many of the statesmen, monarchs, and warriors of his time, and even the great European public itself at many critical moments of history, was simple, plain John of Barneveld.

* Though as unpopular, generally, as brief, the administration of Leicester in the Netherlands yet sufficed to develop there a powerful faction fanatically devoted to his interest—a faction none the less rabid or persistent because embracing the greater part of the clergy. Indeed *it was at this very epoch*, and out of this very Leicestrian faction, that was born that High-Church, Calvinistic party that so long vexed, and finally practically revolutionized, the Government.

Nor, fruitless as, for the most part, were the victories of the British arms on

During the temporary absence of the earl, Prince Maurice, son of the murdered William of Orange, was elected by the States to fill the dignity thus vacated by Leicester; and after the final recall of the latter by Queen Elizabeth was acknowledged, largely through the influence of Barneveld, stadtholder* and commander-in-chief by all the Provinces.

In the meantime the war with Spain was wearing on. The Duke of Parma was slowly advancing, and steadfastly intrenching himself in the very heart of the country. Just at this crisis, providentially, a new and very splendid military genius appears. The warlike operations of the elder Prince of Orange had been any thing but brilliant, or even successful. In the minds of many they had been uniformly unfortunate. Those, on the other hand, of his youthful yet illustrious son, (Prince Maurice,) were of such brilliant success as not only to fill the hearts of his own people with extravagant joy, but to direct toward him the admiring attention of all Europe. The condition of the United Provinces, meanwhile, was undergoing marked and salutary changes. Despite the long and cruel war, prosperity was once again beginning hopefully to reign in the land. These great military successes, and the beneficent material developments that followed in their train, reflect, of course, the highest credit on the genius and patriotism of the great captain. At the same time it should not be forgotten that these very achievements would hardly have been possible but for the teeming brain, the fertile pen, the restless, almost omnipresent, hand of Barneveld. From the time of his appointment to the Advocacy of Holland, such was his influence with the authorities, and such the reliance placed upon his judgment by the latter, that he was enabled to induce the States to consent to all needful, beneficial measures; while his own diligence in aiding the projects of Maurice, by supplying his armies with provisions, material, ammunition,

Netherland soil, it cannot yet be denied that they gathered at least some luster there when it is remembered that it was on the desperately, heroically contested field of Zutphen that the illustrious Sir Philip Sidney laid down his noble life.

Under Lord Willoughby, the English troops continued to render very effective service in the Netherlands long after the recall of the Earl of Leicester.

* A governor of a province. Originally the representative of the sovereign in the Provincial Assembly. With this title the Prince of Orange had conferred on him, by the States of Holland and Zealand, almost dictatorial powers.

in a word, "with all the sinews of war," was simply unceasing.

Barneveld's work at this epoch, as Advocate of Holland, may be said to have been twofold. First, he must awaken a distinctively national spirit at home. The country originally was made up of separate provinces, each being almost as jealous of any encroachment upon its independence on the part of its neighbor as it was anxious to secure its independence of Spain. This jealousy, this spirit of separatism, this purely provincial and municipal patriotism, must needs evidently be overcome, and in its stead there must be awakened a strong, persistent national feeling. Barneveld's first duty, as just intimated, was to awaken this national spirit, and rally or organize it around the national cause.

His next work was even more difficult, if possible, than this, though certainly no less important. Very naturally, under the circumstances, it became extremely desirable, on the part of the struggling Republic, to establish and maintain friendly relations with the most important princes of Europe; and not only so, but to discourage and, if possible withal, to prevent alliances on the part of such princes with its great enemy, Spain. An alliance, for example, between France and Spain, offensive and defensive, evidently would be instantaneous ruin to the Republic. On the other hand, with the French and English sovereigns united with the Provinces, not only were the political independence of the latter morally certain, but, reversely, the Spanish world-empire would be effectually annihilated, and the Reformation permanently established. This work, however, was hedged about with the greatest difficulties. The natural relations of England, France, and Spain, owing now to religious, now to marriage complications, were such as to discourage every effort. James of England had his heart set upon a Spanish marriage for his son, even at the expense of forming a Spanish alliance; while, for a similar reason, Henry IV. of France could not easily be induced to break with Philip III. Yet, in spite of all these obstacles, Barneveld, by consummate diplomatic tact, enforcing every-where the conviction that so long as Spain remained encamped in the very heart of Western Europe no hope or peace was possible for other leading powers, he finally succeeded in bringing

about treaties of firm alliance and friendship, especially with France and England, alliances which enabled him, in 1609, to force Spain to sign the twelve years' Truce; and so at last, after forty long years of hard fighting, virtually to concede not only, indeed, the independence of the United Netherlands, including, of course, the conservation of all their ancient laws, privileges, and charters, but withal, and more than all else, freedom at least to establish the Reformed religion, if not absolutely to worship God according to conscience.

The Truce has now been made. A temporary peace has been guaranteed by two great powers. The knotty question of acknowledgment or of the admission of the new-born State into the family of nations has been solved, all mainly by the genius of Barneveld, working amid many disadvantages, and against great obstacles. But though thus at length fairly launched upon its career, certainly hardly less of the skill, coolness, courage, and patience of the practical and experienced statesman are required now than before to conduct the affairs of the Confederacy.* Not a little address, for example, was required to win for the Republic that consideration, that courteous and honorable recognition abroad, to which, of course, she was most justly entitled. Somewhat to the disgust and discomfiture of the Lord's anointed had this new State forced itself into the family of existing sovereignties. Rebellious and republican, it necessarily excited the jealousy, not to say apprehensions, of long established and hereditary governments. Its sovereign independence had, indeed, been acknowledged by the world, yet there remained certain crowned heads and others who affected to look upon the new commonwealth with a measure of contempt.† This senile and cockney aversion

* Our author well says: "The troubled epoch of peace was even now heaving with warlike emotions, and was hardly less stormy than the war which has just been suspended. The Republic was like a raft, loosely strung together, floating almost on a level ocean and often half submerged, but freighted with inestimable treasures for itself and the world. It certainly needed an unsleeping eye and a powerful brain to conduct her over the quicksands and through the whirlpools of an unmapped and intricate course."

† The king of Spain, though he had treated with the Netherlands as free, had not yet formally recognized the independence of the United Provinces. James had united with Henry IV. in guaranteeing the treaty just concluded between the States and Spain, yet the government of Great Britain was very reluctant to re-

must be overcome, and most successfully was it overcome, not many months having elapsed before the patience and sagacity of the Premier had triumphed completely over all these difficulties; all the great nations not only coming cordially to enter into diplomatic relations and conventions with the States, but to extend to all their properly accredited agents the rank, dignity, and titles of embassadors.

The Republic having thus steadily and successfully shouldered its way into the family of nations, and conquered for itself consideration and respect, was very soon after called upon to perform a prominent and decisive part in the world's affairs.*

The question which very largely engrossed the Advocate's attention during the earlier years of the Truce, and the history, or discussion which occupies the principal portion of Mr. Motley's first volume, is the famous controversy concerning the possession or inheritance of what were known as the "Duchies of Cleve."

The latter, consisting of some six small provinces, and closely wedged in between Catholicism and Protestantism, between France, the United Provinces, Belgium, and Germany, were the inheritance, politically, of the Duke of Cleve. The mass of the population were Protestant, though the reigning family and the chief nobles of the land were at least nominally of the ancient faith. Now, manifestly, should these important provinces ever fall into the hands of Austria, or the active partisans

gard the former as entitled to all the consideration of a sovereign State. Even at the court of the best friend of the Republic, the French king, men at first regarded somewhat coldly this little upstart Commonwealth; while the haughty Republic of Venice, with its pedigree of a thousand years, was hardly less disposed to look askance at this Republic of yesterday, rising, like herself, out of lagunes and sandbanks, and affecting to place herself by the side of emperors and kings.

* It would be very interesting, did our limits admit of it, to review at this point the character of the principal potentates and statesmen with whom Barneveld was constantly called upon to try conclusions, and to discuss the constitution of the leading powers of Europe as they existed at this time. Greater vigilance, sagacity, and patience certainly were never required on the part of any statesman to deal with all the turbulent, refractory elements about him. In the meantime that year had arrived, 1609, in which it was hoped a peaceful period had at length begun. "It seemed," says Mr. Motley, "the very mockery of fate, that almost at the very instant when, after two years of painful negotiation, a truce had been made, the signal for universal discord should again be sounded."

of that House, the Netherlands, trampled upon in every corner, hedged in on all sides by jealous powers and rival creeds, were lost. On the other hand, should they fall into heretic hands, or come under the control of those opposed to the Austrian dynasty, the States naturally were vastly strengthened; while, in the event of the utter expulsion from this territory of the Spaniards, the Dutch Commonwealth would be placed on an impregnable basis.

The Duke of Cleve meantime, an irrepressible madman, was old, feeble, and childless. It was becoming naturally with the sovereigns and statesmen of Europe a grave question, whose, in case of his death, should all these possessions be? On the one side the competitors were two nephews of the imbecile duke, sons of the deceased sisters—Count Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburgh—princes allied to Protestant houses, or at least committed to the Protestant cause. On the other side was the emperor of Germany, who, maintaining that the Duchies, constituting as they did a fief masculine, could rightfully descend to none of the aforesaid pretenders, asserted boldly that they were solely at his own disposal as sovereign of Germany. Under the circumstances it will hardly be surprising that the United Provinces were exercised with not a little apprehension relative to an event which could not long be deferred, and the consequences of which were soon evidently to be so vastly important.

Hardly now was the ink dry on the treaty which had suspended for twelve years the great religious war of forty years, not yet had the ratifications of the same been fully exchanged, when the death of the aforesaid lunatic, bursting like a bomb-shell on the council tables of Europe, precipitated this long-dreaded crisis, and once more threw the European world into confusion. Again it would seem, and so soon, the great duel between the ancient Church and the spirit of the Reformation was to be renewed, and for the present in this narrow, debatable spot.

The States, of course, promptly favored the possessory princes, more especially the Elector, but whose cause, in this portentous crisis, was to be espoused by the French king—"the only statesman in Europe," says Mr. Motley, "that wore a crown." He was a Catholic, yet hitherto he has been

the ally of Holland, and the secret, but well known, enemy of the House of Austria. Inevitably, under the circumstances, Henry was to find himself appealed to by all parties, and occupying the proud, but difficult and dangerous, position of arbiter of Europe. Mr. Motley conclusively shows that it was largely through the influence of John of Barneveld that Henry IV., after a long and most vexatious delay, decided in favor of the Protestant princes. The pope, it is true, expostulated, threatened, admonished him that, being a Catholic, he had no right to assist heretics: that such an act, indeed, was entirely contrary to his duty as a Christian, and his reputation as the eldest son of the Church. But in vain. The king, in no wise alarmed or disconcerted by the pope's admonitions, had made up his mind as to the great business of what remained to him of life: to humble the House of Austria, and in so doing uphold the Dutch Republic, on which he relied for his most effective support. In fact a very plausible pretext was hereby afforded for a long contemplated project. This project was nothing else than to crush forever the power of the Austrian house; to drive Spain back into her own limits, and put an end to her projects of universal monarchy; taking the imperial crown from the House of Hapsburgh, and, by thus breaking up that mighty cousinship which, by the aid of Rome, had so long overshadowed a large part of Europe, bring France at last into that preponderant position over Christendom, which he believed to be her due. The Cleve question, properly and vigorously handled, presented exactly the long-desired opportunity for carrying out these stupendous designs. Accordingly as has been stated, Henry joins hands with Holland in bestowing on the Protestant claimants these rich domains of Cleve, solemnly consecrating to the execution of this decree the whole military power of France.*

* It is a remarkable fact that Henry was induced to undertake this grand crusade against the House of Austria hardly more from his hatred of his royal foe than from a strange infatuation for one of the young ladies of his own court, the beautiful Margaret Montmorency, Princess of Condé, who, in consequence of the king's scandalous gallantries, had been spirited away from his capital by her husband, and was being forcibly detained, as the king believed, somewhere in the Spanish dominions. "If," says Mr. Motley, "the abduction of this new Helen by her own Menelaus was not the first or principal cause of the impending Iliad, there can be no doubt that the incident had much to do with the crisis. It was, perhaps, the turning

"It is interesting," says another, "even if it is fruitless, to speculate as to what the results of that alliance would have been under other circumstances." On the thirteenth of May, 1610, France and Holland were about to enter upon a campaign ostensibly in the interest of the Protestant claimants of the debatable Duchies, but really for the destruction of Spanish influence. Until the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus, perhaps even until the appearance of Cromwell, Maurice and Henry IV. were unquestionably the ablest generals of the century. If their forces had actually taken the field, and the nations involved had really joined in the contest, what indeed would have been the result?

But on the fatal fourteenth, just as Henry was about to leave his capital for the frontier of Holland, Francis Ravaillac leaped upon the carriage-wheel and drove his knife through the monarch's heart. "That blow," says Motley, "had accomplished more than a great army could have done, and Spain now reigned in Paris. The House of Austria, without making any military preparations, had conquered, and the great war of religion and politics was postponed for half a dozen years."*

point in the great tragedy." Indeed, our author intimates that at one time, so vehement was the king's passion for this youthful princess—gray-headed dotard though he was—that in spite of all his mighty preparations, his profound military and diplomatic combinations, and fond dreams concerning curbing the ambitious and growing power of Spain, this wonderful monarch was ready, nevertheless, to abandon the whole enterprise, to drop his sword on the spot, leave all his friends in the lurch, and embrace his enemies instead of bombarding their capitals, provided only the aforesaid adored and beautiful Margaret might be restored once more to his arms.

* Though that great, yet really preposterous enterprise, first unfolding itself with the episode of Cleve, whimsically surrounding itself with the fantastic idyl of the Princess of Condé, and at one time threatening to involve all Europe in deadly violence, crumbled at once into nothingness under the blow of the assassin, the Republic, nevertheless, guided by her consummate statesman and unrivaled general, proceeded, without delay, to put an army into the debatable Duchies, gained speedily an immense and decisive victory, installed the Protestant princes in the full possession of these splendid and important provinces, dictated her decrees on German soil to the German emperor, and here still maintained her position, as the representative of Protestantism and freedom, at the opening of the Thirty Years' War. The Republic at this moment was not only playing a world's game, but doing it with singular skill and courage. On the issue, meantime, of the conflict thus begun—a conflict which was to be long protracted in the Duchies, and which was withal to spread over nearly all Christendom—was to depend the very existence of the United Netherlands, as well as the fate of Protestantism itself.

Nor was this all. Barneveld's policy had necessarily been largely bound up in the life of the king. Difficult, indeed, as he had been to manage, Henry had after all served as the Advocate's strong right arm. Now, therefore, that the king was gone, what more natural than that the power and prestige of the great statesman should sustain serious, not to say irreparable loss?

But if Barneveld had enough to do so to manage the foreign relations of his government as to make whatever transpired abroad, if possible, inure to his country's benefit, he still had both hands and heart full of the most distracting and wearisome labors at home. Grave, fundamental constitutional questions were now beginning to rise, and bitter controversies to prevail concerning them. Of these, perhaps the most important was the question of sovereignty, now raised for the first time, not academically, indeed, but practically, and imperatively calling for a final solution.* The United Provinces—what were they? A confederacy, or a union? A league of sovereign, independent States, bound together by treaty for certain specified, temporary purposes, or an incorporated, indissolvable whole? Was the supreme power of the union created at Utrecht vested in the States-General, or not?† While the

* "The great peculiarity of the Dutch constitution at this epoch was that no principle was absolutely settled. In throwing off a foreign tyranny, and successfully vindicating their national independence, the burghers and nobles had not had leisure to lay down any organic law. Nor had the day for profound investigation of the political or social contract arrived. Men dealt almost exclusively with facts, and when the facts arranged themselves illogically and incoherently, the mischief was grave and difficult to remedy. It is not a trifling inconvenience for an organized commonwealth to be in doubt as to where, in whom, and of what nature, is sovereignty. Yet this was precisely the condition of the United Netherlands."

† When, in consequence of Philip's violation of his solemn vows to recognize and honor the ancient charters and privileges of the Netherland Provinces, exercising a tyranny, indeed, that for ferocity and extent has few parallels in history, the people determined upon resistance, the whole seventeen provinces revolted. At length, however, wearying of the war, disheartened by repeated reverses, ten of these provinces, known as the Spanish Netherlands, the Walloon Provinces or Flanders, returned to their allegiance, remained subsequently under the Spanish dominion, adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, and now constitute the kingdom of Belgium. In 1519 the remaining seven provinces, including Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groninger, Overyseel, and Gelderland, formed what is called the "Union of Utrecht," and thus laid the foundation of the Republic of the seven united Provinces. This union was at first merely a league of mutual assistance and

war was yet in progress there was neither occasion or disposition to moot these questions; but now that the cessation of military operations had given men time to look more deeply into the nature of their nondescript constitution—partly inherited and partly improvised—it was inevitable that its weaknesses, inconsistencies, and shortcomings, more or less glaring, should be detected, and lead to vigorous, not to say passionate and acrimonious, debate.

Concerning the nature of this fundamental or original union Mr. Motley says:—

> The federal policy of the Provinces had drifted into a republican form after their renunciation of their Spanish sovereign, not because the people of the States, as representing the people, had deliberately chosen a republican system, but because they could get no powerful monarch to accept the sovereignty. They had offered to become subjects of Protestant England and of Catholic France. Both powers had refused the offer, and refused it with something like contumely. . . . But the internal policy in all the provinces, and in all the towns was republican. Local self-government existed every-where. Each city magistracy was a little republic in itself. The death of William the Silent before he had been invested with the sovereign power of all the seven provinces, again left that sovereignty in abeyance. Was the supreme power of the union created at Utrecht in 1519 vested in the States-General? * They were beginning theoretically to claim it, but Barneveld denied the existence of any such power either in law or in fact. It was a league of sovereignties, he maintained; a confederacy of seven independent States, united for certain purposes by a treaty made some thirty years before. . . . The Republic existed as a fact, but it had never received a formal baptism. So unde-

defence. Without professing to abandon their allegiance to the king of Spain, the parties to this compact bound themselves together to spend all their treasure and all their blood in expelling the foreign soldiery from their soil; but it soon became apparent that a complete separation from Philip was inevitable, and on July 26, 1581, the United Provinces assembled at the Hague and solemnly proclaimed their independence.

* The States of any particular province—or, in other words, the Provincial legislature—consisted of the clergy, the nobles, and representatives of the cities, or of the several municipal corporations of the Province. The States-General were constituted of similar materials to those of which the States-Provincial were constructed. They were deputies appointed by the Provincial estates, were in truth rather more like diplomatic envoys than senators; were generally bound very strictly by instructions, and often, through inter-provincial jealousies, felt bound to refer to their constituents on questions when the times demanded a sudden decision.

fined was its constitution, and so conflicting were the various opinions in regard to it of eminent men, that it would be difficult to say how high treason could be committed against it. Great lawyers of the highest intellect and learning believed the sovereign power to reside in the separate States; others found that sovereignty in the city magistrates; while during a feverish period of war and tumult the supreme function had, without any written constitution, any organic law, practically devolved upon the States-General, which had now began to claim it as a right. In fact, the Republic was simply an improvised aristocracy of lawyers, manufacturers, bankers, and corporations, which, in a time of exceptional trial, had done immense work, and exhibited astonishing sagacity and courage. * * * * * *

There was little of what we now understand as the democratic sentiment in the Netherlands. There was deep and sturdy attachment to ancient traditions, privileges, special constitutions extorted from a power acknowledge to be superior to the people. When, partly to save those chartered rights, and partly to overthrow the horrible ecclesiastical tyranny of the sixteenth century, the people had accomplished a successful revolt, they never dreamed of popular sovereignty, but allowed the municipal corporations, by which their local affairs had been for centuries transacted, to unite in offering to foreign princes one after another the crown which they had torn from the head of the Spanish king. When none was found to accept the dangerous honor, they had acquiesced in the practical sovereignty of the States; but whether the States-General or the States-Provincial were the supreme authority had certainly not been definitely or categorically settled. So long as the States of Holland, led by the Advocate, had controlled in great matters the political action of the States-General; while the Stadtholder stood without a rival at the head of their military affairs, and so long as there were no fierce disputes as to government and dogma within the bosom of the Reformed Church, these questions which were now inflaming the whole population had been allowed to slumber. * * * * * *

The Union of Utrecht of 1519 was a league of petty sovereignties; a compact less binding and more fragile than the Articles of Union made almost exactly two hundred years later in America, and the worthlessness of which, after the strain of war was over, had been demonstrated in the dreary years immediately following the peace of 1783.

The Union of Utrecht, then, was simply a contract between sovereigns. True, unless these States had been wiser in their practice than in their theory, their system in their late tremendous emergency would have proved of no more account to them than a rope of sand. Indeed, nothing could well have been more imbecile, as Mr. Motley well suggests, judging

especially in the light of subsequent events and experiences, than the system so fervently advocated, and so jealously and tenaciously maintained in theory, by the Netherlanders. Imagine, for example, the sorry figure that would have been made by the independent and sovereign province of Zealand, or of Groningen, campaigning, or negotiating, or exhibiting itself on its own account before the world. Their practical inconsistencies proved in reality their salvation. The preponderance of the one province of Holland, richer, more powerful, more independent in various ways than the other six provinces combined, gave to the confederacy, illegally to be sure, yet practically, many of the attributes and advantages of union; not, indeed, by usurpation, but simply from force of circumstances. Holland had, in many regards, come to consider herself, and to be considered, as the Republic itself; while Barneveld, acting always in the name of Holland, and with the most modest of titles and appointments, was for a long time, in all civil matters, virtually the chief of the whole country. And manifestly, as just suggested, but for this evidently unconstitutional exercise of authority, prompted, nay, rendered absolutely necessary, by the crisis upon them, the great affairs of war and peace on the part of the Provinces could never have been so successfully carried on, or brought to so triumphant a conclusion. Yet, whether a reasonable or an absurd system, a vigorous or an imbecile form of government, it cannot be denied that the original union of the Netherlands was simply a confederacy—a confederacy of aristocratic provinces—no charter, precedent, or prescription existing as the ground of that central authority that had been exercised more or less by the States-General. Accordingly convenient, nay, indispensable, as this assumption of sovereignty on the part of the States-General had proved during the war, and especially during negotiations of peace, yet as, in fact, no constitutional union had ever been really enacted, naturally such assumption of power, with the cessation of hostilities, would come to be sharply inquired into, and often, by a hot political partisanship, be made the occasion of vehement denunciation as instances of unwarrantable, not to say treasonable, "federal usurpation." Unhappily, not a little of this "fitful armistice," which should evidently have been wholly devoted, on

the part of the new Republic, to the strengthening of her stakes, and to the cultivation of a broad and generous nationality, was thus frittered away in stormy and rancorous political debate, in fomenting petty jealousies and sectional discords, that could not but materially contribute to the weakening of her noble purpose, and the paralyzing of her majestic arm.

In the meantime, more potent by far than any element of discord yet introduced into the Republic was the one now beginning to be especially active, and springing from religious rivalries and theological passion. A late writer * in "Fraser's Magazine" observes: "The United Provinces do not seem to have found the problem of federation at all difficult. Strong common sense and desire of justice sufficed for their laws and administration, *except so far as the fanaticism of creeds, which had poisoned the veins of all Roman Christendom*, led them astray." Not only was there a struggle of the civil element with the military, of States' rights against central authority, of sword against gown, and of peace against war, but, unhappily also, that terrible, never, ending struggle of Church against State, prevailing at this time in the bosom of this young Republic.† Alas, that this brief period of nominal and armed peace, conquered after nearly two generations of warfare, should have been employed by the Republic thus in tearing her own flesh! Alas, that this new-born Commonwealth, which, notwithstanding the aid of both England and France, had yet withstood almost single-handed the onslaught of Spain, should now, at the very first epoch of peace, allow the

* F. W. Newman on "Contrasts of Ancient and Modern History."

† It was the controversy which has been going on since the beginning of history, and is likely to be prolonged to the end of time—the struggle for power between the sacerdotal and political orders: the controversy whether priests shall control the State, or the State govern the priests. The dominant Church was coming practically to claim infallibility, and to exercise autocratic powers over the State which maintained it. On the other hand, many of the Netherlanders, whose creed, under the influence either of the gentle Arminius or of inherited Lutheran predilections, did not harmonize altogether with the Heidelberg Catechism, and who, accordingly, were coming to be accused of and persecuted for heresy, were now beginning to inquire, nay, were feeling called upon to decide whether, after having shaking off the Holy Inquisition, and subjected the old Church to the public authority, they were yet to submit to the no less imperious claims of the new Church under cover of the plausible fiction of the Holy Ghost.

demon of religious hatred to enter into its body and fiercely rend it; that the men who, banded like brothers, had so heroically fought for two generations long for fatherland and freedom, as against an almost superhuman despotism, should now be found "howling and foaming against each other like demons," as if determined, if possible, to bring the very names of liberty and religion into contempt!

The great Reformation was considered in its day to have introduced and established the principle of the supremacy of the State over the Church. Hitherto the pope had reigned supreme; but now the sovereign of a country that had repudiated Rome and appropriated the revenues of the ancient Church was considered as entitled himself to the prerogatives of the pope, and hence at liberty to prescribe his own as the creed of his subjects: in reality, manifestly as impudent an invasion of human rights as any "heaven-born dogma of infallibility." Meanwhile, in a country like the Netherlands, without any personal sovereign, nothing evidently were more natural than that, while the representative of the civil power would reasonably expect, in accordance with the traditions of the Reformation, to succeed to the aforesaid ecclesiastical prerogatives, there should yet be between the new Church and the Government more or less of a struggle for the mastery. Such was now the condition of things at this critical epoch in the new Republic.

Nor was this strife likely to be easy, or specially characterized by moderation. Nothing could well be severer than the simplicity of the Reformed Church, its ritual being utterly destitute of popish pomp and of aristocratic hierarchy. On the other hand, nothing could possibly be more imperious or uncompromising than the dogma, nothing more infallible than its creed.

This at present was the issue: To whom, for example, belonged the ecclesiastical edifices—the splendid old minsters in the cities, raised by the people's confiding piety, and the humbler but beautiful parish churches in the country.* "To the State,"

* In that day so many were the links connecting the Church and State that a complete divorce between the two was hardly possible or conceivable. "The system of Congregationalism so successfully put in practice soon afterward in the wilderness of New England, and to which so much of American freedom, political

said Barneveld, speaking for the Government. "To the Church itself, represented by its elders and deacons and preachers," was the reply of the opposite party. To whom belonged the right of prescribing laws and ordinances of public worship, of appointing preachers, school-masters, and sextons? "To the civil authority," said the magistrates, "by which the Churches are maintained, and the salaries of the ecclesiastics paid. Why, indeed, are not the States of Holland as sovereign as the kings of England or Denmark, the electors of Saxony or Brandenburg, or the magistrates of Zurich or Basel?" "To the Holy Ghost inspiring the Class and Synod," on the other hand, responded the Church.

In 1590 a compromise, under the guidance of Barneveld, was effected, in accordance with which it was provided that civil functionaries and Church officials in equal numbers should be responsible for the maintenance of the interests of religion and of education.

This compromise was sufficiently successful during the war. During this crucial epoch external pressure kept down theological passion. Little leisure, then, indeed for acrimonious dispute concerning ecclesiastical patronage and prerogative. Besides, the love of independence, the passion for nationality, and devotion to ancient political privileges, not only equally fervent and genuine, but naturally uppermost during this period in all breasts, contributed materially to modify the hostility of the different religious forces of the land. But as soon as that struggle was over, and men had liberty to devote themselves once more to the pursuits of peace, the ecclesiastical trumpet is again heard sounding far and wide, while contending priests and laymen rush madly to the fray. Nay, not only does the old controversy between Church and Government burst forth

as well as religious, is due, was not easy to adopt in an old country like the Netherlands. Splendid churches and cathedrals, the legal possession of which would be contended for by rival sects, could scarcely be replaced by temporary structures of lath and plaster, or by humble back parlors of mechanics' shops." These questions of property—the same that, at the present time, so seriously embarrasses the question of disestablishment in England and Prussia—were of a very complicated nature. Not only the States and communities claimed in rivalry the ownership of church property, but many private families, by endowment or inheritance, by rights or titles derived often from imperial or ducal charters, also asserted their claim to the same.

afresh, but this time with a bitterness, virulence, and violence born only of a principle more potent and pestilent than any mere party spirit, or even the rivalries of political ambition.

Sir James Mackintosh has somewhere said that in the time of Queen Elizabeth there was no more thought of tolerating heresy than there was of tolerating murder or arson. The truth contained in this remark, difficult as it may be for us in this age to realize it, and hence too apt by the historical student of to-day to be lost sight of, must yet, evidently, be constantly kept in mind by us if we would judge correctly of the events of that stormy period. To the intensity of religious feeling, and the bitter rivalries of creed which thus almost every-where prevailed in that day, the Provinces of the Netherlands, it would seem, formed no exception. True, toleration of various creeds, including even the Roman Catholic, so far as abstinence from inquisition into consciences and private parlors was concerned, had been secured in this country: a very considerable step, this, too, manifestly, in advance of the practices of the sixteenth century—the practice of burning, hanging, and burying alive of culprits guilty simply of another creed than the dominant one, or the one established by law. And yet even here the "fanaticism of creeds" was distilling its deadly virus. Already heresy was becoming that "monster of so hideous a mien that to be hated," denounced, pursued, and crushed, had but to be seen. But what was heresy? Popery? To be sure. Socinianism? Most certainly. But this by no means comprehended all. The theology of the country had been strongly Calvinistic. To question the established creed, that is, the Reformed religion as founded on the Netherland Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism—this, also, was heresy. In this latter, its mildest form, the dreaded, pestilent thing now had actually crept into the great University of Leyden—the very University founded in grateful commemoration of the successful resistance of the siege under Alva. Yes, in that renowned and consecrated institution Arminius and Vorstius*

* Born in Cologne. Vorstius had been a lecturer in Geneva, and had written a book against a Jesuit by name of Belarimo, which he had dedicated to the States-General. Upon the death of Arminius the overseers of Leydon University appointed him to be professor of theology in place of the illustrious departed doctor. Though thoroughly evangelical, he was yet otherwise liberal in his views.

were daily advocating doctrines and disseminating views which Gomarus and other good Calvinists cordially denounced as damnable heresies. And so the country became divided between, and most intensely and unhappily inflamed concerning, these two creeds. In the energetic language of Motley:—

> In burghers' mansions, peasants' cottages, mechanics' back parlors; on board herring smacks, canal boats, and East Indiamen; in shops, counting-rooms, farm-yards, guard-rooms, ale-houses; on the Exchange, in the tennis-court, on the mall; at banquets, at burials, christenings, or bridals; wherever and whenever human creatures met each other, there was ever to be found the fierce wrangle of Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant, the hissing of red-hot theological rhetoric, the pelting of hostile texts. The blacksmith's iron cooled on the anvil, the tinker dropped a kettle half mended, the broker left a bargain unclinched, the Scheveningen fisherman in his wooden shoes forgot the cracks in his pinkie, while each paused to hold high converse with friend or foe on fate, free will, or absolute foreknowledge, losing himself in wandering mazes, whence there was no issue. Province against province, city against city, family against family—it was one vast scene of bickering, denunciation, heart-burnings, mutual excommunication, and hatred.

How sad, how pitiable the spectacle! Men who a generation before had stood pledged to resist, with all the might that comes from union, the fell spirit of that Holy Inquisition which was dooming all who had wandered from the ancient fold, or resisted foreign tyranny, to the ax, the fagot, or the living grave, now engaged in tearing each others' characters in pieces, and indulging in mutual loathing and the bitterest hatred, and for what? Simply on account of a difference of opinion concerning the doctrine of predestination.

In this controversy the Calvinists were doubtless in the majority,* and as aggressive, audacious, vehement, and uncom-

He was fiercely accused, however, by the Calvinistic faction, not only of Arminianism, but of Socinianism, Pelagianism, Atheism—one hardly knows what. The wrath of Gomarus, Plancius, and Bogerman, meantime, strange to say, was as nothing to the ire of King James, who, raving at the insolence of the appointment of such a monster of infidelity to a professorship, peremptorily ordered the States of Holland, on pain of forever forfeiting his friendship, to exclude Conrad Vorstius from the theological chair, and to forbid him even from "nestling anywhere in the country." For months, and even years, the whole land rocked with the excitement occasioned by this appointment.

* "As a rule the population, especially of the humbler classes, and a great majority of the preachers, were Calvinistic, or Contra-Remonstrant. The magis-

promising as numerous. Indeed, it may not be denied that this self-same, intensely believing, and perfectly fearless spirit of Calvinism had been the animating soul, the motive power, of the grand revolt itself. To have encountered Spain and Rome without Calvinism—without its fierce, uncompromising, self-sacrificing spirit—in other words, to have attempted this revolt relying upon municipal enthusiasm or patriotism alone, says Mr. Motley—

> Would have been to throw away the sword and fight with the scabbard. . . . But it is equally certain that these hot gospelers, who had suffered so much martyrdom and achieved so many miracles, were fully aware of their power and despotic in its exercise. Against the oligarchy of commercial and juridical corporations they stood there the most terrible oligarchy of all; the aristocracy of God's elect, predestined from all time, and to all eternity, to take precedence of, and to look down upon, their inferior and lost fellow-creatures.

How inevitable that this aristocracy which had done so much, which had confessedly breathed into the new-born commonwealth the very breath of life, should, in this its hour of triumph, be haughty, intolerant, despotic.

The time had now fully come for these "hot gospelers" to attempt to "play the monarch." The influence of Arminius had already become considerable; so great, indeed, that when the preachers of Holland severally were called upon by a synod to sign the Heidelberg Catechism, many of them refused. Here at length was open heresy and revolt. The Church should rise

trates, the burgher patricians, were Remonstrant. In Holland the controlling influence was Remonstrant; but Amsterdam and four or five other cities of that Province held to the opposite doctrine. These cities formed a small minority in the States Assembly of Holland, sustained by a large majority in the States-General. The Province of Utrecht was almost unanimously Remonstrant. The five other provinces were decidedly Contra-Remonstrant."

The cause, doubtless, of so many of the preachers throughout Holland being Gomarian, while the magistrates were Arminian, was that Arminius was understood to ascribe to the civil authority the right to decide upon certain Church matters, while Gomarus maintained that ecclesiastical affairs should be regulated wholly in ecclesiastical assemblies. It seems to have been felt by the clergy that if many Churches or sects existed, all would alike remain subject to the civil authority, and thus the power of the priesthood would sink before that of the burgher aristocracy. They must have a theocracy, therefore, founded on divine right, and knowing no magistrate but the Holy Ghost—a doctrine which. *upon the condition of the divorce of Church and State*, can hardly, indeed, admit of rational dispute.

at once and vindicate her authority. Rebuke had not availed. It was time she had passed from censure to action. Accordingly, to fix upon and establish an authentic and authoritative creed, and especially with a view to arresting the progress and destroying the growing influence and power of Arminianism, it was demanded on the part of the dominant party that a general Synod, that is, a Synod of all the Provinces, should be called. To this demand, for obvious reasons, Barneveld was most energetically opposed. Though his theological views appear to have been the earlier and less complete Arminianism,* yet, from first to last, the Advocate firmly and vigorously maintained that a general Synod of all the States had no constitutional right whatever to impose a creed on the individual States.† This position, of course, brought Barneveld into sharp and irreconcilable antagonism with the strongest and most influential party of Dutch Protestants. It also

* Like Arminius, he did not positively deny final perseverance. He wrote shortly before his death: "I have never been able to believe in the matter of high predestination. I have left it in the hands of God the Lord. I hold that a good Christian man must believe that he through God's grace, and by the expiation of his sin through our Redeemer Jesus Christ, is predestined to be saved, and that this belief in his salvation, founded alone on God's grace, and the merits of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, comes to him through the same grace of God. And if he falls into great sins, his firm hope and confidence must be that the Lord God will not allow him to continue in them, but that through prayer for grace and repentance he will be converted from evil, and remain in the faith to the end of his life."

† While it is certain that stadtholders, and all other magistrates ever since the establishment of independence, were sworn to maintain the Reformed religion and to prevent a public divine worship under any other form, it is equally certain that by the Thirteenth Article of the Act of Union—the organic law of the confederation made at Utrecht in 1579—*each province reserved for itself* full control of religious questions.

This demand for a Synod was opposed, certainly with reason, on the part of many of the magistrates, on the ground that the war against Spain was not undertaken to maintain a sect; that men of various sects and creeds had fought with equal valor against the common foe; that religious compulsion was hateful, and that no synod had a right to claim Netherlanders as slaves. On the other hand it was urged, and, strange to say, no doubt honestly believed, "that the great war with Spain had been made, not against the Inquisition, not to prevent Netherlanders from being burned and buried alive, not in defense of ancient charters, constitutions, and privileges—the precious result of centuries of popular resistance to despotic force—not to maintain an amount of civil liberty and local self-government larger in extent than any then existing in the world, not to assert equality of religion for all men, but simply to establish the true religion, the one Church, the only possible creed—the creed and the Church of Calvin."

brought him, however, into sympathy with the Arminians, or Remonstrants,* as they were called; the latter, meanwhile, not only readily accepting the Advocate's States' rights doctrine, but most ardently embracing his theory of the supremacy of the State over the Church.

On the other hand, Prince Maurice, so far as he was understood to have any settled or definite convictions touching the matters in dispute, was regarded as favoring the claims of the Contra-Remonstrants, and as advocating a national as opposed to a States' rights policy. And thus, not unnaturally, instinctively in fact, and logically, these two men—Barneveld as the Advocate of the most influential of the States, and Maurice, as Stadtholder of the United Provinces—found themselves respectively the chieftains of these two opposing parties. The contest, as it finally developed itself, was squarely between a hierarchy on the one hand and the State upon the other. Nor was this all, for in those days, and in that land, theology and politics may be said to have been one. The contest was also ostensibly between the people and a burgher aristocracy; between the Calvinists, in a word, as representing the sacerdotal, democratic, and national elements, and the Arminians, as representing liberty or toleration in Church matters, and the sovereignty of the several States, so far at least as the conduct of their own internal interests or affairs was concerned.†

In the meantime the battle-line is drawn up. The squadrons on both sides are mustered; the trumpets are sounded, and the contesting parties rush to the conflict. But, alas!

* The preachers who were disciples of Arminius had, in a private assembly, drawn up what was called a Remonstrance, addressed to the States of Holland, and defending themselves from the reproach that they were seeking any essential change in the divine service, or were desirous of creating tumult or schism. This Remonstrance, set forth by the pen of the famous Uytenbogaert, was placed in the hands of Barneveld for delivery to the States of Holland. Thenceforth the Arminians were called Remonstrants. The Calvinists came subsequently to be demonstrated Contra-Remonstrants.

† It may seem strange, and with reason, that in this contest the people were not found on the side of popular rights, and that "democracy" is found training, hand in hand, with despotism, both sacerdotal and political. This, however, is not the first time that names have thus grossly belied the parties to which they were applied. The Calvinistic, or Contra-Remonstrant, party was democratic only in the sense that it happened to embrace the masses of the people, not that it stood, in any proper sense, for the rights of human nature.

the influence of Barneveld, hitherto so all-controlling in the States-General, resting on the complete submission of the States of Holland to his will, is manifestly tottering. As the schism deepens, the States-General, gradually yielding to the great pressure brought to bear upon them, recede from the noble position they had assumed under the Advocate's lead and become Contra-Remonstrant. In fact, a majority of the Provinces being already decidedly Contra-Remonstrant in their politics, and hence by no means opposed to a National Synod, it simply required evidently the withdrawal, even though but partial, of Barneveld's overshadowing influence, to carry the States-General as a body in favor of the coveted Synod.

Anxious and troubled, but undismayed, the Advocate does his utmost in this terrible emergency. But in vain. The Synod party prevails. By foul means, when fair will not suffice; by force and fraud, when legitimate measures fail, it marches straight on to its object. Despotism for the time being is enthroned in both Church and State; the Remonstrants are crushed with a high hand, and Barneveld and his noble party are buried forever.

It is not easy to account for the sudden and utter overthrow of a man of Barneveld's influence, ability, and distinguished services to his country and the world. A variety of causes seem to have conspired to this end. Indeed, he may be regarded as the victim of a vast conspiracy of circumstances as well as of wicked man. On his devoted head, with a singular and fatal unanimity, there seems to have been concentrated adverse influences from every quarter. The military interest, the ecclesiastical power, the influence of foreign nations exerted through diplomatic intrigue, once his ascendency had gone, rapidly arrayed themselves in determined and bitter hostility to him, and ostensibly, for the most part, on the ground of what was deemed his tyrannous usurpation. As we have already seen, the Province of Holland, representing more than half the population, wealth, strength, and intellect of the whole confederation, had, practically, achieved an irregular supremacy in the States-General. This undeniable superiority was now, it appears, causing a rank growth of envy, hatred, and jealousy throughout the country; and so, not unnaturally, the great

Advocate, so intimately identified with that Province, and who had so long wielded its overshadowing power, was left personally to reap the full harvest of that malice.

This malice, meantime, was very greatly aggravated and intensified, on the one hand, by the bitter animosities, political and ecclesiastical, engendered by the internal convulsions to which reference has already been made, and on the other, by the hatreds and revenges of partisan warfare and of disappointed ambition. James, for example, could never forgive Barneveld for that masterly policy by which more than once he had been himself effectually checkmated and outwitted, and accordingly gave vent to his personal jealousy, wounded vanity, and political hatred by inspiring his embassador to pour into the ears of Prince Maurice the venom of suspicion, and to inflame the jealousy of the latter against his great rival. Indeed, the course of James and his agents, in quite all respects, seem to have been cunningly devised to sow discord in the Provinces, and especially to inflame an unhappily growing animosity between the Stadtholder and the Advocate. Had the king received direct instructions from the Spanish cabinet how to play the Spanish game, says Mr. Motley, he could hardly have done it with more docility, or a deadlier effect.

Another factor in the problem of Barneveld's downfall was the black perfidy of one of whom the Advocate certainly had reason to expect better things. Francis Aerssens, who for many years had been Holland's embassador to France, perceiving that the power of the man through whose friendship he had risen was now perhaps on the decline, with the keen instinct of self-advancement was already quietly attaching himself to the fortunes of the "coming man." From well-considered motives of public policy, the States of Holland determined upon the recall of this their embassador to France. No sooner was this measure effected than the wrath of the latter flamed forth without disguise against Barneveld and all his adherents. Professing to believe that it was the Advocate who had procured his removal, and that, moreover, this high official was deliberately and of fixed purpose blackening his character and undermining his influence at home and abroad, all his ancient feelings of kindness and devotion towards his former patron

and friend seem to have turned utterly to gall. Henceforth he was the bosom friend of the prince, whose well-known and growing jealousy of Barneveld he was not slow, of course, to feed to the full.

And thus the clouds were gathering every day more darkly over the head of the Advocate. While steadfastly and heroically pursuing his own patriotic way, powerful and deadly enemies, almost without number, were silently and industriously banding themselves together against this venerable, yet still vigorous and laborious statesman; the very eminence of his position, meantime, rendering him, doubtless, all the more a shining mark for calumny and hatred. In addition to reasons already adduced for the Advocate's growing unpopularity, not to mention his determined opposition to a powerful mercantile interest, the West India Company, which he confidently considered as likely, unwisely and prematurely, to precipitate a renewed conflict with Spain, or the vehement and unscrupulous execrations of the "Orthodox" party in France, England, and all the Netherlands; nor yet the anger of the French princes, and all those of the old Huguenot party who had been foolish enough to act with them in their purely selfish, not to say treasonable schemes against the French government;* in addition to the overflowing hatred of King James, and the perfidy of former political friends, there remains yet one more, still more important and probably the fatal, cause of that downfall to be considered—the implacable personal ani-

* Upon the death of Henry IV. of France a mob of Protestant or Huguenot nobles arrayed themselves in opposition to the late king's successor. The Calvinistic or Contra-Remonstrant party in the Netherlands, with Prince Maurice, who, by blood or alliance, was connected with more than one of these princes in revolt, at the head, sympathized with the rebels, and most bitterly denounced Barneveld as, on the other hand, favoring the Papal-Spanish policy of the present incumbent of the French throne, because he would not follow their example. Nothing, however, can be more manifest than that, whatever may or may not have been the Advocate's sympathy with this internal rebellion against that government, as the official representative of a nation at peace therewith, the only legal thing for him to do was to deal with and support corporate France—the *de facto* French government. This, moreover, was not only the legal government, but withal one bound to the States by treaties of alliance and friendship; and it would have been a poor return for the many favors, and the constant aid bestowed by Henry IV. on the Republic, as well as an imbecile mode of avenging his murder, to help thus, after his death, throw his kingdom into bloodshed and confusion.

mosity of the Stadtholder. Maurice of Nassau, too long rebuked by the genius and humiliated by the great influence and power of the Advocate, could brook, it would seem, this overshadowing presence no longer.

The rivalry between these two men had already not only begun, but become pronounced, during the negotiations for the Truce. The Advocate had felt it absolutely necessary for the Republic to suspend the war at the very earliest moment that she could treat with her ancient sovereign on a footing of equality. Maurice was opposed to this policy. Why? Manifestly because as soon as the war was over his occupation, evidently, would be gone.

In times of peace the emoluments, consideration, dignity, influence, and personal power of this the greatest captain of the age must, of course, be less than in times of war. Besides, Maurice evidently wished to make himself sovereign of the country. Nor was this surprising. "With the noblest blood of Europe in his veins, whose direct ancestor three centuries before had been emperor, not only of these provinces, but of all Germany, and half Christendom besides; whose immortal father had, under God, been the creator and saviour of the new Commonwealth, had made sacrifices such as no man ever made for a people, and had at last laid down his life in its defense; who had himself fought daily from boyhood upward in the great cause, who had led national armies from victory to victory till he had placed his country as a military school and a belligerent power foremost among the nations, and had at last so exhausted and humbled the great adversary and former tyrant that he was glad enough of a truce"—it was by no means remarkable that this man should aspire to rule by hereditary right a land with which, by countless sacrifices and heroic achievements, his name and his race had become indelibly associated. Unhappily, however, for him, Barneveld stood in his way. Barneveld was in favor of a republican form of government,* and accordingly sharply antagonized

* The Advocate was neither democrat nor demagogue. A lawyer, a magistrate, a noble, he had but little sympathy with the humbler classes, which he was far too much in the habit of designating as rabble and populace. Yet his anger was less against them than against the priests, the foreigners, the military and diplomatic mischief-makers by whom they were urged on to dangerous demonstrations. . . .

the designs of Maurice. The Advocate, thus, was in the way of the gratification of the Stadtholder's ambition. The Advocate, then, must be put out of the way. To this end, first, his character must be traduced. Accordingly, as just stated, he was systematically pursued by the most unrelenting defamation. The very air, so to speak, was full of the most venomous, virulent, and unscrupulous libels. Charges of treason were flying thick and fast. "The Advocate is traveling straight to Spain," said Maurice. Was he not tolerant of Arminianism and Popery? And had he not persisted in supporting France, Papal and Medicean as the court of the young king was so well known to be? What better evidence than this, truly, that he was "bought with Spanish gold"—this man who was literally wearing his very life out in exertions to stem the rising tide of Spanish and Catholic aggression? Verily, did we not know to what depths of credulity men in all ages can sink when possessed of the demon of party malice and theological rancor, we should roundly deny the possibility of men going about looking each other in the face, and rehearsing such insane and puerile gibberish. Yet these base lies, it would seem, gained credence among the people, and drove them to frenzy. They heaped execration upon this gray-haired patriot, and demanded his life as a sacrifice to their fury. It was in vain that he responded to their execrations by an unanswerable vindication of his conduct. It was in vain that, while the whole land was ringing with anathemas against him, he rendered his country invaluable and everlasting service by the redemption, on the payment of only one third of the debt, of all the cautionary towns, placed many years before in the hands of the English as security on a loan of moneys from Queen Elizabeth. This masterly negotiation awakened no popular gratitude. The old man was hated, and must be remorselessly crushed. How sad the spectacle here pre-

It was his instinct to *guide* and *protect* the people in whom he recognized no chartered or inherent right to govern. In his Republic, or Union, there was no pretense of any constitution, incorporation, or organic law laid down by the people. The people had never been consulted; they did not exist, in fact, politically. This, to be sure, was the primal defect of their institutions; yet the Netherlanders would have been centuries before their age had they been able to remedy this defect. Barneveld's Republic was a confederacy of burgher aristocracies. His protest was against a king and a pope in the person of a Stadtholder.

sented to the world: the son of William the Silent, having achieved immortal glory by his military genius, which made him, it is said, the founder of modern military tactics, now staining the fame of his house by the most atrocious conduct toward its noblest benefactor. Fully resolved on absolute power, and on vengeance against all such as stood in his way, he watched and waited for his opportunity. This he beheld in the great religious conflict then raging between the Calvinists and Arminians. Accordingly, while still holding on to his vast influence with the army, this great captain, the son of William the Silent, the martial Stadtholder, now in the fullness of his fame and vigor of his years, openly takes his place, as already intimated, as the chieftain of the Contra-Remonstrants. Convinced that the inflexible Barneveld would never abandon the Arminian sect, with which he had become at least politically identified, it seemed quite certain that by siding actively with the enemies of the latter, who were greatly in a majority, he might eventually destroy the Advocate, annihilate the Arminian movement, and thus acquire his long coveted absolute sovereignty. To this end he, on the one hand, hypocritically flatters, and excites the passions of the Gomarists; while on the other, at the head of his armies, he marches through the land seizing and holding all the chief towns in terror, dispersing the militia which the magistrates in self-defense had assembled, and having now, by the death of an elder brother, become Prince of Orange, he openly and boldly proclaims his authority. Barneveld, Grotius, and other distinguish Arminian statesman, having, in the meantime, been summarily arrested and thrown into prison, Maurice is left at last absolutely without a rival.

The National Synod, so long demanded by the Gomarists, and which Barneveld but too plainly saw could result only in tyranny, was convened shortly after the arrest of this wise patriot, who had so steadily and sturdily opposed the assembling of such a body. Very largely a packed convention, the sword of Maurice, whenever necessary, ordaining the complexion of the delegations of which it was composed, and called quite as much for political as ecclesiastical purposes, the destruction of the Remonstrants having been settled upon hardly less as the political enemies of Maurice than as the ecclesiastical foes of

the Gomarists, this famous (infamous?) Synod assembled at Dort November 13, 1618, and continued its sittings six months. While the members of this august and very important tribunal—elated, doubtless, by the sense of their distinguished services to the Church and to mankind—were at last being wined and dined, and regaled with sweet music, in consideration of the auspicious conclusion of their arduous and responsible labors, circumstances were elsewhere transpiring in strange and tragic contrast with these untimely junketings at Dort.

Is it not singularly significant of the fact that the calling of this Synod of Dort, the fate of the Remonstrants, and the fall of Barneveld, were all parts of one comprehensive plan of persecution, originating with the rancorous bigotry of the Contra-Remonstrants, that it was on the very day on which this Synod commenced its sessions that Barneveld had his first examination, and that it was on the very day after it had closed its public sittings that this distinguished victim of bigotry fell by the hand of the executioner? In the meantime, debarred through all the dreary period of his protracted incarceration from the poor privilege of even seeing his wife and children, and vouchsafed at last a trial that was but a shocking mockery of justice, Barnevelt, the founder of the Netherland Commonwealth, perished, the victim of religious bigotry and of a tyrant's ambition. Another has well said: "The Spanish Inquisition itself, the arbitrary and bloody jurisdiction of which this distinguished statesman, in conjunction with William I., Prince of Orange, had so successfully opposed, never conducted a trial with more injustice, secresy, and remorseless rigor."

The last act of this tragedy, characterized by Macaulay, we believe, as "judicial assassination," and perpetrated with a brutal ferocity equaled only by the holy serenity with which it was encountered, and serving withal as the fitting seal of sanction of the aforesaid Synod's labors, occurred on the morning of the 13th of May, 1618. When the feeble old man was led out to execution his steps trembled, but not with fear. His last words were, "Christ is my guide. Lord, have mercy upon me! Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." He then bowed his neck, the ax fell, and his white locks were reddened with his blood.

Art. II.—GEORG STJERNHJELM, THE FATHER OF SWEDISH POETRY.

A COMPREHENSIVE view of Scandinavian literature distinguishes three fundamental periods: the period of the Eddas, of folk-poesy, and of modern literature. The works of the first period are chiefly by Icelanders; yet their language and the phases of life they represent were common to the whole north. It is impossible to determine definitely the origin of the oldest of them; for example, the anonymous, the mythical, and the heroic songs that make up the elder or poetic Edda. But later a national literature, whose authors are known in history, grew up and declined. It was based on a pagan theogony, and represented merely pagan views; when, therefore, paganism was supplanted by Christianity, "its essential content, the assembly of the gods, and its essential condition, faith in the same,"* were gone; but its artistic form continued to employ the skill of versifiers long after its spirit had departed. Between the close of this and the beginning of the period of modern literature lies a middle age of anonymous ballads and popular poetry. This age is, moreover, marked by the growth of the Danish and Swedish languages from the mother tongue, which has preserved its integrity only on the barren shores of Iceland.

The leading features of a period succeeding one of great creative energy are not unfrequently criticism and commentation. The fact, therefore, that the later Edda has its chief significance as a commentary on the earlier, indicates that the genius of the nation had already, in the time of Snorro Sturleson, lost something of its boldness and vigor. The original literature was poetic; but a time came when the glorious saga of the Asas ceased to be believed, and the mind, devoid of the inspiration of an unquestioned faith, was no longer capable of its former lofty and daring flights. Instead of soaring in a region peopled by gods and demi-gods, it pursued the beaten path of human life and experience. Thus arose the prose saga. The transition in form is manifest in the practice, begun early by the skalds, of prefixing to their songs introductions in prose,

* Hammarsköld, "Svenska Vitterhetens Historia," i, 5. Orebro, 1866.

and of introducing at irregular intervals remarks of explanation. These formed part of the recitation.

By this means that changed form was already prepared which was later employed in long narrations: to deliver the principal part of the narration in prose, but now and then, partly for the sake of strengthening and partly by way of embellishing the story, to introduce strophes of songs; sometimes composed by the author of the saga, oftener by old, distinguished poets, who not unfrequently were themselves the chief characters in such sagas.*

Those extant in this style date, in their written form, from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. When they began to be written down from oral tradition, the writer committed to paper what was delivered to him, the saga as it existed in the popular mind, in the mind of the narrator. In the later centuries, however, he disdains to be longer a mere scribe; he adds to his office some of the functions of an author. He throws into his work something of his own personality. He introduces personal reflections, detailed descriptions of nature and of feeling, and attempts in vain to transform the saga into a work of art. Consequently those written first rank highest. They possess a *naïve* directness, which makes them as the immediate, impersonal, and uncorrupted productions of the nation.

From Iceland went out also the ancient minstrels, or hofskalds, of the north. Nowhere else has this class of men been so highly esteemed as in Scandinavia; and nowhere else have they merited so much by their learning and character. Belonging often by birth to the higher ranks of society, by education to the most cultivated, and by deeds to the bravest, they wandered from court to court, from land to land, and wherever they came were welcome and honored guests. They sang the heroic exploits of kings and warriors. Like the nation to which they belonged, they admired above every thing bravery; they gloried in honest, open, manly daring. When Christianity came, its gentle, non-resisting spirit appeared to them contemptible. They looked with sadness on the degenerating nation; but they, too, had already degenerated. Their poetry retained now only the form of what it had been. Early in the thir-

* Atterbom, "Forn-Skandinaviska och Svenska Vitterhetens Historia intill Stjernhjelm, (Inledningtill Svenska Siare och Skalder,") 211. Orebro, 1864.

teenth century it was heedlessly listened to in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and had ceased to be fully understood. The modern languages were supplanting the ancient. Sturle Thordson, who sang at the court of Birger Jarl and Magnus Ladulas in the later half of the thirteenth century, was the last Icelandic hofskald in Sweden. A new period had begun. The different nations—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—were beginning to have distinguishing characteristics. These are seen, among other things, in the language. We may with propriety speak of the Swedish language as early as 1250, yet at this time it differed but little from the Norse. In its development we mark three principal periods: 1. The Middle Age; 2. From Gustavus I. to Dalin; 3. From Dalin to the present. The first is the period of popular poetry.

The character of this popular poetry, in contrast with the epic treatment, in ancient song, of the more remarkable external events —conflicts of the gods and adventures of warriors—is a return to the inner depths of the feelings and the heart, whose secret emotions, sometimes embraced in an outline of knightly exploits, it seeks to reproduce in simple, pathetic, dream-like tones. It is a mystic expression of the innermost spiritual life of the whole people—the only expression, still vague and merely suggestive, yet deeply significant, which the nation, from the grade of culture it had then attained, was able to give. The middle age of Sweden, filled with endless conflicts between the powerful, and with endless suffering for the weak, has breathed forth in these artless sounds its sadness over the present and its longing for a better hereafter; a happier future in this life, or a blessed state in eternity. This lament, the key-note of the whole, is, however, not that of effeminacy or helplessness; on the contrary, it is full of manly self-denial, of unsubdued courage and living hope, and sometimes, under the influence of the severe yet beautiful northern nature, it passes into almost sportive and, with its feature of sadness, extremely pathetic expressions of joy over the newly-awakened life of spring and summer, and the delightful pastimes or labors in forest and field, on meadow and lake. The feelings which these ballads express, and the virtues which they celebrate, are the first and simplest of the uncorrupted heart—affection, fidelity, manly bravery, chastity, love of home and country, self-denial, piety; in a word, such as are most immediate for these children of nature, who, after having directed the burdensome toils of the day to satisfying the simplest physical wants, devote the quiet of evening to the utterance of the most primitive and natural emotions of the soul.*

* Hammarsköld, "Svenska Vitterhetens Historia," i, 6.

Some of these songs originated in Sweden, and are the peculiar possession of the Swedish people; some belong to Scandinavia as a whole, and some are common to several nations.* To these last no nation can lay exclusive claim. Like the popular tales, "which nurses still tell, with almost the same words, in the Thuringian forest and in the Norwegian villages, and to which crowds of children listen under the Pippal-trees of India,"† they are part of the common inheritance of the Indo-European race. Whether belonging primarily to an earlier or later stage of its history, they are composed by the people collectively. They mark the transition from epic to lyric poetry. Arising at a time when there existed scarcely any other individuality than the national, the feelings which they represent, and the interests in which they are concerned, are not individual but general. It is not the conscious poet that seeks to represent the known experience of his inner life, but from the lips of the simple bard are poured forth the yearnings of the national heart. And yet, with all their subjectivity, their visions of desire and hope, of longing and regret, of love and hate, of joy and sorrow, they are without subject,‡ except as the singer, reproducing them in the language and melody given them by the people, for the time being personates the nation. Those that belong solely to Sweden as a separate people have their origin in that revival of intellectual activity in the North, which followed the union of the purely Germanic and Christian ideas. Ancient song, feeble with age, sank in the fetters of an unyielding form. Christianity breathed into it something of its life-giving spirit. It shook off its shackles, and sought to clothe itself in a dress becoming its new character. Thus all through this period these popular songs showed great lack of fixedness in both form and content. Abandoned to the care of an uncritical public, passing from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation, they remained in a state of constant change. Whoever received them from parents or friends, from neighbors or strangers, was free to add to, or to take from, or to transform

* Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," (Stockholm, 1851,) F. A., iii, 359.

† Muller, "Chips from a German Workshop," ii, 222.

‡ Atterbom, "Svenska Siare och Skalder," (Orebro, 1862,) ii, 20. Also, "Forn-Skandinaviska och Svenska Vitterhetens Historia," 214.

them, as might suit his own taste or fancy. And while there was a necessary tendency toward a new, still imperfectly determined, style of verse, there remained in this respect certain traces of ancient influence. This is especially manifest in the alliteration and the refrain.

The refrain (omqrädet) consists, as the name indicates, of a verse, sometimes two, which, having appeared in the first strophe, is re-sung with each of the others throughout the song.* It was a characteristic of the ancient Norse poetry, but in the popular songs of this period it played a far more prominent rôle. It expresses the tone of lyrical feeling that runs through the versified story, and shows folk-poetry to be in its nature improvisation. The refrain is of three kinds: 1. It recalls the principal character, principal event, or some chief circumstance of the narrative; 2. It expresses a poetic state of mind in general; and, 3. It indicates that the singer is not merely in a poetic mood, but even in that particular state of feeling which finds expression in the ballad. In many songs the refrain appears not merely at the end of the strophe, but also in the middle. In this we may trace the gradual approach to genuine lyric poetry.

Attempts have been made to classify these songs according to their content, but, by their very nature, all such attempts can be only partially successful. They range from the romantic ballad to the versified tale of the traditional heroism of traditional warriors, but between them are no sharply defined lines of demarkation. The romantic spirit breathes in the song of battle, and in the real world that furnishes subjects for the romantic pictures are discovered elements of an age of heroism. They embrace all phases of the national life, and in their day formed the sum of the national literature. Hitherto there was no Swedish prose, as distinct from poetry; yet as the nation began to rise to a consciousness of its individuality, and to remember a series of events in which, as a separate people, it had been concerned, it began to feel the want of a connectedly written story of its life, and consequently the necessity of some other form of expression than that of the popular poetry. Out of this need grew up the rhymed chron-

* Atterbom, "Forn-Skandinaviska och Svenska Vitterhetens Historia," 229; Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," F. A., iii, 365, 371–386.

icles, which occupy middle ground between the artless popular poetry and narrative prose. Aside from the rhyme, they have little or nothing in common with poetry. As for their origin they are indebted to an awakening spirit of nationalism, so in their aim and tendency they look to the development of a broader and deeper patriotism, to an annihilation of the particularism of family and clan, and to the glorification of the nation as a whole. The first couplet of the oldest of them, completed about 1320, is, therefore, quite characteristic of the spirit of all :—

"Sveriges rike är det fästa land
I hela verdene finnas Kan."

Besides the various original productions of this kind, the Swedish literature of this period embraces numerous translations from Latin, French, German, and Danish. Among the most celebrated is a collection called the "Songs of Queen Euphemia." It contains three poems, all of which are derived from the troubadour poetry of Normandy. The first two belong to the half-mythical, half-historical legends of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, and are translated from the German. The last is a translation from the French, and belongs to the Carlovingian legends. The story of Alexander the Great, translated from Latin prose to Swedish rhyme, is perhaps even more poetical than these.

But, in order fully to understand the development and character of artistic literature in Sweden, it is necessary to take into consideration the influence of the classical nations of antiquity. They alone possessed that perfection of form which justified other nations in taking from them its models of expression. The skepticism of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which turned back to the paganism of Greece and Rome, unvailed to modern eyes the beauties of the past. When this skepticism, this recklessness of constituted authority, became religious, it formed the fundamental force in the Reformation. In its sanctified garb it carried the treasures of ancient learning every-where, which gave to the age a new vigor of intellectual activity. Yet the immediate influence of the Reformation was unfavorable to polite literature; and that it was so in Sweden, as well as elsewhere, may be plainly seen by casting a glance over the times of Gustavus I. and

his sons. All thought was directed to theological controversy. Every writer was a polemic. It was an age of endless struggles for the victory of Protestantism. Heroic it may have been, but it was not poetic. Protestantism came to me, quite in contrast with the mind of the great Reformer, as something cold and, with respect to literary refinement, terribly barren. They had not yet learned how close is the union between poetry and religion. But under Charles IX. and his great son a brighter day dawned. The independence of the nation and of the Reformed faith was confirmed. The stimulus given to thought by the great religious agitation began to bear fruit. It was the beginning of the most glorious century in the life of the Swedish people.

The hundred years from the accession of Gustavus Adolphus to the battle of Pultowa form a period of immeasurable importance for the national development of Sweden. From a humbled and dependent nation, through the shrewdness and perseverance of energetic rulers, it had shortly before been lifted to national independence; from spiritual vassalage under the Romish see, it had appropriated to itself the results of the free inquiry of the times in religious matters, and had suddenly risen to a power of the first rank—had sent its victorious armies east and south to the heart of the continent; had seen its internal affairs ordered in the best manner according to the demands of the times; had seen its institutions of learning brought to the most flourishing condition by men of remarkable learning and ability; had seen the leading offices filled by the leading men, the most illustrious exploits performed by the most illustrious heroes; had seen itself the object of the fear and admiration of all Europe. If ever the genius of poesy can awake in a people, it must happen in an age of such sudden and wonderful elevation, when the whole nation feels itself carried away by the enthusiasm of self-development, when the ruler is a heroic genius and every noble a Mæcenas, or, by his culture and wealth, able to be such an one. Under such circumstances arose Georg Stjernhjelm.*

When Stjernhjelm was born, however, April, 1598, the state of affairs in Sweden demanded warriors rather than poets. At the Council of Upsala, five years before, the nation had determined the leading features of its future policy. Sigismund had sworn to support this policy, and been crowned king. But to carry out this oath necessitated a denial of the principles and prejudices inculcated by his Jesuitical teachers

* Hammarsköld, "Svenska Vitterhetens Historia," i, 18.

and counselors. The result was what might have been expected. Faithless to his promises, he returned to Poland, leaving the Swedish people on the eve of a civil war. Early in 1598 he made ready with his Polish troops for an invasion. He landed at Calmar, in July, with about 5,000 men. Duke Charles became leader of the national party, and brought the bitter struggle to a crisis, in the battle of Stongebro, in September. Under such circumstances was born, in Dalecarlia, the man who was to be called the father of Swedish poetry. His parents were Olof Marquardson and Karin Matthisdotter. In his youth he assumed the name Göran Lilje. Having studied in Upsala, he visited Germany, Italy, France, Holland, and England, and during his absence was appointed, in 1625, instructor in the gymnasium of Westeros. Thus he began that many-sided career in which he was to show extraordinary ability in all departments of learning, and make himself remembered by his countrymen as a philologist, an historian, a naturalist, a jurist, a mathematician, a philosopher, and a poet.

There is none of these fields on which his works have not left traces; scarcely any in which he was not also, for his times, a discoverer; none in which his mistakes even have not pointed in directions which, pursued later, were to lead to new and important views.*

From Westeros he was soon called to a similar position in Stockholm. Here he remained until 1630. Then he became Assessor of the Superior Court of Dorpat. The next year, while in the performance of the duties of this position, he was elevated to the nobility, with the name Stjernhjelm, and granted the estates of Stjernhlund and Vasula. In addition to his duties as assessor, he filled during the following years various other offices of the province. In 1642 he was recalled to Stockholm as a member of that commission which was ordered to revise and improve the laws of Sweden. During his absence of twelve years a mighty change had come over the nation. In 1630 Gustavus Adolphus, about to begin his last and greatest campaign, swayed an absolute scepter over a people whose love and admiration for their sovereign made them willingly

* Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," F. A., ii, 236.

submissive. But in 1642 a talented and brilliant, yet vain and fickle, girl of sixteen sat on the throne, surrounded by ambitious nobles, eagerly winning for themselves by flattery that wealth and influence which brought upon Sweden generations of misfortune. Stjernhjelm became vice-president of the Superior Court of Dorpat in 1648, but remained still some time in Stockholm. The sudden invasion of Livonia by the Russians, in 1656, compelled him to fly for refuge. They plundered and burned his estates. He returned to Sweden, but in crossing the sea he suffered shipwreck on the coast of Oland. By this he lost every thing that remained to him, except his life and his wife and children. He received, however, support and position from Charles Gustavus, who had meantime ascended the throne. In 1667 he was appointed the first director of the recently established College of Antiquities. In this office he died in Stockholm, April 22, 1672, at the age of seventy-four.*

The earliest literary labors of Stjernhjelm belong to a period in which Sweden was seeking an independent language, and, quite in keeping with the prevailing tendency of the times, were directed to linguistic studies. The Swedish which his countrymen had hitherto employed, especially his contemporaries and immediate predecessors, was an ugly mixture of three or four languages. To purge it of its foreign accumulations and enrich it by the addition of homogeneous elements, was one of the tasks he undertook. Aside from the various chronicles, the works prior to Stjernhjelm, that particularly deserve consideration on account of their pretensions to purity of style, are the "Revelations of St. Birgitta;" the celebrated book, *Om Kounngaoch Höfdingastyrelse;* the "Dramas of John Messinius," and the Translation of the Bible by the brothers Olaus and Laurentius Petri. And to this last, more than to any thing else, the Swedish is indebted for its preservation. The age immediately following the Reformation read the Bible with eagerness, and the popular demand for it could be satisfied by no other book. It existed already in German and Danish translations, while it was not yet available to the Swedes in their mother tongue. They could, however, without great difficulty understand the Danish translation, and would have used it in want

* Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 101–103.

of one of their own. The influence of the language of the Bible was so great on the language of the people that, but for the timely appearance of a Swedish translation, an independent Swedish language and literature, as they exist to-day, would have been hardly possible. Stjernhjelm had a keen sense of the crudeness and barbarousness of his native tongue, but he believed it capable of great development and refinement. He says:—

I have learned the errors and poverty of our Swedish language; the cause of which I have found in this, that the ancient speech is abandoned and passed into forgetfulness, nay, into such complete forgetfulness, that at present scarcely any one understands it. Yet it is full of all kinds of remarkably significant words and phrases, all, or most, of which may be taken up, revived, and thus easily brought back into use; which would not only make our language rich and flowing, but also elegant, graceful, and melodious.*

The full import of this remark will be more readily comprehended when we remember that Stjernhjelm considered the original Swedish and original Gothic one language, and this the primitive language of the world, from which all others were derived.† This position appears ridiculous in view of the achievements of modern linguistic science, yet it was reached by a method of comparative philology, and the learning here displayed, in a time of general ignorance, cannot but surprise us. In this he prepared the way for Olof Rusbeck's remarkable book, *Atland eller Manheim*, which sought to show that Sweden was the oldest land of culture on earth, that the Garden of Eden was situated in Sweden, and that from this ancient people the majority of the nations are descended.‡ He deemed it unworthy of a nation with such a glorious past to be employing in its speech the borrowed elements of foreign languages. He wished, therefore, to substitute for them words and phrases drawn from its almost forgotten mother tongue. He wished even to find native scientific terms to replace those derived from the Greek and Latin. Among his works written in Swedish, "he has succeeded best in those on scientific subjects," says Atterbom, "in preserving the purity of the language." But, unfortunately for his patriotic zeal and the realization of his

* Cited by Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 52.

† Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 52; Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," ii, 238.

‡ Claëson, "Svenska Språkets och Literaturens Historia," (Stockholm, 1870,) 28.

purpose, most of his philosophical treatises were written in Latin. At present they constitute a ponderous mass of unpublished and neglected manuscripts in the Royal Library of Stockholm.

Stjernhjelm, like Lord Bacon, seems to have "taken all knowledge to be his province." He proposed to himself to give Sweden a whole literature; and what he actually accomplished, when considered in view of the multiplicity and burdensomeness of his official duties, appears almost beyond human possibility. He produced from fifty to sixty distinct works—in poetry, in philology, in philosophy, in jurisprudence, in history and statistics, in mathematics and natural science. By that which he accomplished we see not only what the man was and how great was his learning, but also what he might have achieved had he resisted the temptation of new projects, and devoted his energies to a more circumscribed field of inquiry. Whether or not he was personally acquainted with his great English contemporary, who was still living when he visited England, is not definitely known; but it is certain that he became the first Swedish member of the English scientific society instituted by Bacon. The aim of this society was to ground all knowledge of nature on experience. Of this school Stjernhjelm became an early disciple—because of the low state of culture in Sweden, too early; for hitherto the Swedes were unacquainted with the wonders of the microscope, and his experiments with it "brought upon him the charge of being a sorcerer and atheist, so that he was compelled publicly to defend himself against such accusations."* He had little respect for the "inane hair-splitters, whose metaphysical art and honor are based on the ability to see or experience as little as possible." It appeared to him folly to think of God, man, and nature without giving heed to the fullness of life's phenomena, or without keeping before the mind their primitive spiritual unity in a substance that has reflected itself in the human soul.

He saw in our world, under all its shifting forms, an unbroken symbolical revelation of the Divine; and even in mathematics a hieroglyphic in which the initiated finds the key to the glory of that higher knowledge, that jewel of wisdom, the necklace of

* Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," ii, 239.

Minerva. He gave in this philosophic knowledge a clear comprehension of how the living unities of existence and thought, which emanate from a triune deity, and in such emanation form the links of this jewel, combine for theoretic knowledge and practical application. The fundamental condition for such knowledge was a self-examination, by which means human thought, after having descended to the lowest stratum of its and all being, even to the border of nothing, rises to the divinest part of its own being, there to see the image of its Giver and Father.*

A practical application of his scientific speculations may be seen in his arrangement of a system of weights and measures. The use of different standards in Sweden had for a hundred years been the source of confusion, dissatisfaction, and complaint. The government commissioned Stjernhjelm in his old age to order the affair so that there might be uniformity throughout the kingdom. His proposition to take as a basis for weights the specific gravity of some unchangeable substance in nature was ingenious, and, for Sweden at least, new. The substance he took was water. His system was accepted, and remained in general use until 1737, "when experience discovered his mistake in regarding all kinds of water equally heavy."†

Without assuming to give an exposition of Stjernhjelm's philosophy, we simply refer the inquirer in this matter, if such there be, to the second volume of *Siare och Skalder*. Here Atterbom has treated the subject in a becoming manner, and here he ventures to remark that had Stjernhjelm written his philosophical works in Swedish they would still be read by his countrymen. But whatever merit may attach to his speculations and investigations on subjects of philology, history, law, or philosophy, it is with justice that posterity remembers his name chiefly in connection with his poetical works.‡ Though, as Geijer says, "it seems as if he had first turned to poetry in patriotic rage over the hinderances which the barbarousness of the language put in the way of his expressing his thoughts,"§ yet we are not warranted in concluding that, as poet, he manifested no higher phase of genius than as jurist,

* Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 56.

† "Biographiskt Lexicon öfver Namnkunnige Svenska Män," xvi, 6; Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," ii, 239.

‡ Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 64.

§ Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," ii, 242.

linguist, or scientist. His nature was peculiarly poetic. In a pyramid of his works, the poems form the vortex. His theory for poetry in general, and for Swedish poetry in particular, was expounded in his work *Poesis nova Svecona*, which was either never completed or has been lost.* Its doctrine is, however, sufficiently illustrated by his poetical writings. A collection of them appeared in its first edition in 1668. The title † of this collection indicates his opinion of its significance. He was, to a certain extent, conscious of being the first to raise Swedish poetry to the dignity of an art, of standing at the beginning of its history.

> All those characteristics which during the previous age we have found merely hinted at—manliness, cordiality of sentiment, natural force of expression, and genuine Swedish good-humor—are in him intimately united on the basis of a powerful imagination, in a whole as significant as pleasing.‡

Besides the features common to the contemporaneous poetry of Holland, Germany, and France, Stjernhjelm's poetry possesses certain peculiarities indicating a radical departure from the models of modern Europe. It breathes the spirit of classical antiquity. He turned to the ancient forms of verse, and compelled the uncultivated language of his people to shape itself in Alexandrines and hexameters, which, if not always faultless, were at least such as only genius could form from so rude a jargon as the Swedish of the seventeenth century.

> Like his meters, his whole poetic diction had something of the purity of the early Greek of antiquity; and this is every-where observable where he does not allow himself to be led too far by the disposition to moralize and to experiment in language. Therefore in his didactic poem, "Hercules," he is, without the least mimicry, a *Swedish* Hesiod.§

Atterbom justifies this comparison by showing "Hercules" to be a counterpart of "Works and Days." Though acknowledging its high merit as a poetical production, he yet credits Stjernhjelm with little invention in its creation. The subject is the familiar parable of Hercules at diverging ways, the

* Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 64.

† It was "*Musæ Suethizantes*, thet är Sänggudinnor nu först lärande dichta och spela pä Svenska."

‡ Geijer, "Samlade Skrifter," iii, 357.

§ Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 65.

treatment of which by Xenophon,* and by Silius Italicus, was probably known to the poet. The Hercules of the *Punica* is Scipio between *Virtus* and *Voluptas*. The hero of Stjernhjelm's poem is a Hercules represented with about the characteristics of a young Swedish noble. He halts in irresolution between the allurements of virtue and vice. These appear under the names of Fru Dygd and Fru Lusta. In comparison with "Works and Days," which is permeated by a gloomy view of life, "Hercules," if we except the mournful lines at the close on old age, "breathes an earnestness not less joyous than deep." But just in these closing lines we have one of the finest passages of the poem, and a "more excellent painting of their subject than that which they contain probably does not exist in any language; yet in this connection we must not forget the last chapter of Ecclesiastes, from which the poet evidently drew his first suggestion."† No hint of such a close is found in earlier elaborations. Here, then, we see an instance of the freedom with which Stjernhjelm molded his material, solicitous merely to retain the spirit of the antique. Though the poem ends without allowing Hercules to decide between the goddesses whom he has listened to, such a conclusion is appropriate whichever way we imagine him to have turned; for old age, with its attendant ills, is a goal to which both ways lead—

"Death is the ultimate goal, at which we are gathered and ended."‡

Among his poetical works Stjernhjelm considered "Hercules" the chief. This opinion was shared by his contemporaries. They thought it not merely the greatest poem in the Swedish language, but even "admired it as inimitable." His other poems were, for the most part, occasional pieces, produced during his connection with Christina's court. The so-called

Balletter, the warp, as it were, of operas, answering most nearly to what are called divertisements, give us a remarkable idea of the plays which took the place of the opera proper in the time of Christina. They are poetical sketches in outline, which aim less

* "Memorabilia of Socrates," book iii, chap. i.

† Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 78.

‡ Last line of "Hercules."

at any real dramatic plot and action than at binding and holding together the dances and music, whose effects are increased by rapidly shifting changes and gorgeous decoration. In a word, these *Balletter* were a combination of opera and costume ball, in which songs alternated with verses that were recited.*

Nearly related to these are the "allegorical representations without dance," called *upptag*, composed by a mixture of poetry and prose. In these Stjernhjelm employed various meters. Later in life he returned to hexameters, in which he wrote *Bröllops-Besovars Thug Kommelse.* This poem "describes, for the most part in a decidedly humorous tone, the multitude of troubles and perplexities which in part precede, in part follow, every marriage, yet in such a way that the bright side of the affair is at last made prominent." † It reveals greater correctness of form than "Hercules," and in general the skill of the poet shows itself more favorably in hexameters than in the other styles of verse.

In order to have a correct view of Stjernhjelm as poet, we must picture him with the court of Queen Christina as background. During the years of this remarkable woman's youth and innocence he was an indispensable member of her more intimate circles of associates. He was her poet laureate, and the life that surrounded him here exerted no little influence on the tone of his poetry. These were the most fortunate years of his life. He was adored by his gifted queen; she read his writings with eagerness, listened with delight to his conversation, and moved him to blind admiration. But the fascination came to an end, and he then saw in the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus merely a brilliant adventuress. With the increasing influence of foreign favorites his fortune declined. He was disgraced, and retired to his estate in Livonia. Here he devoted himself to his studies and the education of his children. Here the "Hercules" was completed.

A true picture of the later years of his life must be drawn with heavy shades. The invasion of Livonia by the Russians and his shipwreck on the coast of Oland robbed him of all his possessions. Misfortune reduced him to poverty, and carelessness in all matters of economy kept him poor. He lived in constant disregard of the principles essential to prosperity.

* Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 65. † *Ibid*, ii, 66.

His purse was wont to lie on his table. From it the maid who served him supplied herself with money for her daily needs. It was often empty, yet he was always cheerful and always generous. He frequently received aid, and more frequently needed it. Yet in his want he was not a grumbler. His buoyancy of spirits amounted almost to recklessness. Having rescued his wife and children from the wreck on Oland, he sought to cheer them in their misfortune. The picture of an old man singing and dancing on the wreck-covered beach, in order to drive away the grief and sadness of his family, shows us what spirit was in him. He seems to have been perfectly indifferent to the possession of wealth. It was almost an axiom with him, that riches and high intellectual gifts cannot thrive together. *Bonæ mentis comes sest paupertas* was one of his maxims. To know and to be known—the desire for wisdom and the desire for honor—were the controlling motives of his life. Next to these was his need of friendship—friendship in its higher and truer sense; not the ordinary friendship of ordinary men—this he called *amicitia ollaris*. Notwithstanding his love of solitude and study, he liked to receive visits, and was the most agreeable of social companions. His remarkable health and vigor, both of body and mind, gave him clearness and directness of thought, and made him an enemy of all superstition. In the freshness and independence of his religious thinking he was nearer our times than his contemporaries in general, and was therefore persecuted by the Church. Yet "he worshiped God faithfully in his own way, and experienced therefrom abundant blessing."*

One day near the close of his life Stjernhjelm sent his faithful friend and disciple, Columbus, to find out if "any new work on the truth of the Christian religion" had appeared. When he learned that none could be found, he was displeased.

"Do you think," asked Columbus, "that one will be saved if he dies believing in the doctrines of our holy religion?" "Yes," answered Stjernhjelm. "What need then," continued Columbus, "of troubling ourselves about more ways when we are sure of one? Is it not better to follow that which is given, and is sure, than to vacillate in restless doubt; especially with respect to those

* Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 109.

things which no one can find out definitely? If we talk and write never so much on this matter, it is still all unsatisfactory. Is it not therefore wisest to cast ourselves into the hands of God, do our best, and let him care for the rest?" "That is also my opinion," said Stjernhjelm.

Not long afterward he lay on his death-bed, and in reply to the question of Columbus, "Is there any thing further you wish to give me?" Stjernhjelm said:—

The very best possession of this world is a joyous temper. I can advise and exhort you to engage in the world and worldly affairs only so far as it may be reconcilable with your peace and diversion of mind. My mind has been too strong to be distracted by the fickleness of fortune. My delight has proceeded from a good heart and good health, an honorable and discreet life, with the consequent favor and affection of the people, and a certain trust in God, who has granted me such gifts.

Then he joined his hands with these words:—

God, who hast permitted me to come into this world, do with me as it pleaseth thy divine will. I thank thee that thou hast allowed me to be born a human being, hast given me a good understanding and other perfect human gifts, a sound body, daily bread, a contented mind, and in every thing a joyful spirit. I am now waiting to die, if it so pleaseth thee, and my latest joy is a good conscience. I believe that thou wilt pardon my human errors and shortcomings.

A few days later he received the sacrament and died. In the last moments of his flickering consciousness Columbus stammered out the wish to celebrate his memory in an epitaph. "Write," said the dying poet, "write merely the words, *Vixit, dum vixit, laetus.*" *

Art. III.—MR. WESLEY'S ORDINATION OF DR. COKE.

Dr. Abel Stevens, in his "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 209 *et seq.*, has given a full, exhaustive, and satisfactory defense of the action of Mr. Wesley in the ordination of Coke, from the stand-point of history and tradition; but no writer that has fallen under my observation has treated the subject on

* Atterbom, "Siare och Skalder," ii, 110, 111.

entirely scriptural grounds. The tendency of our times is more toward history and tradition, and human reasoning for light upon ecclesiastical matters than to the word of God, or to scriptural usage and example, ignoring divine authority in matters of Church government, if not in doctrines and moral discipline, to a great extent, which may account for the wide differences in opinion now extant, as well as the numerous heterodoxies of the day.

Men of great learning and moral worth differ in opinion as to the meaning of Scripture on some points of doctrine, and if such differences exist in reference to the "sure word of prophecy," it is no wonder they differ on things viewed from the stand-point of history and tradition alone. If, however, such differences prove that the Scriptures prescribe no form of Church government, for the same reason we might doubt the existence of the Supreme Being, or any definite revelation from him touching human salvation; for men differ in opinion on these points.

For these reasons the opinion prevails to some extent among Protestants that the Scriptures prescribe no particular form of Church government, and yet the Romish idea of a succession in the ministry from the apostles down, by the imposition of hands, has as deep a root in the Protestant mind as that no form of government is prescribed. If it were not so why talk so much about Mr. Wesley being a presbyter in the Church of England as giving him the right to ordain? These two conflicting opinions do not harmonize.

Mr. Wesley's authority to ordain Dr. Coke and other ministers is laid in the fact that he was a presbyter in the Church of England, that Church deriving its orders from the Church of Rome, which claims to have a regular succession from St. Peter. Now, if his being a presbyter, and of equal grade with a bishop, gave him this authority, more than he would have had without it, then it was from the succession, which Mr. Wesley himself called a fable, which no man could prove. If a fable, what virtue was there in his being thus ordained? What power or authority did he derive from the English bishop out of or beyond the precincts of the English Church?

It is a maxim of law that a man can give no more title to property than he himself possesses. And if the succession is

only a fable, then being ordained by one of the succession is only a fable. It was worthless. The English bishop conferred on him no power or authority whatever. Mr. Wesley said that bishops and presbyters are of the same order in the ministry, and he, being of the same order as a bishop, had the same right to ordain as the other. In this the idea of a succession is too prominent to be ignored. If not, what better was a bishop's hands on his head than those of any other man?

In my opinion Mr. Wesley's authority to ordain his ministers was from God, who called him to lead the great revival of pure Christianity now spreading over the world, and which, to appearance, is designed to greatly aid, if not to usher in, the millennial glory of the Church of God; and if no episcopal or presbyterial hand had ever been placed upon his head, he, as God's chosen apostle and superintendent of the greatest revival of pure religion that has occurred since the apostolic age, had as good authority to ordain his ministers, who were to aid him in his work and succeed him in authority, as Moses had to ordain Joshua, or St. Paul had to ordain Timothy and Titus, for a similar purpose. And a succession from him, (Mr. Wesley,) and going no further back than to him, I deem and consider of more value than I should from the Pope of Rome or the Archbishop of Canterbury. This I shall attempt to prove from the Scriptures of divine truth, though I may dissent from some of Mr. Wesley's views in reference to ecclesiastical matters.

Mr. Wesley said: "The episcopal form of Church government was scriptural and apostolical, that is, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles, but that it was not *prescribed* in the Scriptures."

Now it is well known that Mr. Wesley was a tenacious adherent to the Church of England, and, as most of his followers now think, too much so. And viewing the Scriptures from this stand-point, he, of course, could see that that Church government was "scriptural and apostolical." But at the same time his peculiar situation as the head and leader of a great and rapidly-increasing revival of pure Christianity called Methodism, and that he was justly as much "an *episcopos* as any man in England," he must find some authority somewhere to justify his ordaining ministers contrary to the discipline of that Church. In that dilemma, while he admitted that the govern-

ment of that Church agreed with "the practice and writings of the apostles," he denied that the Scriptures *prescribe* any particular form of Church government; hence he had a right to adopt such a form as he thought proper, provided it was not contrary to Scripture usage.

We do not attach to Mr. Wesley the attribute of infallibility, nor did he claim it. In purely doctrinal matters we accept his views in the main, not merely because he affirmed them, but because in our judgment, after due and careful examination, they are in accordance with the word of God. In matters of speculation or mere opinion we highly respect his judgment as that of a superior and highly-cultured mind; but we dissent from some of his opinions on speculative points, such as the resurrection of the brute creation. We agree with him that an episcopal form of Church government is scriptural, but not such an episcopacy as that of England, with archbishops, bishops, deans, etc., appointed not of God nor his Church, but by the civil government, with civil as well as ecclesiastical powers. Nor do we agree with him in the union of Church and State. We may agree with him that the Church of England is the best *national* Church in existence; but this is not admitting that *any* national Church is scriptural.

Claiming the right to dissent from him in such matters, we also claim the right to criticise his views on ecclesiastical matters. We do this on his attempted distinction between "scriptural and apostolical" usages and "scriptural prescription." He says that an "episcopal form of government *agrees* with the practice and writings of the apostles, but is not "prescribed in the Scriptures." This appears like "a distinction without a difference."

It is understood and agreed by all who believe the Bible that the apostles acted and wrote under and from divine inspiration; that what they said or did in matters of doctrine, discipline, and the government of the Church, was by divine direction. We must view it in this light or their "practice and writings" are of no more authority than other human doings. If this be so, what is the difference between their "practice and writings" and a "prescription?" If they acted under divine direction their actions were prescribed to them by the divine Spirit, though not in writing. The writing was

not necessary so long as the Spirit guided and directed them. The apostolic action presupposes divine direction; hence we quote their acts and doings as equivalent to a divine command. And if the episcopal form of government agrees with the apostolic "practice and writings," it presupposes divine direction, and, of course, divine establishment. Any other view would deprive the "practice and writings" of the apostles of divine authority. Webster says to *agree* with any thing is "to be consistent; to harmonize; not to conflict, or be repugnant; to resemble; to be similar." To "prescribe" is "to set or lay down authoritatively for direction; to give as a rule of conduct; to direct." If, then, the apostles acted under divine direction their conduct was prescribed or directed by the divine Spirit, the same as if it had been written. Thus the Spirit said unto Philip: "Go near and join thyself to this chariot"—the Ethiopian's. And "the Spirit said unto him, [Peter,] Go with them" to the house of Cornelius. And "the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." In all these cases, and they are only specimens, there was direct divine direction, and the manner and form of the acts were clearly prescribed.

To suppose that our blessed Redeemer suffered as he did to redeem and save a lost world; that for such a purpose he organized a Church against which the gates of hell should not prevail, to govern which he instituted a ministry, and yet that he gave that government no form which is essential to efficiency, is to suppose of him that he but half did his work.

The importance of discipline, as well as doctrine, in saving souls, is clearly seen in the revelations made to St. John relative to the Asiatic Churches. To say, because men differ in opinion as to the form of Church government that no form of it was given, is as absurd as to say that because men differ on doctrines, therefore Christ and his apostles gave no certain doctrines to be believed and obeyed in order to salvation. Indeed, efficient government and discipline are of equal, if not more importance than doctrines. Men of lax morals are apt to be latitudinarian in doctrines. Men of erroneous doctrinal views, but of holy lives, are better Christians than those of correct doctrines but unholy lives. An efficient civil government,

even with poor or bad laws, is admitted to be better for a country than a poor or lax government with good laws.

It is not necessary to the existence of laws that they be written. The common law of England is not a written law, neither is the *Magna Charta* of that country put into form like our national and State constitutions; yet Englishmen have governmental forms which are understood by the people, the principles of which are clearly seen in the administration. And even if Christ and his apostles did not prescribe in writing any specific form of Church government, yet their practice is presumed to have been under divine direction, so that their practice is equivalent to a written constitution.

No one will question that Christ the Lord organized a Church, and instituted a ministry who were to "feed the flock," and to "oversee" or govern it. The *office* of the apostleship was not only to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," but to superintend, oversee, and govern the Church with the elders. Thus the "apostles and elders" at Jerusalem (Acts xv) settled questions of doctrine and discipline relative to circumcision. But because the papacy erred in applying this law of the Church to itself, claiming to be in the regular succession from the apostles, dissentients from them have swung, like the pendulum of a clock, to the opposite extreme, and asserted that the apostolic office became extinct at the death of the first incumbents. If this were so, the ministry instituted by the Saviour himself became extinct, and from thenceforward the Church has had no ministry of divine appointment. For however many links of a chain may have been added to and connected with the first link, if the first link is broken or destroyed all the others must fail. If the command given to the twelve to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" was to be confined and limited to them, it involved an impossibility; for they did not and could not, in person, fulfill the command. But we have indubitable evidence that the *office* did not die with the twelve, but applied to them and their successors in that office with their coadjutors in the ministry. And in proof that the office did not become extinct with the death of the twelve, we have the call and ordination of Paul, Barnabas, Silas, Timothy, Titus, and others, all of whom were called of God,

and entered upon their respective duties before the death of *all* the twelve; clearly showing that the office was not to terminate with the lives of the twelve, but was to continue to the end of the world. What else could the Saviour mean when he said to the twelve, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world?" The apostles whom he then addressed did not live to the end of the world; he knew they would not; he must, therefore, have applied the promise to the whole Christian ministry, as he had instituted it with this office at its head.

Some who admit that the great commission and promise above noticed applies to the Gospel ministry as a whole, yet contend that the *apostolic office* ceased to exist at the death of the twelve. But certainly Paul was an apostle in the fullest sense of the word. He planted and superintended Churches more extensively than either of the twelve. And from him we have more of doctrine, discipline, and of the nature, form, and extent of Church government, than from all the twelve together. The *office*, then, must have continued in perpetuity. And any Church without a general superintendency lacks this feature of the Church Christ instituted.

The idea of a succession in the apostleship from the imposition of *their* hands, is very different from a succession by the call and appointment of God. Paul was a successor in the office, but not by the imposition of apostolic hands; yet the twelve, when he met them at Jerusalem, recognized his commission, and received him as a fellow-laborer. In his ordination no apostle, nor other minister who had received orders from them, participated. "The prophets and brethren" who were at Antioch were directed by the Holy Ghost to set apart Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto they were called, (Acts xiii.) And after fasting and prayer they, "the prophets and brethren," laid *their* hands upon them. We have no evidence that those "prophets and brethren" were ordained men. It may be inferred that they were preachers, as the word prophet implies that; but there is nothing in the details of the affair to intimate that the hands of the twelve, or any one of them, had ever been laid on their heads, as was usual in such cases. Yet Paul was, under God, not only the "chiefest apostle," but the chief instrument in founding and superintending

the Gentile Churches, "the uncircumcision," from which the present Churches of Christendom descended, and derived their form and name. Peter was "the apostle of the circumcision" —the Jews. We have no evidence from Scripture that Peter was ever in Rome. His superintendence was over the Jews, and his epistles were addressed to them as "strangers scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." And it is certain that neither Paul nor Peter formed the first Christian Church in Rome. It is equally certain that Peter had no jurisdiction over Rome, while Paul had, for he addressed his epistle to that Church. At the time of doing so he had not been in Rome, for he expresses his desire "to preach to them at Rome also," the Church there having been previously organized, but by whom does not appear. But it must have been by some one under Paul's superintendence, or he would not have assumed the oversight of it.

Now let us apply the *principles* involved in these facts and circumstances to the case of Mr. Wesley, and, if I am not much mistaken, we shall see that his case is quite analogous to that of St. Paul, and that his right to ordain ministers was derived from the same divine authority.

Paul was a distinguished member of the Jewish or national Church of the time and country in which he lived. And from his being educated at "the feet of Gamaliel," it is highly probable that he was a public teacher, or "master in Israel," preaching or preparing to preach Judaism; but was without the experimental knowledge of God as a sin-pardoning God, though "of the straitest of the sect" to which he belonged. He was arrested by the divine Spirit, convinced of sin, converted to God, and called to be "a chosen vessel unto God, to bear his name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel." Acts ix, 15.

Wesley was a member of the national Church of his time and country; was educated in their highest school for a public teacher, and though "of the straitest of the sect" to which he belonged, was without the knowledge of God as a sin-pardoning God. He was awakened to see his sinful state and danger; was pointed to the same Saviour as Paul; was converted like him, and in his subsequent history proves that he was called to "be a chosen vessel unto God, to bear his name before" a sinful

world of "Gentiles;" before "kings," and the English Church and people. He had a special mission, as had Paul.

The ordination of Paul at Antioch, as we have seen, was not in "the regular succession" from the apostles by their hands, but by the hands of others under the divine direction. It was extraordinary, yet no one doubts its validity. He ordained ministers whom God had called to the work from among his converts. He exercised the prerogatives of an *episcopos*, without any succession, real or pretended, from the apostles, so far as the laying on of hands was concerned.

Mr. Wesley's ordination was by an ordained man, and if there is any special advantage derived therefrom, his ordination was of a higher grade than that of St. Paul. And being placed in a similar relation to a rising body of genuine converts to God that Paul was, he claimed and exercised similar prerogatives, ignoring the pretended apostolic succession.

St. Paul ordained Timothy and Titus, giving them episcopal authority. So Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke and Mr. Mather, giving them similar powers.

But it is objected that Mr. Wesley was only a presbyter or elder, and could not confer the higher order of bishop on Dr. Coke, on the ground that the lesser cannot bless the greater. But who conferred on St. Paul the power to ordain Timothy and Titus? Not an apostle, not an elder, not a pope, archbishop, bishop, or even a deacon, but God who called and appointed him to be the *episcopos*, or superintendent, of the Church he was instrumental in raising, through the "prophets and brethren" at Antioch. And if there is any special advantage in being ordained by an ordained man, Mr. Wesley had that advantage over Paul. And being, like Paul, at the head of a rising Church, and by the special appointment of God, he had the same right to ordain.

In the order of his dispensations of mercy to our fallen world, God claimed and exercised the prerogative of choosing his own messengers, agents, or ministers, both ordinary and extraordinary, for the leadership of his people under the patriarchal, prophetic, and Christian dispensations; and the leaders thus chosen, by virtue of their appointments, were authorized to choose and consecrate all necessary subordinates and successors. Thus Abraham, "the father of the faithful," was called and

constituted the head and leader of the patriarchal age, who appointed Isaac his successor to the promised land instead of Ishmael. Moses was the choice of God to lead the prophetic age. He constituted or appointed Aaron and his sons to the priesthood. (Exod. xl, 13–16.) He also appointed his subordinates in the government of Israel, (Num. i, 4;) and he appointed Joshua to be his successor in the leadership, ordaining him to that office by the imposition of his hands. (Deut. xxxiv, 9.) In each of these cases there was specific divine direction. In the subsequent leadership or government of Israel, in some cases there was a specific divine direction; but in general the will of God in the matter was indicated by Providence, or providential events.

Under the Gospel dispensation the Saviour, "who was God manifest in the flesh," instituted a ministry who was to lead, oversee, or govern his Church in this world, the twelve apostles being the first to fill that office. But to show that they were not to be his sole ministers, he "appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face." (Luke x, 1.) But St. Paul, who "was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostle," (2 Cor. xi, 5,) was an extraordinary messenger and minister of Christ to raise up and organize Christian Churches among the Gentiles. As he acted under divine inspiration, and ordained ministers to succeed him as occasion required, it is clear that his call and commission carried with it the power to do so or he would not have done it.

Luther was also called of God to an extraordinary mission. He also, by virtue of his appointment, ordained ministers to propagate the faith he was commissioned to preach. He was not a bishop, and if ordained at all it was only as a priest, a presbyter, or elder, the same as Mr. Wesley.

Now, if Paul and Luther, by virtue of their extraordinary missions, were authorized to ordain ministers to carry out the great purposes of their appointments, why was not Mr. Wesley? If the converted Corinthians (with the thousands of others) were the seals of Paul's apostleship, (1 Cor. ix, 2,) doubtless the numerous converts of Luther and Wesley were ample proof of theirs.

It is thought by some that "seeing Jesus Christ our Lord" in the flesh was necessary to constitute an apostle, because

Paul, in defending his claim to that office, asks the question, "Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?" (1 Cor. ix, 1.) He also asks the question, "Am I not free?" If seeing Jesus Christ constituted him an apostle, then there were many thousands of them. If seeing him after his resurrection made the seer an apostle, then the "five hundred brethren" who saw him "at once" (1 Cor. xv, 6) were thereby made apostles. Paul lays as much stress on his being "free," to prove his apostleship, as he does on seeing Jesus. And if being free made *him* an apostle, then every free man must hold that office. Barnabas was an apostle, (Acts xiv, 14,) and was ordained at Antioch at the same time Paul was; yet we have no intimation that he saw Jesus Christ in person. Silas was also an apostle, a companion and fellow-laborer with Paul; yet nothing is said of his having seen Jesus. Whatever else Paul meant by being "free" and seeing "Jesus," he could not have meant that those things constituted him an apostle. They seem to be affirmative declarations that he was free, and had seen Jesus Christ in a vision on his way to Damascus. Nor does the want of such a sight deprive Luther and Wesley of that office. If, in their experience, they had not such a vision as Paul had to convince him of the divine mission of Christ, it was because it was not necessary; they believed without it; they saw him by faith.

In the appointment of a successor by Abraham, and also by Moses, there were direct revelations from God, naming the men who were to succeed them. The twelve apostles were appointed by the Saviour; but in filling the vacancy in the first apostolic college it was done by the casting of lots, (Acts i, 26,) appealing to God to direct, which is equivalent to the ballot with us, appealing to God to direct our hearts in the matter. In the appointment of the seven deacons (Acts vi) the apostles left it to the disciples to choose or nominate the men whom they should appoint; requiring the nominees to be "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom." Thenceforward the will of God, in such cases, was ascertained from the indications of Providence, which in many cases are as clear as a revelation. The talent, administrative ability, with the divine influence or control over the human heart, may clearly indicate the divine will in the matter, whether the appoint-

ments were made by the apostle, as in the case of Timothy and Titus, or by election by the elders or presbytery.

Another point in the analogy between St. Paul and Mr. Wesley lies in their adopting the itinerant system, holding conferences with their preachers, and appointing them to their respective fields of labor. To work this system to good effect, they both adopted the episcopal form of government, and both exercised and used the prerogatives of an *episcopos* to ordain. St. Paul ordained Timothy a bishop for Ephesus, and Titus for Crete. So Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke for America, and Mr. Mather for Scotland. It was from Mr. Wesley, through Dr. Coke, that the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America received its episcopal form of government and its ministerial orders. And if a tree is to be known by its fruits, this Church is of God's own right-hand planting, as much so as that of Ephesus and Crete, there being at least three million of his followers now living, and as many or more in heaven, in a century.

There are other important points of resemblance between the primitive Church and that organized by Mr. Wesley worthy of special notice, all going to show the conformity of the Methodist Episcopal Church with that of the apostolic age. If St. Paul was an *episcopos* over the Churches he was instrumental in raising, either directly through his own preaching, or indirectly through those under his direction, so was Mr. Wesley. If the converts at Corinth and elsewhere were seals, as from God, of his apostleship, then the millions who have been converted to God through the instrumentality of Wesley and his followers bear testimony to his apostleship with equal force.

The primitive Church also gives the form, powers, and prerogatives of a general Conference, council, or assembly, to settle questions of doctrine, discipline, and making rules and regulations for their administration and ministerial operations. This body was composed of the apostles and elders, and met at Jerusalem. The first case that occurred calling for adjudication was that of Peter going to the house of Cornelius, a Gentile, recorded in the tenth and eleventh chapters of Acts. The result of this was that the Gospel was to be preached to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, breaking down the partition wall between those peoples. The next case went up from Antioch,

in the nature of an appeal, on the question of circumcision, (Acts xv,) with a similar result.

It is true, this first conference of the kind was not a delegated one. The Church then being small, all of that class were in attendance, like our first General Conferences. But this convocation established the *principle* of such a conference, with such powers and prerogatives. And if the apostles acted under divine direction, as is conceded, then we have divine authority for such proceedings. The increase of the Church and its ministry, and the distance they may be from a common center, may make it expedient to make such a body a delegated one, but that would not change the principle upon which it was established. In a pure democracy the people meet *en masse* and enact their laws; but if this becomes inconvenient or impracticable from the increase of numbers, or the distance of residence, and each locality delegates a man to represent it in the legislature, it is no less a democratic government than if they assembled in mass.

The ministry instituted by our Lord and Saviour was an itinerant one, to "go into all the world." And the apostles and other preachers, like Philip, (Acts viii, 26,) were itinerants. They may not have had all the prudential adjuncts to the system that we have in our more enlightened age of the world, such as circuits, stations, districts, and conferences of different kinds, within certain geographical limits, with statistical reports; but the *principle* of an itinerancy, with changes of preachers in their respective fields of labor, are clearly recognized in the practice and usage of the apostolic age, whether as evangelists, missionaries, or pastors. In all these points the analogy between St. Paul and Mr. Wesley are too strongly marked from a scriptural stand-point to be ignored.

It is a well-known trait of human nature, in its present state, in guarding against an error on one side to verge to the opposite extreme. So some who see the errors of the papacy, and the English and other national Churches with their hierarchies —so unlike the apostolic ministry—have gone to the opposite extreme, and eschewed bishops, or general superintendents retaining the apostolic office, altogether; while others go half way, and elect their bishops, presidents, or moderators for a limited time. But in the ages of the patriarchs, prophets, and the

apostles, and in all subsequent ages, when God has called men to the ministry, it has been for life or during good behavior. Nor have we any instance on divine record, or early Church history, of an apostle, *episcopos*, overseer, or a general superintendent of the Church of God retiring from that work till sickness or the infirmities of age required it, as in the case of St. John, who spent his last days at Ephesus. It would have been contrary to Scripture usage, the order of God, and a great damper upon the cause of Methodism, if Mr. Wesley or Mr. Asbury had been voted out of office in four years after their installation in it, or were subjected to a new election.

It is a question with some whether a bishop or general superintendent should have any other ordination than that of elder or presbyter. As a Church we admit the validity of ordinations to the ministry by other than episcopal hands. We receive and recognize those ordained by the Wesleyans in England and Canada, and by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, etc.; and if by any means our episcopacy should become defunct, yet our eldership could ordain even new bishops; therefore the ordination or consecration of bishops, or other ministers by bishops, our Church does not consider to be essential to the validity of the ministry. The ordination of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch is in point here. But as such a consecration adds much to the dignity of the office, whether of a bishop, or elder, or deacon, and as it is in accordance with Scripture usage, it is deemed not only expedient, but highly important from a human stand-point. But when viewed in the light of Scripture usage, and in the light of civilized customs, the matter receives not only a divine but a human sanction.

The twelve apostles chosen and appointed to the high and holy office now in question by the Saviour himself, were ordained or consecrated to it by himself. (Mark iii, 14; John xv, 16.) When Matthias was chosen to fill the place from which "Judas by transgression fell," he was ordained to the office. (Acts i, 22.) And from the manner in which Peter expressed himself it must have been considered essential to the validity of the office; in other words, that a bare election did not induct him into it. In the case of Barnabas and Saul at Antioch, though they were named by the Holy Ghost—the highest possible election—yet their ordination was deemed

necessary to their entering upon the duties to which they were called of God. And in accordance with this Scripture usage, our Church has acted in all such matters. In 1820 Joshua Soule was elected to the episcopacy, but declined ordination under the presiding elder question. He was elected again in 1824, and that question being settled to suit his views, he accepted and was ordained. He was not considered a bishop till ordained to that office. In 1836 Wilbur Fisk was elected, he being in Europe at the time; but on his return he declined the honor and was not ordained, and was never a bishop.

The election of a king must be followed by a coronation to make him a king. The election of a President of the United States, a Governor of a State, a Senator or Representative of Congress or of a State Legislature, or any other civil office, does not of itself induct the man into the office; he must be sworn into it.

The Scripture mode of ordaining or consecrating to any holy office was by the imposition of hands. So God commanded Moses to lay his hands upon Joshua. (Num. xxvii, 18–23.) When the seven deacons were ordained the apostles "laid their hands on them." (Acts vi, 6.) And when the "prophets and brethren" ordained Barnabas and Saul at Antioch they "laid their hands on them." (Acts xiii, 3.) And Paul told Timothy to "lay hands suddenly on no man" to the ministry. (1 Tim. v, 22.) Our English brethren, while trammeled by their connection with the national Church, scrupled about the imposition of hands in setting men apart for the ministry, but they have since adopted that scriptural mode. But Mr. Wesley, in ordaining Dr. Coke and others, followed the example of the apostles.

There is one more point in the analogy between St. Paul and Mr. Wesley of considerable importance in this discussion: it lies in the orders of the ministry, and settles the question whether in Scripture times there was one, two, or three grades in the ministry. The apostleship, as seen in St. Paul, is admitted to have involved the office of an *episcopos*, superintendent, or overseer of the whole Church under his jurisdiction. And in his first epistle to Timothy (chapter iii) he clearly indicates two orders below his own—bishops or elders, and deacons—making the word bishop the same as elder. Now whatever may be the result of the discussion about bishops and

elders meaning the same thing in this place, there are certainly two orders below that held by Paul, or that held by Timothy, who held the general oversight of the Churches in that region, and who was an *episcopos*, for he had power to "lay hands" on other and subordinate ministers, elders and deacons; for Paul says to him, "Lay hands suddenly on no man" for the ministry. (1 Tim. v, 22.) It also appears from Paul's letter to Titus (chapter i) that he (Titus) was left at Crete for the same purpose, and invested with the same powers, that Timothy had at Ephesus, that is, an *episcopos;* for he says to Titus, (chap. i, 5,) "For this cause I left thee at Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting"—very much like Dr. Coke's mission to America—"and *ordain* elders in every city as I had appointed thee." In verse 5 the word "elder" is used, and in verse 7 the word "bishop." But be it which it may, it was subordinate to Titus, who was the *episcopos* under or successor to the apostle. There is nothing said to Titus about deacons, but in 1 Tim. iii, 8–13, this office is mentioned as below that of elder. It is presumable that Titus had deacons under him as well as Timothy, so that the orders in the ministry established by Paul were bishops, elders, and deacons. Timothy and Titus were bishops, and they had elders and deacons under their superintendence ordained by their own hands. As these two bishops had and exercised the powers of an *episcopos*, it is very probable that Paul inducted them into that office to succeed him after his death, which he saw was not distant in the future. And as they exercised the same powers of office that Paul did, that is, to superintend the Church and ordain ministers, there is no ground to conclude that the apostolate was a fourth grade in the ministry, or the first of a fourth grade, but that Timothy and Titus succeeded Paul in the apostolic office of overseers or superintendents.

In the case of Mr. Wesley, we have no evidence in his writings that he aimed to pattern after Paul in a special manner. But in following the openings of Providence he, as head and superintendent of a great revival of pure Christianity, found it necessary to have assistants and helpers, analogous to elders and deacons. And in providing for his Societies in America, as Paul did for those at Ephesus and Crete, which included the regions and cities adjacent, he ordained a bishop and elders,

directing them to ordain deacons. The coincidences are too striking to pass unnoticed.

Mr. Wesley claimed the ordaining power in virtue of his apostleship over the Methodist Societies. But being trammeled by his connection with the national Church he could not, or thought he could not, ordain elders and deacons for England, though necessity compelled him to have assistants and helpers answering to elders and deacons. And he did ordain elders, if not deacons, for Scotland, which was not under the jurisdiction of the Church of England.

But when the American Colonies had severed their connection with the mother country, thereby severing the Church from the State, he adopted what he thought the most scriptural form of Church government for his American Societies. And having, as we have seen, "the practice and usage of the apostles" before him, he ordained Dr. Coke for the superintendence or episcopate, and authorized him to ordain Mr. Asbury as his coadjutor in office, and directed them to ordain elders and deacons. Mr. Wesley also ordained two elders, Vesey and Whatcoat, to accompany the doctor and assist him in the ordinations in America, thus instituting a Church in America in true apostolic form. And without unchurching others of a different form of government, we have good reason to consider the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America the nearest to the apostolic model of any Church in Christendom. And if that apostolic man had not been trammeled by his connection with the Established Church of England, or had he severed that connection as his followers have since done, there is good reason to believe that he would have organized his English societies on a like basis, and in a form similar to that he gave to America. And the difference in the success of the two branches of Methodism, the American and English, the latter having now but about a third or a fourth the numerical strength of the former, shows clearly which form of government is most in accordance with the divine will

ART. IV.—THE RELIGION OF THE CHRIST.

The Religion of The Christ: Its Historic and Literary Development Considered as an Evidence of its Origin. The Bampton Lectures for 1874. By Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. New York: Pott, Young, & Co.

THE eight lectures in this volume discuss the following topics: "Anticipation of the Christ in Heathen Nations," "The Christ of Jewish History," "The Christ of the Psalms," "The Christ of Prophecy," "The Christ of the Gospels," "The Christ of the Acts," "The Christ of the Pauline Epistles," "The Christ of the Other Books."

It is of course the design, from the beginning to the end, to show that the Christ dimly discerned by the heathen nations, more clearly revealed in Jewish history, made the burden of prophecy and the inspiration of sacred song, incarnated in the Gospels, recognized in the Acts of the Apostles as the Head of the Church, and set forth in the Epistles as the crucified but risen and reigning Son of God, is no other than Jesus of Nazareth, our Lord and Saviour. The argument, in brief, is, that there are certain historic developments and certain literary productions, the facts of which are indisputable, and that on no rational hypothesis can they be accounted for, except it be admitted that Jesus is the Christ.

In the conclusion of the final lecture the author gives a summary of results, which we quote, for the reason that it will enable the reader to discern at a glance the scope of the whole argument:—

> And, first, there is the clear fact, not only attested by history, but which we must also postulate in order to account for the phenomena presented in these writings of the human life and death of Jesus, that human life and death is the corner-stone of their existence, which, without it, would have been impossible. Secondly, there is the fact, equally certain, that this same Jesus was proclaimed by men of various minds and characters as the Christ, for without it also the Christian literature could have had no existence. Thirdly, there is the necessary inference that the Christ-character which he was declared to have fulfilled was a substantial reality, not only in the minds of those who received him, but of those also who rejected him in that character, and consequently that this ideal conception had been, as a matter of fact, produced by the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Fourthly, there is the

no less necessary inference that it was impossible for Jesus to have been thus accepted in consequence of the effect produced only by his life and death. We must postulate other influences, which are mainly two: first, the reality of his resurrection; and secondly, the reality of the effects which accompanied and followed his recognition as the Christ in the gift of the Holy Spirit. The evidence of the reality of this gift is in our own hands, and consists in the existence of the earliest Christian literature embodied in the New Testament. There is irresistible and conclusive evidence there of the operation of a new power, to which there is no complete analogy in the history or literature of the world, but to which corroborative witness is borne even in the linguistic phenomena of these writings.—Pp. 229–231.

The anticipation of the Christ in heathen nations is argued from the existence of sacrificial offerings and the testimony of mythology. The argument is one of probability. Sacrifice, as a religious rite, is, of course, a confession of guilt, an acknowledgment of need, and a recognition of some superior power who may be disposed to do for us what we are not able to do for ourselves. It is a confession of the incapacity of human nature to the work of self-regeneration. It is the cry of the human for the Divine. Except, however, the fire shall fall from heaven, sacrifice furnishes no evidence of restoration to lost favor, and possesses no power to renew the heart, or to transform the life. The general prevalence of sacrifice in heathen nations must, nevertheless, be regarded as an interesting fact, and not without its significance in the discussion of the Christian problem.

Mythology, if not a wider field, is a more difficult one in the way of exploration. And when the facts are admitted, there are many plausible modes of interpretation. Perhaps the fundamental idea of all mythological teaching is, that the gods do actually hold intercourse with men, and so an expectation of a revelation from heaven may be excited and maintained. The human mind is directed to sources of health, wealth, wisdom, power and happiness above the plane of natural things. A mythology, therefore, even though grotesque, childish, and absurd, may be regarded as a civilizing agency. It holds men back from the deeps of barbarism, though not of sufficient force to excite definite and rational hopes. There is, doubtless, some element of truth in every religious system, and wherever this truth exists it is a leaven of righteousness. It is not wise

in the Christian thinker to deny the existence and salutary influence of the least modicum of truth to be found in the religious systems of the heathen nations. It is rather his business to show that these scattered rays shine from the central sun, and that all fragmentary and isolated truths are but parts of that one stupendous revelation on which is founded the superstructure of the religion of the Christ.

"The witness of the heathen world," says our author, "is to the existence of sin with which it was unable to cope, and to which it was imperfectly alive; to the consciousness of a want which it was unable to supply; to the desire for light it was unable to obtain." And this, doubtless, may be regarded as a preparation for the Messiah.

It is a great advantage to Christianity that its pedigree is known. Its ancestral record is indisputable. Suppose it were otherwise, how great would be the confusion! But inasmuch as Christianity is the historic development of Judaism—has grown as a fresh stalk out of that decaying root—it cannot have been developed from some pre-existent mythological system, nor have been evolved from what has been termed "the spontaneous energies and resources of humanity." It is not a human but a divine creation, and how it came into the world is a matter of history. It is a revelation; but a revelation which had its twilight, its early dawn, its full sun-rising, and its high noon of blazing effulgence. This gradual revelation of centuries becomes an important object of study. We are not confined in the discussion of Christian dogmas to the times of the Messiah. Broad is the range of Gospel criticism. It has to do with the founders of nations, and of institutions greater than any nationalities. "Abraham," said Jesus, "saw my day and was glad;" the Psalmist chanted of the Messiah in loftiest strains; and the grandest of the prophets pictures not only the agony of the betrayal and the garden, but likewise the glory of the resurrection, and the prolonged Gospel triumph in the ages of future conflict. The ancient Scriptures, therefore, have a large place in the discussion of the religion of the Christ—its origin, character, claims, and possibilities.

To the Jewish Scriptures the Jewish people are witnesses. There can be no mistake in regard to the fundamental question. These Scriptures exist. They embody a history; they

contain an established ritual; they tremble with the burden of prophecy; they give detailed biographies of important characters; they refer to countries and nations in regard to which there are no historic uncertainties; and they contain in themselves the evidence that the revelation which they disclose is but the prelude to the song of redemption—the angel song of peace on earth and good will to men. The Christ of the Jewish Scriptures, the Christ of the prophets and the psalms, enters, then, immediately and powerfully, into the question of the New Testament teachings in regard to the Messiah. It is not too much to say that the New Testament could not have existed without the Old, and that for the harmony of the two there must needs be some inter-standing historic character of whom Moses and the prophets wrote, and through whom a fuller and more glorious revelation from the Father is given to the world. The oft-repeated promise to Abraham, "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed;" the words of Micah, "Thou wilt perform the truth to Jacob, and the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old;" and the declaration by Isaiah, "Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee," are of quite as much significance to us as to the most devout Jew; for these prophecies have not had even an incipient fulfillment, except in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In like manner it may be said that the assurance, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me," has had no realization, except Jesus, the son of Mary, be recognized as that prophet. David's throne also has failed of perpetuity, the ideal king of Israel has never appeared, and the high-priestly interposition and sacrifice have ceased, except it be true that he who was derided and rejected, when the Jewish rulers said, "We have no king but Cesar," and who was renounced and reviled with the jeering superscription, "This is Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," was indeed the Messiah, the chosen of God, of whom it was truly said, "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end," and who was made a perfect

and abiding high-priest, "not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life."

But how completely is Jewish prediction fulfilled in Gospel story! He of whom it is written in the second Psalm, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee," is born into the world, is attested from heaven, is endowed with authority as the Son of man, is demonstrated by miraculous works, and is declared to be the Son of God with power by his resurrection from the dead. The promise, "Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption," was accomplished in Jesus; and to no other person of our race can the words, by any possibility, be applied. Only in the Son of man could be fulfilled the prophecy of Micah: "But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be a ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting," or as the margin reads, "from the days of eternity."

There is no doubt that the one leading thought or conception of the Old Testament Scriptures—the thought running through all the books, widely differing, as they do, in their character, and produced, as they were, by different writers at different periods—is that of a Messiah—a promised deliverer, a kingly and priestly ruler and Saviour. And it is worthy of notice that the evangelical account begins with "the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The Gospel tree springs out of Judaism, but roots in the patriarchal faith. John the Baptist comes, according to Malachi's prediction, as the messenger of the Lord of hosts, and has for the burden of his message the words of Isaiah, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." Jesus himself, from his earliest ministry, clearly and constantly recognized the Messianic teachings of the Jewish records, while, at the same time, he announced his superiority to Moses, and declared that he came not to destroy but to fulfill. It is an impossible supposition that the evangelists could have created such characters as those of John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth out of the Old Testament records. The popular expectation in regard to the Messiah demanded a conduct and career for these anointed leaders, in many respects, exactly opposite to that of the austere John, or the meek and lowly Jesus. Neverthe-

less, we are now able plainly to see that the whole tea
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of his Gospel, render the latter alternative absurd and
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And, if he was a good man, he was more—he was the
God. He fulfilled the Jewish prophecies, but he m
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substance of apostolic preaching. The apostles and

ists argue this forcibly from the Jewish Scriptures, for they preach to those who recognize the authority of these Scriptures. The historic facts recorded in the Acts are not to be denied; they are correct beyond all question; and yet they have no significance, except as they presuppose and rest on the acknowledged and prior fact of the life, personal teachings, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. Even admitting that the Acts is not an historic book, but an ingenious myth, a romantic invention, it does, nevertheless, suppose that such a man as Jesus, with such a life and death, and with such an assumed resurrection from the dead, were things which had existed, or at least which many persons believed to have existed, and so believing taught, suffered, and defied persecution, and even martyrdom, in the promulgation of their ideas, and in adherence to their faith. And yet the Acts of the Apostles is so distinct, so peculiar, and so unparalleled in the world's history, that the book could not possibly have grown out of, or been constructed from, the evangelists. Whoever was the author of the Acts, or whatever the time of its composition, the historic facts therein recorded must be received; and if received, they prove the gospels and demonstrate that Jesus is the Christ. The statements made in regard to the birth-place of the new religion, which was new only in a higher and fuller manifestation; the early and dauntless proclamation of the death and resurrection of Jesus; the uncompromising claim of the Messiahship for him who had been crucified as a malefactor; the constant appeal by the apostles to the Jewish Scriptures to show that this was the man to whom all the prophets gave witness; the preaching of this Gospel every-where, and always with corresponding results; the glorying in the cross as having been transformed from an instrument of shame into a symbol of victory; the appeal both to Jews and Gentiles to receive the Gospel message and be saved by its grace; the alleged outpouring of the Holy Spirit, conveying to every disciple an inward testimony of the Lord's living presence; the powerful conversions, the marvelous transformations of character effected, and the turning of whole communities from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven; the spiritual life of which, in the gospels, we see so little, but which here is so marked, so com-

plete and so satisfactory; the restless evangelism which coveted "the regions beyond" for missionary labor; and the constant recognition of Jesus of Nazareth as having lived, taught, died on the cross, triumphed over death and hell, gone up on high, sent the promised anointing and testimony to his followers, and so proved, beyond all question, that he is the Christ, the glorified Son of God, the Saviour of men—altogether constitute this one of the most remarkable books of which the world has any knowledge, demonstrating, logically and historically, the stupendous truth, "God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." There stands the monumental Church! On what rational hypothesis can its existence be explained except on that which is presented in the Acts of the Apostles, and which recognizes the new, prodigious, and divine force which the Gospel brought in, and which proves the religion of Jesus to be the religion of the Christ?

In the epistles two facts are constantly assumed as underlying the whole Christian system, namely, the inspired teaching of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the human life of Jesus the Christ. The absence of either of them would have been a fatal deficiency. This was the structure of the Christian argument: 1. The Messiah was predicted by a long line of prophets, and his manifestation prepared for in a national history unique, distinctive, and unparalleled. 2. The miracle-life of Jesus, his resurrection from the dead, and his impartation of the Holy Ghost, show that he was, what he claimed to be, the Christ.

All the principal facts in the life of Jesus are either recorded in the epistles, or referred to in such a way as to attest their reality; and if the gospels were destroyed, the biography of Jesus could be substantially restored from Pauline sources. The fact of the resurrection of our Lord is stated and argued, and the expectation of his return from heaven to judge the world is every-where revealed. The points of correspondence between the epistles and the Acts, as shown by Paley, are too minute and manifold for forgery, and their agreement in so many particulars demonstrates the authenticity of both. The epistles establish the fact that within, perhaps, thirty years after the crucifixion of Jesus there were Christian societies in Galatia, in Rome, in Corinth, in Philippi, in Thessalonica, and

in other places. These societies were established, without exception, by the preaching of Jesus of Nazareth, who died a malefactor's death in Jerusalem as the Christ, the Messiah of God. They had all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. They were regularly organized Churches, and they felt themselves bound together as one brotherhood in the fellowship of the Gospel. It is plain that these Churches must have been established in some such way as is described in the Acts of the Apostles. No other hypothesis is admissible, no other explanation possible; and it is equally plain that these ingathered disciples, whether Jews or Gentiles, were firmly convinced that Jesus the crucified was the Christ, the Son of God. "The moral lever," says the author of these lectures, "by which the early heathen world was converted to what we call Christianity, was the complete fulfillment in the person of Jesus of the prophetic ideal of the Christ." And Jesus, we add, fulfilling all prophecy, meeting every just expectation, adapted to every human necessity, standing at the head of the redeemed race as the second Adam, embodying in himself a realization of the grandest ideal for man, and sending forth, as priest and king, the Holy Spirit from the Father, is still, as he must ever remain, the mightiest moral lever for the uplifting and salvation of our world.

In regard to the historic facts of the life and death of Jesus there is no dispute. Both Jew and Christian witness to these facts. The question is, *Who was he that died?* Was he an impostor, or was he the Christ? The Jew, to this day, justifies the crucifixion of Jesus as the appropriate punishment of a religious pretender and blasphemer. It is only from the orthodox stand-point that the sufficient answer can be made: He was not an impostor, but the Christ of God. This answer is contained in the epistles not only in the way of statement and argument, but also in certain alleged facts of experience, which presuppose and make indubitably certain that Jesus is the Christ, the resurrection from the dead, and the baptizer with the Holy Ghost.

Take, for instance, Paul's testimony in these words: "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." How many things are evidenced by this statement!

Christ had been crucified. Paul in some sense shares his death and shame. The unregenerate "I" had been made dead even as the body of Jesus on the cross; a new spiritual life had been realized, which was inspired and maintained by the faith of the Son of God inbreathed into the soul; this produced a permanent change of character, so that the old Saul of Tarsus no longer lived, but Christ lived in his disciple; and by a personal, appropriating faith, this Christ was every moment apprehended in his redemptive work—"who loved me, and gave himself for me;" and, finally, Paul does not use, in this wonderful testimony, the proper name, Jesus, but the official name, Christ, showing that it was already understood by those to whom he wrote that Jesus was the Christ—a fact which the experience here recorded itself proves, if it be not the wildest vagary of enthusiasm.

The work of the Holy Spirit, as testifying with the disciples, and so proving the Messiahship and resurrection power of Jesus, is every-where assumed in the epistles as in the Acts. The testimony of the apostles was in the Holy Ghost and in much assurance, and their preaching was in demonstration of the Spirit and of power. Considered as a body of literature, wholly independent of the question of their inspiration, the epistles prove that the conviction of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, and the incoming of a new spiritual force, was the very root of the Christian movement; that the Church was every-where founded on this basis, and that such a moral revolution would have been impossible had not Jesus of Nazareth been recognized as the Christ of God. Was this preaching of "Jesus and the resurrection" either a mistake or a monstrous crime? Did this growing Church rise on a foundation of falsehood and imposition? Do these New Testament Scriptures record simply a gigantic deception? Was the greatest moral revolution of the ages without any adequate cause? Did men for a succession of generations continue to defy persecution and martyrdom for the promulgation of a faith which had no sufficient warrant? Is there any rational account to be given of that new and sublime force which possessed such convincing, transforming, and comforting power, and which the disciples called *The Holy Ghost*, except that it was the divine attestation of the religion of the Christ?

It is not only the Pauline epistles which testify to the Messiahship of Jesus, and to the greatness and grandeur of his redemptive work. James speaks of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, "the Lord of glory," which supposes his resurrection from the dead and ascension into heaven. And it is evident that those addressed were accustomed to think of Jesus not as a dead malefactor, but as a living, powerful, and glorious Saviour. John declares that "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin"—the cleansing being made efficacious manifestly by the fact and power of the Sonship. He also affirms that believers "have an unction from the Holy One"—have received the anointing which Jesus promised to send from the Father. And Peter teaches us that our redemption is "not with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." He also testified that many Gentiles, who in time past were not a people, had become the people of God, having entered into covenant relation with him by faith in Jesus Christ. Jude exhorts believers to keep themselves in the love of God, "looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." He likewise speaks of certain feasts of charity, or love-feasts, as already existing in the Church, and testifying to the common brotherhood in Christ. In the sublime visions of the Revelation also, Jesus, the Lamb of God, is the grand central figure. He that searcheth the hearts and reins; he that hath the seven spirits of God—the Holy Spirit; he that shutteth and no man openeth; he that will give to every man according to his works; he that is called "The Word of God," and has on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, "King of kings and Lord of lords," is also represented as "the lion of the tribe of Judah," "the root and offspring of David," "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and the Saviour who hath "redeemed us to God by his blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation." The saints, arrayed in white robes, are fed by the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne, and are led to the life-giving fountains, because they "came out of great tribulation, and had washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." And the trumpet blast of Apocalyptic triumph, ringing down the ages, swells with the exult-

ant note, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and forever."

Some conclusions follow which are entitled to careful consideration:—

1. The religion of the Christ is a system of faith which was gradually revealed, and around which gathers the testimony of centuries. It is embedded in the history of the race. It is linked with the grandest and tenderest recollections of mankind. Its destruction would impoverish the world intellectually, and blast and desolate it morally. When the religious life ceases, only a dead human heart remains. But the religion of the Christ stirs every pulse of being; satisfies every earnest expectation; includes all the results of a genuine progress; fades not in its evidences with the lapse of time, but multiplies, with every passing hour, the signs and tokens of its vitality; is adapted to all classes and conditions; carries the race forward, as its triumphs thicken, to higher and nobler realizations; and fills the world, more and more, with the proofs of its wisdom, assimilative capacity, and unwasting beneficence.

2. The religion of the Christ is a permanent system. Jesus has died once for all. He continues in his high-priestly office, and will so continue till the final dispensation closes. The gospel records, therefore, are in an important sense always new and fresh. The power of the cross is as great as it has ever been. Its influence in heathen lands to-day is what it was in Thessalonica in the time of Paul; it leads men to turn to God from idols, and to wait for his Son from heaven. There is no form of government, no type of civilization, and no order of society, to which the religion of the Christ is not fitted. Indeed, it shapes government, determines civilization, and fashions society according to its own pervading and predominant purpose. It is the greatest force known among men, and, by a chemical law, which is as potent in morals as in physics, is conforming all ideas and institutions to itself. The power of the name of Jesus—its vivifying and transforming energy—proves that his religion is the religion of the Christ.

3. Miraculous works had less to do with the establishment of the Christian religion than we are accustomed to suppose. That they were an important factor, and indispensable in the

beginning, cannot be denied; but the great reliance of the apostles was not on miracles, or extraordinary works, but on the testimony of the Jewish Scriptures, and on the convincing power of the Holy Spirit, which God gave to every one who believed, and which demonstrated the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, and his living and reigning headship to the Church. These forces belong as emphatically to our own as to the apostolic times. The historic argument resting on the Jewish records has lost nothing of its pertinency or power, and the Christian writings are an added volume of undisputable authority. Pentecost, moreover, in all its substantial facts, is perpetual, and the signs following the preaching of the Word are of irresistible force to convince and save, when the Church exercises faith and relies on prayer and Christian testimony as the weapons of her warfare.

4. Finally, we have every good ground of assurance that the Gospel will triumph over all pagan and infidel opposition, and that the religion of Jesus, the Christ, will become the religion of mankind. For if Jesus be *the Anointed;* if he proceeded forth from God; if he came into the world as the Messenger of the covenant; if he be that prophet which Moses prefigured and Isaiah pictured; if he be the King of Israel and the rightful inheritor of David's throne; if in him the world has found its second Adam to restore the Eden purity and loveliness; if all power in earth and in heaven is placed in his hands; and if he be, as he claims he was, and as he was demonstrated by his resurrection from the dead and by the gift of the Holy Spirit to be, the Son of God, then his religion is the religion of the Christ, possesses the unction of Divine power, and must go forward, conquering and to conquer, with that mysterious energy which turns hindrances into helps, discords into harmonies, and antagonisms into alliances, causing all testimonies, explorations, inventions, discoveries, attainments, and realizations among men to glorify his cause, filling the earth with the knowledge of his name, till in its proudest capitals and on its loftiest thrones—in its arts, science, literature, government, systems of education, social activities, and forms of national life—the world shall acknowledge that Jesus, the son of Mary, who died on the cross, is not only the king of the Jews, but the anointed and glorified Head of human-

ity, the son of the Highest, and the victor over death and hell—that his scepter is a right scepter, and that his dominion, bringing in the new earth and heaven, is an everlasting dominion.

ART. V.—"A STATESMAN" OF THE PERIOD.

FERNANDO WOOD inherited from his family a resolute, vigorous nature. His ancestors were of the Quaker stock and of vigorous constitution. Henry Wood, his great-great-greatgrandfather, exiled from old England and from New England, found at length a friendly shelter far from civilization in the wilds of Delaware, where he purchased an immense landed estate of the Indians, a portion of which covered the present site of Camden, N. J., and there resided twenty-seven years before the arrival of William Penn. He was the first white man to mount the deck of the owner of Pennsylvania, and when he ascertained that the celebrated guest and lord was of his own faith he wept for joy. Fernando's paternal grandfather, a man of immense proportions and a staunch Quaker, residing at Peashore, Del., on the family estate that had come down through several generations, was so stirred with the martial blasts of the Revolution that, despite the remonstrances of his co-religionists, he raised a company of troops (all six feet high) and fought unto blood at the battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777. His maternal grandfather, another Quaker, was also wounded in the same engagement, and both were put to shame by being "turned out of meeting" by their respective societies.

Benjamin Wood, father of our subject, early established himself in Philadelphia as a merchant. During the war of 1812–1815 he did a prosperous business, but at the suspension of hostilities his large stock so suddenly depreciated that bankruptcy followed. Broken in health, as well as bankrupt in business, he started southward, visiting Kentucky, New Orleans, and Havana, returning to New York, where, in 1820, he established himself as a cigar manufacturer. The extreme winter of 1832 so exhausted his frail nature that he fled southward for a more genial climate, and died at Charleston, S. C.,

the following November. He was an elder in the Market-street Presbyterian Church, New York, and much esteemed. None of the family returned to the Friends after their expulsion during the Revolution.

The subject of this sketch was born in Philadelphia, Pa., June 14, 1812, the same month in which President Madison declared war against Great Britain. His mother had been reading a famous novel in which one Fernando had played a brilliant *rôle*, and the name was therefore promptly transferred to her infant boy. He learned to read with little assistance, and at eight years of age was sent to a class taught by Mr. James Shea, afterward Professor in the Grammar School of Columbia College. At the age of thirteen, while his father was South in quest of health, he arranged with his mother to go into the world and begin business. Searching the advertising columns of a newspaper, he ascertained that a gentleman keeping an exchange office wanted a boy. He applied, and was installed at two dollars per week. Some months later we find him in the employment of another gentleman, also an exchange broker, at a salary of five dollars per week. Not long after this he was sent to transact some business at Harrisburgh, where he remained for a considerable period. One evening, at the hotel where several members of the Legislature were drinking, an altercation arose between young Wood and a senator, the latter drawing from his pocket a bowie-knife; whereupon Wood, being a strong lad, seized a chair, and at an opportune moment felled his distinguished antagonist to the floor. This was his first triumph among statesmen, but he was quickly arrested and spent the night in a cell, which was also his first lesson in prison discipline.

Soon after this he started for the home of his parents in New York, and began, with his father, cigar-making, at which he soon became an expert. Like too many fast boys, he had early learned to smoke. On the steamer, going from Philadelphia to New York, he smoked incessantly, and was accosted by a thoughtful Quaker thus: "Friend, thee smokes a good deal." Wood frankly acknowledged that he did. "Well, now, don't thee smoke any more," argued Father Broadbrim. Casting his half-consumed cigar into the deep, he exclaimed resolutely, "I wont!" a promise he has ever since kept, afford-

ing an example of his immense will-power which has never deserted him.

About 1830, and at the age of eighteen, he contracted an unfortunate matrimonial alliance with a young woman of Philadelphia. This marriage was fruitless, and, it seems, unsatisfactory to either party. The family relation was, however, sustained until 1839, when the husband obtained a divorce on New Testament principles, and the unfortunate woman died two years later.

Early in 1832 he opened a small cigar store at 322 Pearl-street, on Franklin Square, near the present site of Harper's immense publishing house. This was while the cholera raged, and over thirty-five hundred died in the city of that plague. Wood's store was in the midst of the neighborhood most ravaged, but was kept open after most of the others were closed. About this period, though not a voter, his political activity began. He was a zealous admirer of General Jackson, who was that year re-elected to the presidency. He took the "stump" at small Democratic meetings. He also wrote articles for the press, among others a "Review of Governor Haynes' [of South Carolina] Message in favor of Nullification," which attracted considerable attention, and which led to his acquaintance with William Leggett, of the "Evening Post," who became his friend and supporter.

But too much attention to politics ruined his business, and the closing out of his little shop landed him on his feet as a journeyman cigar maker with a Mr. Henry, in Division-street, where he toiled two years. In 1834 he secured a clerkship in the ship-chandlery business with Mr. Francis Secor, at 103 Washington-street, where he remained two years and saved five hundred dollars. With this sum he purchased a similar business, of one Jackson, on the corner of Rector and Washington streets. His establishment resembled the corner grocery of the present day, with the addition of such wares as would be in demand among sailors and others engaged in the smaller shipping interests of the port. He now bent himself resolutely to his business and resolved to win. He was his own clerk, swept his floor, and slept on the premises. Having hung out his sign he was not the man to wait for customers, but in person canvassed the piers and crafts of the harbor soliciting patronage.

In two years his capital of five hundred had developed into ten thousand, and, in 1838, he leased the corner of Albany and Washington streets and greatly enlarged his business. He now purchased a schooner, which he ran successfully in the West India trade, and owned some smaller vessels, and greatly prospered.

Meanwhile he had carefully maintained his political relationship with the Democracy of the First Ward, and taken constant and active interest in party organization. This had greatly assisted his business. Tammany Hall had all the political potency then, relatively, that it has since attained, while a leading brotherly feature among the members at that time was to assist each other in business. The exciting canvass of 1840 found Mr. Wood chairman of the Young Men's Democratic Committee, and he was nominated on the general ticket for a seat in the Twenty-seventh Congress, with J. I. Roosevelt, John M'Keon, Chas. G. Travis, and others, from New York city.

The whole country was in a blaze of political enthusiasm. A long and weary strife had been waged between the Whigs and the Democrats in reference to a United States Bank. Following the example of the great powers on the other side of the Atlantic, the Government had chartered such an institution, with a capital of thirty-five millions, which commenced operations in January, 1817, and whose charter expired March, 1836. Congress re-chartered it, but President Jackson vetoed the bill, and, to save it from liquidation, the State of Pennsylvania re-chartered it, with the same amount of capital, in 1836. Its business was badly conducted, and in the pressure of 1837 it suspended, resuming, only to suspend again, in 1839, when it was wound up, paying fully its indebtedness, but leaving its thirty-five millions of stock utterly worthless. President Van Buren had favored the withdrawal of the bank, and had made the independent treasury system the prominent feature of his administration. However sound his views, commerce was greatly depressed, for which in the United States the Administration is ever held responsible. Mr. Van Buren was unanimously renominated by the Democrats. Massachusetts nominated Mr. Webster. Mr. Clay, thinking the effort fruitless, and having been previously beaten, did not care to take the field. The Whigs, finally borrowing Democratic wisdom, which, in 1828,

had made political capital by running a military man, (General Jackson,) decided to nominate General Harrison, a man of estimable character, of some martial celebrity, and whose long retirement to private life had shielded him from public criticism, rendering him the more available. Democratic orators attempted to cast slurs upon him, charging that he lived in a "log-cabin, with nothing but hard cider to drink;" whereupon the Whigs promptly adopted these as the watchwords of the campaign, while his "Tippecanoe" battle with Tecumseh was sounded with poetic cadences. Solid capitalists advertised that, after election, they would pay six dollars per barrel for flour if Harrison was elected, and three if Van Buren. The country became intent on a change of administration and the rout of the Democrats was complete. Mr. Van Buren received sixty-three electoral votes, and General Harrison two hundred and thirty-four. Mr. Wood, however, stood in the densest columns of the unterrified, where a democratic nomination was equivalent to an election, and was among the few Democrats who took seats in the Twenty-seventh Congress. He was then a young man of twenty-eight years, and was soon after married for the second time, choosing for his bride a daughter of Judge Richardson, of Cayuga County, New York. Mr. Wood possessed at that time only a meager general education, had not studied law or statesmanship, and, consequently, was little fitted to cope with the intellectual giants who then thronged the national capital. President Harrison called an extra session of Congress, so that the young members were brought to the front several months sooner than they had expected. The Congress of 1841 was memorable from two considerations. First, from the importance of the questions considered; and secondly, from the number of distinguished men who took part in its proceedings. Daniel Webster was Secretary of State. In the Senate chamber sat Henry Clay, Rufus Choate, John C. Calhoun, Thomas H. Benton, Silas Wright, James Buchanan, Messrs. Woodbury, Walker, Rives, and others nearly as distinguished. In the House of Representatives were John Quincy Adams, Millard Fillmore, Caleb Cushing, Henry A. Wise, J. P. Kennedy, D. H. Lewis, R. M. T. Hunter, and others of prominence.

The Whigs, being again in power, proposed to reconstruct

the National Bank, making it the fiscal agent of the Government. Senator Clay, whose power over men was almost unparalleled, exerted his influence in both houses in its favor. But he was met in the Senate by Calhoun, Benton, and Wright, and in the House by Ingersoll, Rhett, Hunter, Pickens, Lewis, and Wise. The contest was heated and acrimonious. Mr. Wood took the gauge of his audience, and perceived that it was not a New York mass meeting, and doubtless preferred to have the leaders speak. But it would not do to have a representative from the First Ward in New York silent. He represented, in a sense, the wealthiest constituency on the floor, men who claimed paramount interest in banking and treasury schemes. A petition for the National Bank, signed by fifteen or twenty thousand persons, had been sent to Washington by a committee composed of Messrs. King, Brown, and Aspinwall. Others had protested, loading their representatives with statistics and arguments against the proposed bill. Mr. Wood prepared himself, and spoke early in the discussion. When he arose he was very pale, and his voice trembled; but he saw one sympathetic listener, (his young wife in the gallery,) and gathered courage, waxing bolder and more eloquent to the close. The subject had been under discussion for a dozen years in all the newspapers of the land, as well as in Congress and on the platform, so that the youngest politician could not be wholly ignorant of it. Much of the speech, as produced in the Congressional Reports, is able, and sharply presented, though it is doubtful whether he would now think it statesmanlike to denounce *all* banking laws, and pronounce them the "worst of all the evils of corrupt legislation." This, his maiden speech, was flatteringly spoken of, and it is asserted that John Quincy Adams, at its close, left his seat, and taking the flushed young orator by the hand said, with a twinkle, "Young man, when I am gone you will become one of the foremost men in this country." This was his only speech of importance at the extra session.

At the first regular session of this Congress he delivered a speech on the tariff question, in which he advocated free trade, maintaining the following propositions:—

1. Special laws, granting exclusive privileges or encouragement to particular classes or professions, are unequal, and

consequently unjust, and in violation of the genius of our institutions and of the Constitution.

2. Protective duties laid on foreign products to prevent their importation at prices less than those of our own country must, to be effectual, be prohibitory. He claimed that this system abolished trade and brought no revenue, and was therefore effete.

3. He urged that a high duty increased the price of home products, laying a tax on all consumers; while the money went into the pockets of manufacturers and not the Treasury—taxing millions for the benefit of hundreds.

4. He urged that protection was injurious to manufacture, in that it narrowed the market, introducing the policy of exclusion as a matter of retaliation among nations.

5. Commerce, he claimed, was the greatest protection to manufactures, which tariffs destroyed, and that the good of the laborer and the manufacturer required free trade, and he thought the spirit of the age was tending toward it.

At a later period he addressed the house on the Naval Appropriation Bill, opposing strenuously the munificence of its appropriations. He recited some healthy lessons on economy in government, but his repeated denunciations of "Whig inflation," "Whig love for debt, and detestation of liquidation," etc., etc., made his speech smack too much of the partisan politician, who is ever ready to decry Government expenditures when in the minority. Mr. Wood was on the Committee on Naval Affairs, and is said to have drawn the report recommending the subject of floating docks for the repair of Government vessels.

Another matter worthy of notice is the service he rendered Professor Morse, and through him the world at large, in the advocacy of a small appropriation from Congress to test the practical value of his (Morse's) invention. Morse, having completed the scheme for his telegraph, appeared before Congress in 1838, asking for an appropriation to construct an experimental line between Washington and Baltimore. But though the members were greatly amused with his chemical experiments they were skeptical as to its utility, and refused to waste the public money on it. Mr. Morse went to England and to France, but failing to interest the government of either coun-

try in his invention, he returned, to appear before Congress again, during the winter of 1842–3. Mr. Wood advocated his cause, and at length permission was given to lay the wires from the Naval Committee room of the House of Representatives to the Senate Chamber, a distance of about four hundred feet. The practicability of the invention was thus so far tested that, on the last night of the session, at midnight, a bill granting $30,000 for the line to Baltimore was passed, and the telegraph was erected in 1844.

Congress was a great educator to Mr. Wood. Every step of his previous career had given evidence of a vigorous, grasping, versatile nature, but he had lacked the higher educational facilities. Hitherto he had mingled with sailors, fifth-rate merchants, and ward politicians. At Washington he found himself at once in the highest social plane of the continent, surrounded by advanced minds who had enjoyed all the polish of the schools, and made statesmanship, in all its phases, a life-long study. The better class of his constituents, also, with whom he had never before associated, now opened communication with him, pouring their best thoughts on manufacture, exchange, tariff, and finance into his head. Placed on important committees, it was further his privilege to hear and consider the schemes of adept thinkers who came from every part of the country to urge their theories upon Congress. He had always had a taste for learning, but here, amid Northern and Southern scholars of ample growth, he discovered the value and felt the need of it as never before. Being very ambitious, he devoted himself thoroughly to self-culture, and made rapid improvement during his term. His figure in Congress at this early period, considering the dearth of his previous opportunities, was decidedly creditable.

Mr. Clay, though a Southern man and a slaveholder, had a wonderful talent for attaching Northern men to him. This he did largely by his admirable social qualities. With the courtesy of a true gentleman, he made himself friendly, often attentive, to new members of the House from the North and East. This he did to our young representative from New York, sometimes strolling with him about the city when in need of physical exercise. One day the two, with an old friend of Mr. Clay from Philadelphia, were passing down Pennsyl-

vania Avenue, when, in passing a tobacco store, Mr. Clay's friend desired to enter and replenish his snuff-box. Through a half-opened door leading into a room in the rear Wood saw four men at work at his old business. Turning to the chief of the party he said, "Mr. Clay, will you step in and see them work?" "Certainly," said the bland Kentuckian, and all four entered the room. There sat four adept workmen, cutting wrappers, dampening leaves, and rolling up neat cigars with great facility. Clay remarked, "How very skillfully this is performed! Who would have thought so much ingenuity requisite in making a cigar?" "I don't see any art in it," said Wood. "It seems to me a very simple matter, and I suspect that any one could do quite as well." Clay looked at him and said: "Young man, you deceive yourself. Long years of patient labor are required to accomplish what these men are doing with such apparent ease." "With due deference, Mr. Clay," said Wood, "I differ with you. There is no art nor skill required to do what they are doing. They simply cut off a piece of the tobacco, roll some of the dry part in their hands, then wrap it up, and the whole thing is done. Any person can make a cigar." Clay laughed, but the shopkeeper and his workmen looked at the speaker with high contempt. "If you think any one can make a cigar," said Clay, "perhaps you had better try," casting a twinkling glance at the proprietor. "Well," said Wood, "I may be mistaken; but as I really do think it possible I will try." So, sitting down, he took the knife, dexterously cut from a large leaf his wrapper, adjusted the filling to its proper size, rolled all together neatly, twisted the symmetrical "pig-tail," cut off the opposite end, and handed coolly the well-made cigar to the astonished Mr. Clay. The joke that Wood had outwitted Clay at a cigar store went the rounds of Congress.

At the expiration of his term in Congress Mr. Wood returned to New York, where he established himself in South-street as a shipping and commission merchant. He was now much better known, had a larger capital, and, as he bent himself to fortune-making more intensely, if possible, than ever, he was very prosperous. In 1847 his trade on the water had so increased that he owned eight vessels. In February, 1848, gold was discovered in California, and in the following Sep-

tember Mr. Wood heard, through a merchant, an account of certain specimens of the precious metal just brought from the mines by Lieutenant Beale, of the United States army. Though the smoke of the Mexican War had scarcely cleared away, with that cool business sagacity that has always characterized him, he formed a quiet partnership with a retired merchant named Edward E. Marvine, and quickly fitted out one of his own vessels, the bark "John W. Cator," with such lading as he thought likely to be available at that crisis, and started her for San Francisco. The vessel, though scarcely seaworthy, rounded Cape Horn in safety, and was the first with a valuable cargo to cast anchor within the Golden Gate. This was the opportune moment, the beginning of that gambling period when every thing in California, except money, was valuable. Flour brought fifty dollars per barrel; butter, one dollar per pound; potatoes were weighed out at thirty-seven cents per pound, and miners' boots brought one hundred dollars per pair. Mr. Wood's cargo was soon disposed of, and at such an immense profit that the proprietor felt able to retire from active business, and to henceforth further improve his fortune in a more quiet manner.

His taste of public life at Washington had greatly raised his aspirations. His intercourse with Southern statesmen, men of wealth, leisure, and reflection, and his widening acquaintance with men of letters, had begotten in him a desire for retirement and study. Relieved from active business, he now collected books, and, with resolute application, sought to remove the defects of his imperfect education.

In 1850 he was placed in nomination, by the Democrats of New York, for mayor, but was defeated by Mr. A. C. Kingsland. As soon as he was apprised of his defeat he returned philosophically to his books, to more thoroughly prepare for future emergencies. In the meantime he had come into possession of a tract of ground in San Francisco, which, with the marvelous growth of that city, had come into importance, and was yielding a fine income. To examine this property, release it, and procure a suitable agent, he decided, in 1852, to visit that country. There was then no railroad to the Pacific. Mr. Aspinwall was building his Panama road across the isthmus, but Mr. Wood crossed by the miners' route on a mule,

through bamboo thickets a portion of the way, and the other portion in a flat boat poled along the Chagres River. After many adventures, and an absence of two months, he returned to New York and resumed his studies.

Keeping up industriously his connection with metropolitan politics, he was, in the fall of 1854, considered the most available candidate in the New York Democracy for the mayoralty. The corruptions of municipal government had become nearly intolerable, and the people were restive. Four candidates were brought into the field. The Whigs nominated Mr. J. J. Herrick, who received 5,696 votes. A Reform party nominated Mr. Wilson J. Hunt, who received 15,397. The Know-Nothings, then fresh and powerful, nominated Mr. James W. Barker, who received 18,547 votes, though he insisted to his dying day that he was honestly elected but fraudulently counted out by the Democrats. The Democrats (Hard and Soft) united on Mr. Wood, who received 20,003 ballots, and was, on the first day of January, 1855, inaugurated.

The difficulties of well and properly governing the city of New York are at all times very great, and are not usually appreciated by the critic. Very few of the old Dutch or English families remain on the island, and the mass of enterprising men who conduct the commerce and the press, and so make the glory of New York, live outside of the city limits. The population of the island is thoroughly miscellaneous, embracing political exiles of every grade, and some of the vilest men and women from all countries. There are large neighborhoods where no English word is spoken by the residents. Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Italians are numbered by the thousand; Irishmen and Germans by the hundred thousand. All these have their national antipathies, jealousies, and ambitions. Multitudes of rich men and of poor men, ruled by avarice and ambition, having each his own interpretation of "liberty," scorn all municipal authority, and seem bent on their own will at any and every hazard. Government, amid so many varied discordances of language, thought, and inclination, is certain to meet opposition, and as Americans have only transient respect for their rulers, every magistrate is certain, amid the conflict of parties, to receive his full meed of abuse.

The difficulties of governing New York city have been great-

ly aggravated, also, by the caprices of legislation. Every change of party politics for forty years has given New York a new or an amended city charter. The triumph of the opposition has been the signal for overturning the city government, and dismissing all subordinate officials however competent. This chronic-revolutionary policy has been disastrous. No governmental scheme has been perfected, the crudities of partisan amateur legislators have been repeatedly foisted upon the people, and municipal administration rendered a perpetual experiment.

Mr. Wood came to the metropolitan throne surrounded by a bad party, and in a corrupt period of city politics. Peculation and plunder had not assumed the proportions disclosed under the reign of A. Oakey Hall, yet an army of cormorants, of a smaller growth, thronged the City Hall and all its approaches. Superfluous legislation had disjointed the entire city government. The old charter of 1830 had been again and again amended until the government was administered under portions of six different charters, creating nine executive departments, with large but not carefully defined powers, with heads elected by the people, each assuming to be independent of the others and of the Mayor; indeed, out of reach of every thing save impeachment by the Common Council, a power it had never exercised. This unusual scattering of power was well calculated to introduce Babel in the administration, and to very unnecessarily augment the expenditures of government.

The election of no other mayor in New York was ever so strenuously opposed by all classes of true and thoughtful men, yet papers, speeches, sermons and prayers failed to defeat him. But when good men thought the worst had come, a strange light dawned. His early proclamations and messages fell like a bombshell on all classes. He frowned on all abuses, and advocated every needed reform. He announced himself as the people's ruler, independent of political parties. His rabble constituents leered, and good people opened their eyes in grateful astonishment. He advocated the soundest economy in government, calling upon the Common Council to correct, as far as possible, all contract abuses in grading, paving, street-cleaning, and lighting. He urged the importance of a new charter, consolidating the departments, as the only way to efficiency

and economy. Every department received his attention, and his papers evinced research and judgment. The population of the city at that time was about seven hundred thousand, and its funded debt but little over one million, with an annual "budget" of about six millions; yet the people murmured about taxation then as much as they do now under a debt of one hundred and forty millions and an annual burden of thirty-five millions. Much of the expenses of the city government, until wholesale plunder began, resulted from immigration. Several European nations, having lost many thousands of thrifty subjects, who had landed on our shores, conceived the idea of making America a sort of penal colony for their felons and paupers. During the first month of Mr. Wood's administration a Sardinian frigate from Genoa, having on board over sixty persons of dangerous reputation, many of whom had been in prison at Turin, sought to discharge her living cargo in New York, but the mayor refused her a landing. A Belgian vessel with a similar crew landed, and he caused the persons to be held in the city prison with a view of having them returned to their own land. A writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by a New York judge, (Roosevelt,) however, set them at liberty. Mr. Wood addressed letters in reference to these abuses to President Pierce, to our representatives in Congress, and to our United States consuls abroad, which were not without effect. But his greatest reformatory novelty was the opening of a *Complaint Book*. The extraordinary scattering of power among the departments had rendered it nearly impossible for a citizen to obtain any redress, no matter what the nature of his grievance. A complaint was sent from one department to another, and bandied about, and the reply was looked for like the decision of the Court of Chancery. Through the papers he notified the public that a book had been opened in the mayor's office wherein might be registered complaints of dereliction of duty on the part of any corporation officers, violated ordinances, nuisances, incumbrances, or other abuses. Armies of citizens, including bankers, merchants, householders, and servant girls, came to spread their complaints on the clean leaves of our reformer's wonderful book. Temporarily it did good. Policeman were arraigned for neglect of duty, contractors for not cleaning the streets, merchants for encumbering the pavements, hackmen for ex-

orbitant charges, baggage-masters for smashing trunks, and dram-sellers for their extortions. Policemen went here and there making arrests or inspecting matters of complaint until every miscreant expected to be arraigned. Officials from neighboring cities halted at the mayor's office to inspect this latest invention of government. Of course, there was a farcical feature interspersed in so extraordinary an enterprise. Thriftless tenants prayed that the ejecting power of landlords might be restrained, silly wives that unruly husbands might be corrected, and suffering tailors that policemen might pay for worn out tape and buttons. But the mayor did his best, and daily increased in favor with all good citizens.

The police force of New York had never been efficient, and was at that time entirely demoralized. It was a sort of citizen association, with the mayor as chief, but insubordinate and indifferent to the enforcement of strict rules of order. Members of the force stood as spectators at street fights, lounged around public buildings, smoked and drank with small politicians. When the new mayor assumed the reins of authority he promptly issued a circular to the police force specifying their duties, and calling for a daily report from every patroling officer on over twenty topics falling under his observation, covering the causes of complaint by good citizens. Dissipated, lewd, and vagrant characters were quickly arrested; policemen were stationed at the chief crossings of Broadway to protect pedestrians; prize-fighters, garroters, and reckless drivers were taken into custody; in fine, law and order reigned as they had not in New York in half a century. He openly declared for temperance and the Sabbath. There were at that time in the city nearly six thousand licensed dram-sellers. To these he issued an appeal asking them to co-operate with him and with good citizens for a quiet Sabbath. About twenty-three hundred of these had been notorious for their Sunday traffic, but his appeal and the police surveillance suppressed open Sunday violation in the great majority of cases. Some licenses were revoked, and many unlicensed dealers were summarily handled. He not only urged the importance of a quiet Sabbath, but sat with his family in St. George's Church, under the ministry of the senior Dr. Tyng, which was thronged by thousands to get a view of the wonderful mayor.

At this point he reached the pinnacle of popular favor. His fame had not only crossed the continent, but the Atlantic as well. Letters of congratulation and inquiry poured in upon him from distant cities. Editors, reformers, and ministers did him homage. The temperance people praised him. At a great temperance mass meeting, Dr. Tyng spoke of him as follows amid the perpetual cheers of the audience. Said the doctor, "I know intimately the noble man who is at the head of the city. He is a true man. He is a member of my congregation. You may be assured he will take no backward steps." The Hutchinsons composed and sung a song in honor of the mayor.

It is no wonder that Mr. Wood, at this remarkable episode of his life, obtained the hearty confidence of the nobler part of our entire country. He exhibited to their view the qualities of a great ruler, exerting the most commanding powers for the highest ends. He seemed for the hour heir apparent to the highest executive position the nation could confer. Had his moral persistence been equal to his actual moral powers, had he possessed that faith in the right which preferred apparent defeat to wrongful success, he would, we believe, have risen above all defeat, and have obtained an enviable place in the history of his country, if not the highest position in the country's gift. It seems as if Providence here placed the alternative of a career of integrity and lofty honor, or of fatal and degrading expediences, before his mature and deliberate choice. What the real nature of his choice was we believe that no one knows at the present time more profoundly, perhaps none more regretfully, than himself. Such golden opportunities seldom return.

The temperance revival reached its climax during the first term of Mayor Wood. Indeed, his election was coincident with that of Myron H. Clark, the temperance candidate for governor, who was also supported by a majority of temperance men in both branches of the Legislature. On the 9th of April, 1855, the Legislature passed a prohibitory law, in the enforcement of which sheriffs and policemen were granted such power over property and persons as had never been previously conferred. This law repealed all former excise laws, and practically left New York city—from May 1, when all licenses

expired, to July 4, when the penalties of the prohibitory law were to be enforced—without any restriction in dram-selling, and none against the Sunday traffic, save the old civil penalty of two dollars and fifty cents, to be obtained by prosecution in civil action. During that period free rum had its way in the city, and the apparent progress in good government in the previous months was more than lost.

The mayor was at heart opposed to the prohibitory law. He deemed it unconstitutional, and of transient continuance. Here the temperance people, at least the extreme wing, broke with him. In his instructions to the police in reference to the enforcement of the new law, and his proclamation to the people on the subject, he assumed that every legislative enactment was *law* until repealed, or by a competent tribunal pronounced void; that it was the imperative duty of executives to enforce all laws, and of the people to submit to them, expecting the evils of legislation to be in due time repaired by the bench or the ballot. The enforcement of the prohibitory law in New York was a perilous task. The United States laws and treaties granted the right to import, hold, and sell liquors, and these privileges the State law could not annul. The officer must, therefore, in the seizure of liquors, discriminate between those held under United States authority and those held under other conditions. Many active officers were compelled, in the sequel, to run a long and expensive gauntlet in litigation. The repeal of all excise laws for over two months swept away largely his power for the suppression of disorder, and the unhappy change in the appearance of the city was attributed by many to his abandonment of reformatory principles. This, at that stage of his administration, only induced him to return to the corrupt throngs that had raised him to power. The liquor dealers thought him too rigid, and complained as loudly as the temperance people. The law was enforced with tolerable ability, though with waning power, until it was slaughtered by the Court of Appeals, in the month of March following, as unconstitutional, in that it destroyed the right of property without due process of law, and that it further provided for the arraignment of offenders before a Court of Special Sessions, thus depriving the accused of the right of trial by jury. There are, however, politicians on the bench

as well as in the Legislature; and the Court which annulled the prohibitory law was diametrically opposed, politically, to the Legislature that framed it.

The initial steps for the laying out of Central Park had been taken before Mr. Wood's election, but he had the high honor of sanctioning and directing much of that stupendous enterprise. The Commissioners appointed by the Supreme Court to survey the grounds, examine titles, adjust assessments, etc., reported July 2, 1855, and on February 5, 1856, the plot of seven hundred and seventy-six acres was purchased by the city at a cost of $5,444,369 90, the largest sum ever expended by a city in a similar manner. But, after the purchase had been made, the Common Council decided that the Park was to be too large and expensive, and accordingly an ordinance was passed making Seventy-second street, instead of Fifty-ninth, its southern boundary. This bill the mayor promptly vetoed in a clear and able message, and for it deserves great credit. The area of the Park was subsequently enlarged.

Mr. Wood was re-elected to the mayoralty in November, 1856, on the day that James Buchanan was chosen for the presidency. The national struggle was very exciting, the vote of Pennsylvania alone defeating the anti-slavery ticket. Mr. Wood was doubly interested in the result of the canvass, being a leading Democrat in the national party, and a candidate for the highest office in the chief city. Fraudulent voting in our large cities reached its climax at about that period. The police of New York was under the mayor's jurisdiction, and it was loudly charged that he had wielded the force to his political advantage. John A. King, in the same canvass, was elected Governor of New York, the Republicans retaining also the Legislature. An amended charter was given to New York city, which, among other things, separated the municipal from the general election, and conferred upon the mayor the power of appointing heads of departments, to be confirmed by the Common Council. Several boards of commissioners—one to take charge of Central Park, another of the Public Schools, another to organize and control the Police—were provided for by the passage of separate bills. These boards were to be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Senate, and to

operate independent of the city government. This infringement upon the rights of a municipality may be both justified and condemned. The Democrats in Maryland did for the city of Baltimore substantially what the Republicans at Albany did for New York city. Of the ultimate right of a legislature in the premises we think there can be little question, but its exercise should only attend extraordinary exigencies. Whether such an exigency had at that time arisen or not, the crisis of 1863, testing to the utmost the police and military power of the State, proved that steps in this direction had been taken none too soon. Mr. Wood, in matters of municipal government, is an autocrat. He believes in the one-man power. His matured opinion is that the mayor of New York should be elected for a term of at least ten years, be independent of the Legislature, and have absolute authority over every branch of the city government, power being lodged somewhere to remove and punish him for dereliction. The police he regarded as his right arm of power, of which he did not propose to be shorn without a struggle. His chief legal adviser was Charles O'Conor, one of the greatest barristers (but who also makes some of the greatest blunders) in the country. Mr. Wood sued out an injunction in his own name, as taxpayer, against the proceedings of the new Police Commissioners, which was served at their first meeting to organize the board. This was argued and dissolved. He then obtained another, technically different, which shared the same fate. He then obtained a writ *quo warranto*, demanding by what authority the commissioners claimed office. The constitutionality of the law was thus called in question. It was argued before the full bench of the Supreme Court and sustained. Mr. Wood next carried it to the Court of Appeals. Six of the eight judges of this court of last resort were Democrats. It was elaborately argued before this tribunal by Mr. O'Conor and Judge Edmonds for the mayor, and by Messrs. Evarts and Cutting for the commissioners, and pronounced constitutional. The bill had passed the Legislature, after long discussion, with great unanimity, by an aggregate vote of one hundred for to thirty-two against, and could only have been opposed by one possessing the peculiar genius of Mayor Wood. He was supported by the Common Council, who voted $5,000 to defray the legal expenses; but the comptroller

was served with an injunction from the Supreme Court restraining him from paying the money. But while the Police Bill was being sifted in the courts, two independent and rival police departments existed in the city, and an exigency arose which threatened fearful complications and dangers. The Superintendent of Streets died suddenly, and Governor King, acting under legal advice, appointed, to fill the vacancy, Daniel D. Conover; while Mayor Wood, acting under the recent legislation, (which, in the courts, he urged was unconstitutional,) appointed Charles Devlin. The deputy of the late superintendent, Mr. C. Turner, acting under the old charter, claimed the right to hold the place until the decision of the Court of Appeals was rendered, and refused to surrender the papers to Conover. The latter seated himself in the office, from which Devlin, assisted by the old police, attempted to eject him, whereupon Conover swore out a criminal information against all concerned, including the mayor. Provided with these papers from the Superior Court, and attended by a squad of the new police, he proceeded to the City Hall to arrest the mayor, who, aware of the movement, had collected a large number of his old force and stood on the defensive. Conover's squad attempted to enter, when a general fight ensued, in which many policemen were wounded. Fortunately, the Seventh Regiment, which was just starting for Boston, on importunity marched into the Park and quelled the disorder. The warrant was now served on the mayor, who promptly gave bail for $5,000. A criminal process against the mayor was speedily obtained from the recorder on the charge of inciting a riot. But it was no sooner served by the sheriff than a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued by Judge Russell, taking him out of the recorder's hands. A second warrant was now issued by the recorder for the arrest of the mayor, for resisting civil processes, which, however, was not served until the following day. The excitement in the city was so intense that nine regiments of militia were kept under arms, ready to march at a moment's notice. On the decision of the Court of Appeals, July 1, the mayor surrendered, and the old police were disbanded. But with such prolonged rivalry between police officers and the chief officials of the metropolis playing at legal shuttlecock, it was natural that general disorder should prevail.

On the 4th of July of this year the "Dead Rabbit" riot began, and kept up for some days and nights a general disorder through a considerable portion of the city, having the vicinity of the Tombs for its center. The "Dead Rabbits" were one section of a divided political club, and fought the other section with bitter hostility. The new police, aided by the military under Major-General Sandford, finally quelled the disorder, eight or ten being killed and about thirty wounded.

The year 1857 was indeed a memorable one in New York. In addition to the spicy incidents already narrated, there occurred in the early autumn one of the most widespread financial embarrassments that has ever overtaken the country. It began with the failure of the "Ohio Life and Trust Company" for seven millions, and spread until nearly all the banks in the United States, and many in Europe, suspended. The granaries of the West were filled with grain, and the bank vaults of the East contained money, yet there was no medium of exchange or devices for transportation. The laboring classes were out of employment and destitute, and the season closed in New York with a bread riot.

The amended charter legislated Mr. Wood out of office only a year after his second election. He, however, took the field in a struggle for the third term, to which policy he had not then become averse.* A union between one wing of the Democracy and the Republicans was effected in the support of Daniel F. Tieman, a Democrat, favorably known as an alderman. A heated contest ensued, but on the 4th of December Mr. Tieman received 43,216 ballots, and Mr. Wood 40,889. His popular support in this canvass, with the intellect of Tammany Hall, the Republicans, and the Reformers against him, is truly marvelous. A diversion of twelve hundred votes would have re-elected him. Some New York Democrats still maintain that Daniel E. Sickles was the sole instrument of his defeat. Their theory is that Sickles, as a masterly organizer,

* We cannot forego the following amusing anecdote, told in New York. During the canvass for the Forty-fourth Congress Mr. Wood was addressing a large Democratic mass meeting in a New York wigwam, and was loudly declaiming against the *third term*. In one of his loftiest flights he was interrupted by the gruff voice of a pert Dutchman with, "Vot, you obboosed to de derd derm! Vot, den, does you runs for Congress for de sixth dime for?"

had been useful to Wood in his first election to the mayoralty in 1854, and aspired to a place in the city government which the mayor did not confer. Overlooked, he resolved to defeat Wood at the earliest opportunity. At the period of Wood's second election, in 1856, Sickles was a candidate for Congress from the Third District, and thought it impolitic to divide the party at that time; but, having secured his own election, he organized the opposition in favor of Tieman and secured his election. The defeat of Wood at that time was, by many Democrats, considered final. But the fall of Sickles soon after, through the intrigues of his wife at Washington, led to the triumph of the Woods in the New York Democracy—Benjamin Wood taking Sickles' seat in Congress, and Fernando regaining his old seat, as mayor, in the City Hall.

The Republicans, having supported and virtually elected Mr. Tieman, expected some little part in the administration of the city government. But in this they were disappointed, and when they murmured that the mayor was too much of a partisan, Mr. John Van Buren taunted them for their verdancy in supposing that Mr. Tieman could be otherwise than a partisan in or out of office. The old party lines were accordingly drawn for the municipal struggle of 1859. In this campaign the Republicans gave Mr. Opdyke 21,417 ballots, the Reform Democrats gave Mr. Havemeyer 26,913, while Mr. Wood received 29,940. This election proved that Mr. Wood retained his hold on the masses, and that the New York Democracy was able to run two tickets and beat the Republicans with each.

During this last term of Mayor Wood the country passed through the most exciting epoch of its history. He was emphatically a Northern man in office with Southern principles, compelled to feel like the one and act like the other. He heartily believed in the perpetuation of American slavery. In a correspondence with Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, in February, 1866, nearly a year after the close of the war, he said, "I was opposed to the abolition of slavery because I believed, and yet believe, that, as it existed in the Southern States, it was a physical blessing to the black race." He took part in the Charleston Convention which nominated Breckinridge in 1860, allying himself to the most radical pro-slavery element in the

country, which insisted on the right of slaveholders to carry their human chattels into the Territories, and the obligation of the general government to protect them.

On the election of Lincoln he drank in to the full the spirit of disunion. He had long been a State Rights man, believing the union between the States simply a "confederacy," a voluntary league, and now he felt that the country was inevitably falling to pieces. He saw, in vision, several new empires rising out of American chaos, and conceived that New York city should secede from the State. His message to the Common Council early in January, 1861, two months before the inauguration of Lincoln, was the most remarkable document ever issued from the mayor's office. In it he says, "It would seem that the dissolution of the Federal Union is inevitable. It cannot be preserved by coercion, or held together by force. With our aggrieved brethren of the Slave States we have friendly relations and a common sympathy." He urged that the city had not been unfriendly to the South, though the State had. He recounted the grievances which the city had against the State government in the existence of the several boards of commissioners appointed to control the Alms House, Police Department, Central Park, and the educational institutions, and then remarked, "How we shall rid ourselves of this odious and oppressive connection is not for me to determine. It is certain that a dissolution cannot be peacefully accomplished except by the consent of the Legislature. Whether this can be obtained or not is, in my judgment, doubtful, and the resort to force by violence and revolution must not be thought of for an instant." He then added, "Much can be said in favor of the justice and policy of a separation. It may be said that secession or revolution in any of the United States would be subversive of all federal authority, and, so far as the central government is concerned, the resolving of the community into its original elements—that if part of the States form new combinations and governments, other States may do the same. California and her sisters of the Pacific will, no doubt, set up an independent republic, and husband their own rich mineral resources. The Western States, equally rich in cereals and other agricultural products, will probably do the same. Then, it may be asked, why

should not New York city, instead of supporting, by her contributions in revenue, two thirds of the expenses of the United States, become equally independent? As a free city, with but a nominal duty on imports, her local government without taxation upon her people—thus we could live free from taxes, and have cheap goods nearly duty free. In this she would have the whole and united support of the Southern States, to whose interests and rights under the Constitution she has always been true. As dreadful as the sundering of the bonds that have hitherto united the States has been in contemplation, it is now, apparently, a stern and inevitable fact. We have now to meet it with all the consequences, whatever they may be. If the confederacy is broken up the government is dissolved, and it behooves every distinct community, as well as every individual, to take care of themselves. When disunion has become a fixed and certain fact, why may not New York disrupt the bands which bind her to a venal and corrupt master—to a people that have plundered her revenue, attempted to ruin her commerce, taken away her power of self-government, and destroyed the confederacy of which she was the proud Empire City."

We suppose it to be undeniable that these were counsels of treason. They were treason at the critical moment of the nation's life. They meant that the North should be split up into little principalities, like those of Italy in the Middle Ages, where ambitious chiefs could obtain despotic sway; and very possibly, under protection of the South, we might have had Fernando I. Princeps of New York.

The wider and more simultaneous the work of national dissolution the greater the prospect of success; but, unfortunately for the movement, all parts of the country could not be brought to think and act alike. President Buchanan, on January 8, in his message, announced to Congress, "We are in the midst of a great revolution." That Mayor Wood at that period anticipated the utter disruption of the country is entirely evident, and unless he expected some co-operative action by the citizens of New York with "our aggrieved brethren of the Slave States, to whose interests she" (New York city) "had always been true," and in which she "would have the whole and united support of the Southern States," he cer-

tainly would not have issued and left to history such an anomalous State paper. South Carolina passed the ordinance of secession on the 20th of December, and on the 18th of January a similar document was adopted by the State Convention of Georgia. In the meantime arms and munitions of war were being collected from the North by the seceding States. War being imminent, Superintendent Kennedy, of the Metropolitan Police, under instruction from the governor, seized numerous shipments of this character. One of these led to the following correspondence by telegraph between Mayor Wood and Robert Toombs, of Georgia:—

MILLEDGEVILLE, *January* 24, 1861.

To HIS HONOR, MAYOR WOOD:—

Is it true that any arms intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia have been seized by public authority in New York? Your answer is important to us and to New York. Answer at once. R. TOOMBS.

The Hon. ROBERT TOOMBS, Milledgeville, Ga.:—

In reply to your dispatch, I regret to say that arms intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia have been seized by the police of this State, but the city of New York should in no way be made responsible for the outrage. As mayor, I have no authority over the police. If I had the power, I should summarily punish the author of this illegal and unjustifiable seizure of private property. FERNANDO WOOD.

Mr. Wood's softened, not to say treasonable, response to this insolent dispatch received very general condemnation by men of all parties. Daniel E. Sickles, (Democrat,) in Congress, in a speech, (Feb. 5,) denounced it as a "craven answer" unworthy of the mayor of New York. That the chief insurgents of the South regarded Mr. Wood as their tallest Northern brother appears from many facts. That they kept up some kind of confidential correspondence with him after he had ceased to be mayor, appears from the disclosure made in his letter to President Lincoln Dec. 8, 1862, wherein he stated that he was "advised by an authority which "he deemed" well informed, trustworthy, and truthful, that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress provided a full amnesty should permit them to do so."

But we have only told a part of the story. Mr. Wood was certainly a *personal*, or at least *corporeal*, unity during all that period—still, his record exhibits more of plurality than that of

any other Northern or Southern gentleman yet brought to our attention. The record of Davis, Breckenridge, Lee, and Vallandingham is straightforward, consistent, clean-cut; but Mr. Wood's is a strange duplicate, either side forming a complete whole and a sufficient record for an individual in his position. On April 15, 1861, news of the fall of Sumter reached New York, accompanied with the President's call for seventy-five thousand troops. Intense excitement prevailed. The mayor promptly issued a brief, cool proclamation urging the public to avoid "excitement and turbulence." He said, "Whatever may be, or may have been, individual positions or opinions on questions of public policy, let us remember that our country now trembles upon the brink of a precipice, and that it requires a patriotic and honest effort to prevent its final destruction. Let us ignore the past, rising superior to partisan considerations, and rally to the restoration of the Constitution and the Union as they existed in the days and in the spirit of our fathers." Four days later the famous Seventh regiment left for Washington, and though New York city contained but a hundred and sixty thousand able-bodied men, in ninety days forty thousand of them had reached the Potomac, nearly one fourth of all called for by the President from the entire country. In nine months one hundred and fifty millions of treasure had gone out of the city to help the government, bankers, merchants, and lawyers vieing in patriotic service. Mayor Wood took no inconspicuous part in these proceedings. At an immense mass (war) meeting held in Union Square he spoke in connection with General Dix, Daniel S. Dickinson, Senator Baker of Oregon, John Cochrane, and others. On April 22 he recommended, and the Common Council voted, a million dollars to aid in the defense of the government. He also assisted in fitting out and forwarding to the seat of war, at considerable personal expense, the Mozart regiment. The following correspondence, which we believe has never before been made public, occurred between him and President Lincoln:—

MAYOR'S OFFICE, NEW YORK, *April* 29, 1861.

SIR: I beg to tender my services in any military capacity consistent with my position as mayor of New York.

With high respect, FERNANDO WOOD.

His Excellency, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

In answer to which he received the following reply:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 4, 1861.

My DEAR SIR: Your very kind and patriotic note of the 29th ultimo, tendering your services in any military capacity consistent with your position as mayor of New York, is received, and for which please accept my sincere thanks. In the midst of my various and numerous duties, I shall consider in what way I can make your services at once available to the country and agreeable to you. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

Whether the President questioned his patriotism or not, it is certain that in the military appointments of New York he found it convenient to "make available to the country" the services of others.

In the December elections for the mayoralty in 1861, Mr. Wood was in nomination for the fourth term. His opponents were loud and numerous. Mr. Opdyke was again in nomination on the Republican ticket, and Mr. Gunther was the candidate of Tammany Hall. Every thing that patriotic and partisan influence could devise was invoked to defeat him. He was hard pressed, and had become so intent on retaining his place that his speeches during this canvass (as reported through the press) contrasted sadly with those of 1854. In a speech at Clinton Garden, he is reported to have advocated the "hurling from power the fanatical usurpers" at Washington. At a meeting in Marion-street the newspapers report that he denounced the Washington cabinet, and asked, "Shall we send our sons to the South to be butchered for niggers? Shall we see our Confederate Government destroyed merely to serve a handful of New England fanatics?" To all these came a responsive chorus of "No! no!" At a ratification meeting of German electors at Volks' Garden he is reported to have said: "I am opposed to dictating to any man whether he shall drink water, lager beer, or rum. I am opposed to compelling any man to go to Church on Sunday if he prefers to go anywhere else. I am opposed to imposing any unjust and onerous taxation upon any man because he happens to sell an article which is mischievous in itself. I am opposed to regulating by law the quantity or quality of what a man shall drink or wear."

If these utterances were made as we find them reported in the files of the daily issues of that period, they suggest their

own uses in guiding the masses to whom they were addressed. The result of the canvass stood—Mr. Wood, 24,167; Mr. Gunther, 24,767; Mr. Opdyke, 25,380.

Mr. Wood retired to private life, but in the following autumn (1862) was elected to Congress from the Fifth District. At the close of his term he went to Europe. In 1866, having returned to New York, he presented himself as a candidate to represent in Congress the Ninth District. In doing this he said, "My guide will be the Constitution as understood and explained by the fathers of the republic." Though running what is called a "stump ticket," his ballots outnumbered those of Mr. Darling (Republican) over fourteen hundred. He has since been successively re-elected to the House of Representatives to the present time. In 1867 he was again in nomination for the mayoralty of New York, but was beaten by Mr. Hoffman by more than forty thousand.

Of the irregularities charged against Mr. Wood's earlier commercial transactions, and also of his official career as mayor, we have no desire to speak. Nevertheless, as a candid reviewer, we have felt it incumbent to examine these items, and here, as every-where else in his history, find no dearth of material. In his indictment in reference to the Marvine transactions, instead of vindicating his integrity in court, he plead the limitation of the statute. The charge was, however, in substance sustained in civil action, with judgment, before a referee court consisting of Wm. M. Evarts, John Cochrane, and Henry Hilton. (*Vide* "New York Legal Observer," vol. x, for 1852, pp. 61–63; also, "New York Tribune" for February, 1856.)

Of the bank imbroglio, of the incidents connected with the raising of the ship "Joseph Walker" in 1855, of the Hackley contract for street cleaning, of the purchase of the glass ballot-boxes, of the sale of nominations, of the uses of certified checks, and other kindred topics, published in the papers and uttered from the platform by leading Democrats and orators of all parties, we have thought much but will say nothing. Charge these to ambition for wealth. "They that will be rich," etc. 1 Tim. vi, 9. The "New York Tribune" thundered against him perpetually, and in those days "Tribune" thunder implied *lightning*. Mr. Greeley had a marvelous talent for torturing an opponent with any unsavory incidents

dug up in his history—still, in the main, he was honest and truthful. He evidently regarded Wood as a warrior worthy of his steel, and for nearly twenty years fought him with a desperation unsurpassed in the history of the "Tribune." Mr. Wood, at the same time, displayed his native greatness in the perfect stolidity with which he endured it.

Mr. Wood's ambition has rendered him an insubordinate member of the Democratic party, with which he has always affiliated, but in which he has had nearly as much opposition as outside of it. He has not felt disposed to wait for the preferments of his associates, or to evenly divide public honors with them. With a few friends he has planned his own nominations against the wishes of Tammany, and when his influence waned in that society he boldly organized Mozart, its rival, and, after a long struggle, its influence was conceded in the Democracy of the State. Tammany has come down through our national history, and wielded a larger influence in American politics than any other organization; but Mr. Wood broke its prestige, and for this the old line Democrats can never forgive him.

He has amassed great wealth. His San Francisco property, disposed of several years since, brought a snug fortune. He resides with his third wife, a daughter of Drake Mills, Esq., of New York, in a modernized structure built before the close of the Revolution on a plot of ground extending from Seventy-sixth to Seventy-eighth streets, and from the Boulevard to the Hudson River. This property, purchased for a few thousands in 1848, when the city did not extend above Thirtieth-street, he has refused to sell for half a million.

Mr. Wood is tall, and has an erect, commanding presence, which steadily improves with his years. He has a logical, incisive intellect, is an effective speaker, and an able parliamentarian. His nature is invested with singular energy and promptness, rendering him an active member of any organization. His life has been a great opportunity. Standing among the chief men of the last generation, and figuring so extensively through the exciting periods of the present, we may ask, Where or when could any thing better have been afforded? His power has been largely based upon faith in himself, his failure upon want of faith in the *Right*. He found

himself inheriting a constituency depraved by ignorance and vice, and he has perverted his great powers to conform himself to their likeness. He might with a better origin, a less degrading dependency, and a nobler faith, have been a statesman for history; he is really but a politician of the period.

ART. VI.—OUR NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOR.

A Winter in Mexico. By GILBERT HAVEN, author of "Pilgrim's Wallet," "National Sermons," "The Sailor Preacher," etc.

THE marvel of this book is that it has been produced, with its accurate plates and admirable descriptions of life in Mexico, from a single winter's travel in that country. The author is one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose object in going to Mexico was to open the way for the establishment of a mission. While he was there he purchased for the Church two valuable properties, one in Mexico City and the other in the city of Puebla.

Without formal introduction or preface to the work, he commences at once a description of his journey. Passing south, through Richmond, Montgomery, and Mobile, he takes the steamer for Vera Cruz at New Orleans; he tarries a few hours at Havana, and lands at Progreso, in Yucatan. His picture, in that place, of the collector's family, consisting of three adopted daughters, one a young lady of Anglo-Saxon whiteness; another, her junior, of that African tint which Mrs. Kemble Butler deemed richer than any European; and the third a pure Indian belle, none the less beautiful in contour and complexion—a half-way house between the two extremes of human color—gives the reader at once an interest in the small but growing town. He had not time to visit the city of Merida, which lies twenty miles inland, and contains sixty thousand inhabitants. The people of Progreso are chiefly Indians, not of the Aztec but Toltec variety,—a nation hundreds of years older than the Aztecs, and supposed to have been the builders of the famous monuments of Central America. Here he visits a hacienda, or farm, a mile out, and attempts to purchase a hammock, but fails from the want of silver coin,

and adds that he had seen the same thing offered in Boston for less money. It is cheaper, sometimes, to buy our curiosities at home, an experience which other travelers have had besides the bishop.

On the 1st of January he is in Vera Cruz, the sea-port of Mexico City, having an area of sixty acres of land, surrounded by walls from ten to twenty feet in height, and containing fifteen thousand inhabitants. Here are the tropical flowers, and oranges of the size of small pumpkins—the delicious air and the warm sunshine making us almost wish we were there notwithstanding the visitations of the yellow fever in the warm months, a guest which the natives of Vera Cruz have become so accustomed to that they speak of it with contempt. The dark, funeral-like birds, which serve such an important part in the cleaning of the streets, and which, without fear, flap their immense wings close beside, around, and above the loiterers in the streets, alighting, here and there, a few yards from their feet, as if they were privileged denizens of the city, have a strange appearance to a foreigner. Now they are perching by pairs or half dozens on the steeple or belfry of the church, like great turkeys, (turkey buzzards they are;) now picking up the offal of the streets; now stretching their great black wings in easy flight close above the head, and lighting on some wall to devour at their ease what they have gathered. They are the scavengers of the city.

There is no Sabbath in Vera Cruz, as we understand the word. It is a day, as it is in all Spanish countries, devoted to feasting and pleasure. A short, unintelligible religious service in the morning seems to ease the conscience of the people, and prepared by such a balm to their souls, they give themselves up the rest of the day to merry-making. Bishop Haven held the first English service, and the first Protestant service ever held in the town, at the house of the American consul, preaching to a congregation of nearly thirty persons. The Presbyterian Church has since established a flourishing mission in the city.

"Vera Cruz soon wearies." The railroad from that city to the city of Mexico was just completed, yet no one was allowed to travel on it through its full length until the President of the Republic, who had come to Vera Cruz, was

ready to return. The author is determined not to wait, and in company with Dr. Skilton, the American consul-general, at four o'clock in the morning, is in the cars to go as far as they will carry him, and then, to encounter the danger of robbers and precipices in the stage. The latter being about to disappear before the puff of the locomotive, there will never be another opportunity of trying, in a crowded coach, the effect of the smell of garlic, tobacco, and *pulque*, and all abominable stenches on the route to Mexico. At fifty miles from Vera Cruz the mountains draw near, and the table-lands of Mexico begin to rise from the plains, and the ascent commences toward the snow-capped, extinct volcanoes of Popocatepetl and Orizaba. Here appears the tropical verdure in all its splendor, although it is mid-winter. About ten miles up are the Falls of Atoyac. "This is one of the most beautiful water-falls I have ever seen; I might say, the most beautiful." Tigers and cougars are said to inhabit these tangled and luxuriant masses of vegetation; but the author finds no one who has seen them, except one man, who declared he had seen a young tiger or an old cat. "But I think the real sight was when he sat at meat that day, and beheld on the table a roasted creature with a great gray-yellow eye staring at him, and saying, 'Come, eat me if you dare.' Asking the waiter what it might be, he was answered, '*El gato del monte*,' (the cat of the mountain.) Like they of the Rimini story, who read no more that day, he ate no more that day. That cat was a reality."

Reaching Cordova, six oranges and as many bananas were sold for three cents—oranges that were juicy and delicious, compared to which those of Havana, and even Joppa, are dry, bleeding at every vein, and, like Aaron's oil, running over the lips to the garments. Here Orizaba lifts its glittering, snow-crowned summit in sublime majesty. As you approach, though sixty miles distant, it seems to rise at your very feet. "How superbly it lifts its shining cone into the shining heavens! Mont Blanc at Chamouni has no such solitariness of position, nor rounded perfection, nor rich surroundings. Every thing conspires to give this the chief place among the hills of earth. None these eyes have seen equals or approaches it in every feature. It will yet win the crowd from Europe to its grander shrine."

At Fortin the luxury of the railroad changes to the hard seats of the *diligence*. His experience in the latter was something like our own—easy enough when the roads are easy, but with the tossing from side to side, and jumping from seat to ceiling when the roads are stony, hard enough for an hour, but intolerable for a whole day or night. The torrid January sun and the dust add to the discomfort of the way, mollified somewhat by the agreeable conversation of his companion, Dr. Skilton, and by the fact that the stage is not overcrowded. A French lady offers him a cigarette, which is graciously declined. He in return presents for her acceptance a rich Cordova orange, which is even more graciously accepted, but is found the next morning knocking about the coach. The lady preferred her cigarette, and lighted and smoked, and lighted and smoked, *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*. At last they reach the town of Orizaba, and rattle over its pavements, which are cut into deep holes by the misplaced paving-stones, the stage reeling to and fro, and the passengers leaping up and down like a small boy on a high trotting horse. Here the beggars abound, and show off to the best advantage their horrid rags and sores.

In passing over the stage road there is a clear view of the route of the railway, winding up, over, and through the rocks, and of the unequaled scenery of the mountains as they ascend from the Tierras Calientes to the cooler regions. The railway itself is one of the finest, if not the finest, piece of engineering work in the world. *Café con leche*—coffee with milk—exquisite, pure, strong coffee poured from a coffee-pot, and the warm milk poured from another vessel, giving the choice to take one third coffee and two thirds milk, or any proportion you prefer, refresh the travelers by the way. By securing a seat with the driver he witnesses a novel mode of urging forward the mules. The whip reaches the first and second teams, but the third—yes, we have seen them reached by a tremendous lash like a clothes-line, but the more ordinary mode is to stone them. The driver's assistant, for there is always one in attendance, provides himself before starting with a stock of stones, and these are used upon the backs, necks, and heads of the poor animals until they are used up—the stones, not the mules—when the stage deliberately stops, and a fresh supply of stones is taken in. Before reaching the city of Mexico the author

meets with the famous beverage of the region—*pulque*. It tasted to him like sour and bad-smelling buttermilk—we think, a good deal worse, and white like that, but thin, possessing the one quality for which it is prized, that of an intoxicant, and is swallowed for the effect it thus produces. The chief traffic of the railroad now is in carrying this abominable stuff—no worse than lager beer, porter, and ale—to Puebla and the city of Mexico. One of the regular trains is called the *pulque* train.

It was Saturday evening when he reached the Buena Vista station and entered the city of Mexico. A drive of half an hour brings him to the Hotel Gillow, where strangers visiting the country find a pleasant and quiet home at a price corresponding to the first-class hotels in the city, about two dollars and a half per day, with accommodations better than could be obtained in the city of New York for four dollars. Here there is no need of furnaces, air-pipes, or stoves in winter. The magnificent climate is just right every day in winter and summer. Fruits and flowers are in abundance of the greatest variety. The latter, tastefully arranged in bouquets, are offered at the corners of the streets by the flower-girls, who sit on the sidewalks making them up for a York shilling and upward.

Through the open windows come the street-cries of multitudes who are thus advertising their various commodities for sale. The lottery-ticket venders are the most numerous, a business which is largely pursued, and which is an unmitigated curse to the country. The various lotteries bear the most sacred names, such as "Divine Providence," "The Holy Spirit," "The Trinity"—are largely operated by the Church, and are one of its sources of income. The sale of indulgences is another. Thus, in the name of God, the poor victims are fed with false hopes of a fortune in this life, and, through the means of these indulgences, with false hopes of a happy destiny in the life to come.

Sunday morning he attended the Church of Jesus, a Protestant body founded by the well-known Dr. Riley, which worships in a chapel of the old Church of San Francisco. This church was once Roman Catholic, but, with its great convent, confiscated by the government, has been purchased by Dr.

Riley. A garden of shrubs and flowers, in full bloom and leaf, thirty feet wide by a hundred feet long, forms the entrance. The chapel would contain about four hundred persons, and was nearly full of Mexican people who had all once been Roman Catholic. Some were Indian, some mixed, some white, many of them in their working clothes, but all singing heartily the praises of God. No camp-meeting congregation could have excelled them in this respect. As a specimen of their hymns, we give the first stanza of one :—

"Voy al cielo, soy peregrino,
Viveré eternamente con Jesus.
El me abrió ya veraz camino
Cuando murió por nosotros en la cruz."

CORO—"Voy al cielo, soy peregrino,
Viveré eternamente con Jesus."

Of which the following is a translation :—

"I am going to heaven, I am a stranger,
To live eternally with Jesus.
He opened to me the true way
When he died for us upon the cross."

CHORUS—"I am going to heaven, I am a stranger,
To live eternally with Jesus."

They sung four or five times during the service, intermingling the hymns with prayers, read by the minister, and passages from the Old and New Testaments, followed by a short, earnest sermon. The altar furniture of the Roman Catholic Church was gone, and an open Bible was in its place. Above it, in silver letters, was the name of Jesus. The service of song, the prayers, lessons, and sermon, were full of him. Whatever the ultimate form of this movement it has the right beginning, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. There is no virgin here. The Son of God is alone, as becomes his nature and work.

From the top of the Church of the Profesa, which adjoins the Hotel Gillow, stretch out the environs of the city in a beautiful picture. There are Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl in their snowy whiteness, the former rising about eighteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. There is Chapultepec, a superb park, palace, and fortress, the favorite residence

of the rulers of Mexico from Montezuma to Juarez; the group of temples dedicated to the Virgin of Gu the famous and popular shrine of the Roman Catholic and there are the wide extending plains, which are lo tant mountains. The churches of Guadalupe had a origin. After Cortez had conquered the native Indi were sullen and dangerous—a thousand to one mor ous than their rulers, and ready, on the slightest pro for an outbreak. Their ancient priests and worship w but not their faith in them. Could that faith be tur different direction and allied to that of the conqu danger would disappear. The Spaniards were equ emergency, and adopted an ingenious stratagem. A Indian, instructed beforehand in the part he was to repaired to the hill of Guadalupe, and, as he ave there met by a beautiful young woman, who told hir the virgin mother of the Saviour, and that it was ne build a church on the spot. She directed him to archbishop and request him to fulfill her wishes im The archbishop pretended to repulse him as a lyin But he had two more visions of the Virgin, in the las she filled his blanket or apron with flowers plucked bare rocks; and when these were poured at the f seemingly incredulous priest, the image of the V found imprinted on the Indian's blanket. This s case. A church was built, and another, and anothe Virgin Mary, called our Lady of Guadalupe, became which the Indians readily accepted as their own. went up to her honor every-where throughout the co her picture on the blanket hangs in every house above the merchant's counter and the bar of the *pul* shop, over the forge and over the bed—here, the where. Books by the thousand, and sermons by t thousands, have been written and preached upon h and her powers. "But conquer Christ will. The has saved with his most precious blood must come h ing the true cross of personal holiness, and, by p tinuance in well-doing, bring up this population to of Christian probity, piety, and peace."

The streets of the city of Mexico are at right

bear the most sacred names, such as "The Street of the Holy Spirit," "The Street of Jesus," etc., and from corner to corner every block bears a distinct name, requiring a good memory and some length of residence to become familiar with a quarter of them. Some, instead of streets, are called bridges, because the water of the lake once passed beneath them in canals; but to-day the lake (Tezcoco) lies two or three miles from the outermost eastern gate of the city, and the so-called bridges have nothing to remind us of their origin but the name. One solitary canal passes through the city, which is covered with actual bridges where the streets descend upon it. The San Cosme Avenue runs from the railroad station to the Grand Plaza, and is the very street over which Cortez made his famous escape from the infuriated Aztecs. It was then crossed by frequent ditches and inclosed on both sides with water, into which the Spaniards were mercilessly dragged, losing their horses, arms, ammunition, and treasure, until the majority of them perished. Cortez subsequently reorganized his little army, which had been recruited by a few fresh troops from Spain, and cut his way into the heart of the city.

The grand cathedral, immense in its proportions, stands on a plateau raised several feet from the pavement. Its gold ornaments and fine paintings are of great value. Here is the spot where the old Aztec temple or teocalle was situated, five terraces, and two hundred feet in height. On its top was the huge, round, sacrificial stone, which is now preserved in the national museum of the city. It is in the shape of a grindstone laid flat, about twelve feet in diameter and four high. We have often seen it and looked with a shudder at the cavity in the center, where the blood of the human sacrifices flowed and the channel through which it coursed to the outer edge. On this stone men and youths by the thousand, while the Aztecs ruled, were stretched, their flesh cut open, the heart plucked forth, held up to the gaze of the worshiping multitude, and the body hurled down below to be cooked and eaten at a religious banquet. The stone yokes which were laid over the necks of the victims preparatory to their death, and the stone knives used in extracting the heart, and the priest's robe for the sacrifice, made of human entrails, like parchment in its appearance, are preserved in an apartment of the Museum not

open to the public, but to which, on one of our visi gained access. The cathedral is better than the teocal its human sacrifices, but Mexico still needs the simple religion of Christ.

The author had a pleasant interview with the Presid Mexico, Señor Don Lerdo de Tejada, in which the latt sured him that he had often heard of the antecedents Church, and welcomed him to the supervision of her w that country. Toleration of all faiths, the President sai the law of the land. Other denominations might not be l upon with favor by the Roman Catholic bishops, but th power would afford its protection. Our own Goveri shows so much more favor to Romanism than Mexic the priests of that Church are actually looking forward nexation, so that they may get back some of the priv which they have lost. The confiscation of church pr was a tremendous blow to them. They held two thirds city of Mexico in their possession, and mortgages on as a portion of the country. They controlled the whole l interest of the country. Their convents covered hundr acres in the heart of the city, and gardens, parks, a kinds of luxury adorned these abodes of the world-de friars and nuns. Corruptions of the most startling abounded, and money, the sinews of the State, was exclu in their hands. All honor to President Lerdo for his ing words expressed to the author, and subsequently exp to others, in behalf of Protestantism in Mexico!

Leaving the city to encounter again the perils of the coach, we find him on his way to Pachuca and the mines. A number of robberies have been committed o road. Mexican justice, however, is so promptly admini at the present moment wherever the energetic hand of ident Lerdo can reach, that the proverbial danger of tra in Mexico is lessened. A gentleman of a rich family wa napped not long since as he was returning from the and confined for nine days in a hole under the floor, knives so placed through holes in the boards above him any movement of his body would thrust them into his b The object was to extort money from his relations. Hi ation and the guilty parties were discovered, and in tw

four hours four of the perpetrators were executed. An assassination took place several miles out of the city while we were in Mexico. A very brief time only elapsed before the murderers were shot behind the government buildings. There was no tedious process of law, but prompt, speedy justice.

The silver mines at Pachuca and Real del Monte, and the mode of working the precious metal out of the ore, are described. *Pulque* and Sabbath-breaking receive their merited denunciation. Crossing the plaza one Sunday morning, he finds it crowded with buyers and sellers—lined with rows of merchant-men and merchant-women with every sort of ware: fruit, fish, flesh, coal, grass, trinkets, muslins, toys—a Vanity Fair of Sunday desecration. The open church has two services a day, but the crowds are in the market-place, and the devil holds his service all the day. The latter is represented in the church by a huge, gross picture, with a smashing tail, a good deal longer than his body, driving the sinful ghosts to hell. The mines are wrought, principally by Englishmen, on a large scale, salaried by the company which employs them. There is no such thing as two or three men digging on their own private account. Successful mining in Mexico requires expensive machinery. Persons working on their own account, on a small scale, would be likely to be assassinated and robbed. Even the large mines do not pay well, for, though from three to four millions are the annual product, there are no dividends. The Real del Monte mines have not paid expenses, within two hundred thousand dollars a year, for the last ten years, but they live in hope. Those of Pachuca do better, but not much. One of the chief items of expenditures is the working of large steam-engines for drawing off the water. The bishop was seeking for veins of ecclesiastical silver, and he advises his readers to put their money and their prayers in these, whereby they will lay up treasures in heaven, where no Mexican robbers nor thieves of worldliness ever break through or steal.

Leaving Pachuca he reaches Tizayuca, a sleepy village of one-story adobe huts, where nothing seems to be stirring but the fleas and the dogs. Breakfast was taken here sometime between twelve and two o'clock—a very good breakfast, notwith-

standing the drowsy appearance of the town, of beefsteak, thin-sliced fried potatoes, chicken stew, and chocolate or coffee of the best quality. Zumpango is passed, containing five thousand souls, with four hundred fighting cocks, which are brought here for sale—elegant looking birds, as one of his companions remarked. This place lies at the head of the three lakes which imperil Mexico city. The most remote is that of Zumpango, thirty miles distant, and lying twenty feet above the level of the city. To preserve the latter from inundation, a huge dyke or wall ten feet high is built along its southern side, which is repeated more elaborately at the next lake, San Cristoval, so that the last lake, Tezcoco, near which the city lies, seldom rises above its ordinary level. Millions have been expended on these works, but the city needs a drainage toward the gulf. It is projected, and will be accomplished "*mañana.*"

He sleeps well in rather primitive quarters at Guatitlan, passes on to Tacuba, where the tree is still standing under which Cortez halted after being driven from Mexico, and under which he is said to have wept at the thought of having failed in his great enterprise. It was evening, and that evening is called by the Mexicans "*la noche triste*," the sad night. The tree is a large cypress, struck lately by lightning and partly burned, but still living, and surrounded by a wall for its protection. Tacuba is passed, and along the line of the aqueduct, rising on stately arches—the route of Scott when he drove the Mexicans before him—he returns to the City of Mexico.

Puebla, the town of the angels, containing about sixty thousand inhabitants, and lying a hundred and twenty miles from the capital, a city of priests, and the sacred city of the country, is the next point of interest. The initials "I. H. S.," ("Jesus, the Saviour of men,")—so unusual for an inn—still remain over the graceful iron gateway which opens on the hotel balcony. Here is an open, wide, high, shaded, and enjoyable court, into which large rooms open on all sides. The flowers were blooming all round us in January, the last time that we visited the place. At a distance of six miles lies Cholula, where stood the ancient sacred city of the Aztecs, the population of which Cortez put at three hundred thousand. Puebla was founded by the Spaniards, and was intended to draw the Indians, as it actually did, from their ancient sacred

shrines. It was given out that its walls were erected amid the singing of angels. Another author says that the angels came down and did the same amount of work at night that was done by the masons during the day. Hence its name, the city or town of the angels. It was built for the Church, and the Church, before the confiscations by the government, owned of its real estate twenty millions out of twenty-five millions, its estimated value. The churches are grander than even those of Mexico city, and the convents were once more numerous and wealthy.

The first Protestant service ever held in this city was in a confiscated Roman Catholic church some years ago. The people rose upon the congregation, hurling stones at preacher and hearers, who, taking to the roofs of the houses, made their escape. The author preached in one of the apartments of the hotel without interruption, the landlord furnishing his best and largest room for that purpose. A part of the old Inquisition in Puebla was purchased by the bishop for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have been on the spot twice. It is a large and valuable piece of property in the center of the city.

On trained steeds the author and his party leave Puebla for Cholula. These trained steeds—we know them well. They are like rocking-chairs to ride upon. We once made a journey on one of them in South America of fifty miles in a single day in coming from an appointment. The latter part of the way, however, was fatiguing. Accompanying the bishop was an old gentleman, whose pantaloons, like those of the ancient Mr. Grimes, were all buttoned down, not before, but on the side, silver buttons, too, and as thick together as they could possibly be placed. These pantaloons thus adorned are the universal fashion. Some of them this gentleman possessed were worth, it is said, with their silver buttons, five hundred dollars. He thought as much of his horse as he did of his pantaloons; and the one danced, and the other shone, and warmed the cockles of the old man's heart, so that he sang love songs with a voice approaching a childish treble.

The famous pyramid of Cholula, to which they were riding, occupies forty acres of land, and is two hundred and three feet high. It was used for the purposes of idolatry and human sac-

rifice before the invasion of Cortez. Dedicated to t
of Quetzalcotl, twelve thousand human sacrifices w
to this god every year. Seventy thousand persons
ficed to the god of war in Mexico in the year 1486, c
five years before the city fell. Not only this summit
lesser ones about it, smoked daily with the victims.
top of the pyramid at the present day straight and
avenues proceed. From these, equally straight stre
for a mile or more in all directions. They are en
of houses beyond a square or two about the pla
the churches. The latter stand forth on all sides fa
Almost fifty churches still remain around this pyra
of them large and elaborate structures. All chur
people is the present character of the town. W
there may be are hidden in sorry huts, without tal
bedsteads, or beds—just a mat on the floor, a bow
beans, and a platter for tortillas. "Is there not a
the Gospel here? The New Testament and a fine-t
have been suggested as the form this coming revolut
take. They are a good beginning."

After returning to the city of Mexico he make
the deserted Convent of El Desierto, a few mile
the buildings of which cover not less than ten acr
grounds take in three miles in each direction. It
passed with a choice brick wall, that still survives, in
in perfect form. There were three large open cour
ters surrounded by arcades, and a half dozen long
of which the cells of the monks open. There are a
of smaller courts, and three or four chapels besides
church. Outside of the church is a spacious patio
once surrounded by broad arches and shaded walk
or two only of which remain. On the outer edge
narrow stairway winds into the earth to an undergro
of rooms—a dark, low, fearful range of dungeons, w
ray could penetrate. Tradition says that this was t
the Inquisition before it was transferred to the Domi
vent in Mexico city, though this is denied by some
doleful arches look as if made for its purposes, "and
ders as he creeps through them and fancies he sees
tian brethren, two hundred years ago, chained to t

and sitting in thick darkness, on their way to the rack and the fagot and to glory."

There is one oratorio that has such singular echoing qualities that a person whispering in a corner with his face close to the wall is distinctly and loudly heard by another in the diagonal corner, though no others in the room can hear even the sound of the whisper. The silent and uninhabited convent, larger and more costly and more romantically situated than even Melrose, with its patios and azoteas, its porcelain-tiled domes, its gardens and vast corridors, is a strange sight amid the vast forests which surround it. In these forests, less than twenty miles from the capital, easily accessible by the multitudes, the bishop sees a superb location for a camp-meeting, where, from the shady and magnificent groves, and from the chapels and cloisters of the old convent, the voice of prayer and praise may rise.

The description of the Mexican horse and saddle is perfect. "He paces deliciously. The saddle, too, is made for riding; it holds you on, and does not make you hold yourself on. So, if you come to Mexico, take to the horse." But look out for those graceful horsemen, a few miles from the town, as polite as they are graceful, who request of you the loan of your watch, wallet, or your outer apparel. A canter to Chapultepec is a pleasant ride in the morning. Here is the gigantic tree under which the last Montezuma is said to have breakfasted. It is known as the tree of Montezuma. Farther on there is a grove of these trees, where parties of city people frequently have their picnics. The road winds up the hill, and on the top is the castle in which is a handsome suite of rooms which Maximilian and Carlotta sometimes occupied in the summer. The view of the city, plains, and surrounding hills and mountains, from the tower, which rises high above the castle, is magnificent. "No such panorama has any other palace in the world. Windsor, the next most beautiful, is tame to this." In the large dining hall, Juarez, the late President, who was a pure blooded Aztec, or Indian, gave Mr. Seward a breakfast, which was the last public entertainment in the place. From the southern windows the Molino del Rey, at only a short distance, the scene of the most bloody battle of General Scott, can be seen.

Two miles beyond Chapultepec lies the beautiful
Tacubaya. Here are the superb palaces and gardens
don and Barron, with their groves, ravines, rivulets
swans, mounds of flowers, rare trees, every conceiva
but—safety. The owners live in the city of Mexico,
splendid country homes for fetes, and while there a
troops is detached to protect them.

Returning to the city and going to the south-wester
canal is reached—the canal through which for over
dred years the produce of the country has reached
But pleasure-boats, also, covered with awnings, glid
waters. Here, a few miles out, are the floating
raised beds on which the vegetables and flowers fo
grow. Narrow canals or ditches are kept open
them, from which, in boats, with long shovels, the
scoops up the fertilizing earth and lays it on the
boats are used instead of wagons to gather the
islands do not actually float, but as the ground benea
soft they rock and yield to a footstep, or at the m
little with the moving stream. They are cultivate
round, and the region is patchworked with them fo

A visit to Cuernava, a city lying south of Mex
stands dressed in living green, involves a scampe
most horrible roads amid the most frightful of rock
Here, in the beauty of the surrounding country, is
paradise, only having something of the Rip Van Wi
in all but the activity of the fleas. Here is a chur
Cortez. Here is what is called the enchanted gar
tropical fruits and flowers, and once a favorite res
lotta and Maximilian. Judging by the procla
indulgences the ecclesiastical authorities seem to
but he saw no one earning the indulgences in th
They had probably days enough left from previou
and did not need the labor of prayers at present, lik
beggar, who refused to carry a valise for a traveler
had no need of money, having already had his br
the time of dinner not being come. A sugar haci
he visited four miles from the city, is described.
manufactured sugar is almost exclusively used in
coming in a shape somewhat similar to the old lo

this country. It is an excellent article, but scarcely a pure white.

He is again in Mexico city. Here are the dungeons of the old Inquisition. The buildings once occupied by the institution are of vast size, and are now devoted to other purposes. A street runs along one side of them still called "Perpetua," intimating in those old times that the imprisonment in the gloomy cells was a perpetual one. The author says:—

> A few years since, in digging among some of these buildings to open and widen the streets, a prison was discovered in which four skeletons were found as they had been left to starve by their sacred superiors of the convent and the true faith. Before they fell into dust their photograph was taken. It is a dreadful gravestone of a dead system—dead, not because of its own desire to die, not because its managers had outgrown it and voluntarily abandoned it, but because a power had grown up around and above it that compelled its abolition. It would break forth to-day had its Church her former power. It only awaits growth and opportunity to reproduce the starved inmates of an inwalled cell and the stake of fire. Such opportunity only Christianity can prevent. The fagot and the dungeons are gone, but the purpose remains. The power alone is wanting.

A photograph picture is given of these four skeletons just as we have seen the picture in Mexico. Thank God! every one of the convents is suppressed, every convent building is confiscated, and the Inquisition has passed away. While we were in Mexico an effort was made to form nunneries in private houses, but the police interfered, imprisoned the monks, and sent the would-be nuns to their homes. All through the city are vast ruins of the immense buildings once occupied by monks and nuns. Many of them have been devoted to schools, dwellings, and to other purposes; but where, on account of their great size, streets have been cut through them, the *débris* in many places remain, exposing to view the once worshiped saints and images. A great change has passed over the city of Mexico in fifty years. In the year 1824 an American shoemaker was sitting in his shop-door. The procession of the host passed by, and he arose and knelt in his chair. A Mexican ordered him to get down on his knees on the ground. This he refused to do, and the Mexican instantly drew his sword and thrust it through the heart of the American.

Buried in the gardens of Chapultepec, his dead body up, rifled, and left stripped on the ground. It was by his friends. Now no Romanist procession is allow streets, and the host is carried privately in a carriage. lent schools abound, which no priest is allowed to with, many of them sustained by the Freemasons. sculpture, and music are encouraged. In the National are oil paintings that would be an honor to any Europ ital. "New York, Philadelphia, and Boston are f Mexico in these treasures." They are nearly all of th scriptural subjects. "Noah and his family receiv dove" is specially mentioned. We remember it w gazed long on it with admiration. And as to the A sicians, they would, if they were here, "make Fre German, English and Yankee, look to their laurels."

He finally leaves Mexico city for Brownsville, in trip of twenty days, and twelve hundred miles in coach, the ride made piquant by the dangers of robl kidnapping. The ticket for the journey costs ninety- lars. The beggars are more troublesome than the They grace every station on the route. Leaving th room at Cuernavaca a gentleman met him at the doo in a faded but cleanly suit, not unlike a retired clerk perannuated preacher. He spoke low and courteo author listened but could not understand, and, turn companion, asked what the gentleman wanted. beggar."

The native inhabitants along the route do not app very luxurious in their mode of living. Here is o houses. It is six feet by eight, short. The floor is and against the back wall kneels a comely-looking, housewife, of twenty or thereabouts, kneading he dough. This is almost the only work of the wome that of washing, which is done by the side of a runnin without the trouble of boiling the clothes, as no fire i the operation. They vary these two occupations by their long black hair, quite in public, and cleansing contents. The dwelling contained no chair, no table, no paper, no bed—strangest of all, no looking-glass.

He arrives at Queratero, to which city Maximilian

after Napoleon had withdrawn his French army. Maximilian took refuge in this city, probably because it is a city of priests and churches, and he thought he was safer among them than in Mexico city. After batteries had been planted by the Republicans on hills near the town one of his generals betrayed him, and he was captured, tried by court-martial, and condemned to be shot. One of the causes of his condemnation was the publishing a cruel edict, some two years before, decreeing the outlawry of republicans, a decree which was the cause of many deaths. He, and Miramon, an ex-president of the republic, and General Meija, were executed at the same time. After our late war Mr. Seward requested the withdrawal of the French troops from this continent. Napoleon thought it prudent to comply. Maximilian, if he had been wise, would have withdrawn with them. He was shot on the hill called the Hill of the Bells, about a mile from the town.

On Sunday morning the churches rang out their call to prayer. It was a pleasant sound, and the impression which they made was deepened or weakened by a conversation held with the waiter who brought him his early coffee. He inquired his name. "Trinidad, Señor," he replied, respectfully. Shocked at the answer, the bishop asked, "Trinidad?" "Si, Señor." "La Santissima Trinidad?" "La Santissima Trinidad." So he had been talking with the most holy Trinity in the form of a poor Aztec boy. To give the name of Jesus to their children is as common as to give them the name of John. Going to the cathedral, he found the plaza before it crowded with tradespeople. Bazars had been formed by temporary shanties, and the streets adjoining were lined on both sidewalks. The stores were in full blast.

Continuing his route from Queretaro, all along the road, there was the danger of robbers. At that city he met with a finely-dressed gentleman, seated at the head of the breakfast table, whose dulces and champagne freely offered made him the autocrat thereof. He was told that suspicion pointed to this man as being in league with the robbers, to give them information of any travelers who might have money. He was to leave at three o'clock in the morning alone, but slept away his fears after entering the stage-coach, trusting to Him who has power to save. He passes through Salamanca and Irapuate,

both beautiful towns, the latter having a population c
thousand. He reaches Guanajuato, the most Yank
and the greatest silver town in Mexico, containing f
sand people. The mines are located in the hills b
Humboldt reckons that one fifth of the silver of the
come from one of these mines. The yield is now five
a year. Here are several Romish churches, but mo
saloons, bearing, many of them, their true names.
called "El Delirio," (The Delirium;) another "La Te
(The Temptation;) another "El Abysmo," (Hell.)

The city of Leon draws near with the author on th
seat, alongside of a Romish priest dressed in his eccl
robes, to which or to whom the Indians take off thei
reverence. The bishop returned the politeness, thi
was meant for him, perhaps forgetting for a mom
though a bishop, he was incognito, and soon found
the people were directing themselves to the priest by
Two Englishmen reside here, one of them a clock-ma
found business rather dull, and remarked, "Yanke
clock in the house; Mexicans a saint." The whol
well as every other country town in Mexico, is given
idolatry of the Virgin Mary. They have their gra
and worshiped woman, and the priests have audienc
churches which have no idea of the nature of religi
to cover up the guilt of this idolatry, the second c
ment, forbidding the bowing down before images, is
of the spelling-book for children. We know, also,
personal examination, that the Romish Church in M
done more than this. She has left the second comm
out of her Catechism for the nation. And this is a
of her uniformity. She is uniform in one thing in
tries—her idolatry of the Virgin Mary, saints, and

At a hacienda the sound of guitars and harps, to
dian girls were dancing, prevented the luxury of sl
half-dozen tents have a girl or two each, trained to g
bleness of toes and heels, who skip double and
measure and all sorts of shuffles to the quick time of
singing in Indian a murmurous accompaniment to
The lookers-on can participate with her for a real a r
the old folks take the money." "Walking round the

I was invited by one of these venerable fathers to enter his shed. I assented, not knowing whither I went, for I had not yet spelled out the purport of the festa. He gave me the seat of honor, fronting the outside crowd. I soon saw the incongruity of my position, but was withheld from disturbing the meeting." The bishop, however, retreated shortly to the rear, and did not, of course, pay his real for the privilege of a dance with one of the girls.

At San Luis Potosi he found the bull-fights still maintained, the amphitheater preserved, and used every Sunday night, except in Lent. "The priests have to be busy, then," said a good Mexican Christian, "in absolving the bull-fighters." Bull-fights are abolished in Mexico city, and the great amphitheater once used for that purpose is going to decay. A Protestant service is held in San Luis, under the direction of the Presbyterian Church, in which Señor Vivera preached, who shortly before was attacked during his service by a mob of three thousand people and stoned through the streets. He continues, however, to preach the Gospel. One of the priests since remarked, "The Protestants will succeed, for they cultivate piety."

The scenery along the stage road, homeward toward Matamoras, is graphically described, with incidents of the route. At Buena Vista he found an English-speaking gentleman, far gone in consumption, who has since passed away, who had had a strange marriage experience. He had remained unmarried until he was thirty-five or forty. A rancho beauty came to town "killing lovely." The sober, sturdy, and mature New Englander fell desperately in love with this wild slip of the Pueblos. He married her. She appropriated all the diamonds, silver, and whatever else she could induce him to give her, and in a short time eloped with a French gentleman. She was captured, brought back, and cast into jail. Getting released, she went to Indiana, got a divorce from the New Englander in that State, and married the lawyer who obtained the divorce. But never a word against the inconstant wife fell from the sick man's lips. "He loved her still. Many waters could not quench nor floods drown this flame of, in him, purest and most unselfish affection. She had killed him, but he died without saying a word against the rancho beauty."

We have not space to follow the author all through his peril-

ous journey from the capital to Brownsville, but hast
final chapter, in which he gives an account of the P
work. While he was in the City of Mexico he set
negotiation for the purchase of property in Puebla
capital, which was afterward carried into effect. T
ings in Puebla were once part of the Convent of San I
and were, as we have said, the site of the old Inqu
that town; those of the City of Mexico formed once
ters of the San Franciscan Convent, and after their co
were used for a time as a grand circus, called "El
Chiarini," and still subsequently as a theater called '
tro de Variedades." It was leased to the theatrical
when the purchase was completed, and there was a
in getting possession. This was accomplished, and in
the main audience-room was transformed so as to b
for church purposes. It was dedicated as a Methodis
pal church on Christmas day, 1873.

His summary of the Protestant movement in Me
most important and interesting one. In 1811 the
dalgo raised the standard of independence from Spai
ing no countenance from the Romish Church, to whi
longed, his enterprise failed after terrible slaughter.
quently, General Iturbide made a second attempt to t
the yoke of Spain. He succeeded because he recog
supreme authority of the Church, his declaration of i
ence stating that no other than the Roman Catholi
should be tolerated. The American war occurred twe
years after this event. Before that war not an open Bi
have been seen in the whole realm, which then inclu
fornia, Nevada, and Colorado. The war carried the P
Church into Mexico. The American soldiers brought
in their knapsacks, and falling out by the way, eithe
sickness or capture, and remaining, many of them, in
try after the war was over, they sowed the seed of th
In a short time they could talk with the natives, a
hours of sickness and death they translated its tenc
into the common tongue. Thus the thirsty peon t
first drops of the water of life. Besides this, the Bibl
sent its agents with the armies, who scattered the wor
wherever the troops marched. A gentleman said to th

"The first time I ever saw Protestant service conducted was in the palace of the President by the chaplain of General Scott."

The effect of all this was heightened by its connection with these foreign invaders and conquerors. It was associated with the victory of the worshiper. They reasoned thus: "Is this simple faith so much greater than the Roman Catholic that a dozen thousand men, without losing a single battle, can carry the fortified gorges of Cerro Gordo, storm Chapultepec, capture the city in less time than it took Cortez to subdue the land?" What could the answer be but that religion was the cause of the conquest?

The outgrowth of this conviction came in a very few years. In 1856 Comonfort issued the first proclamation of independence from Rome. He next ran Independence-street through the Convent of San Francisco. You may pass through that street to-day, and you will see on one side the dormitories of the convent; on the other the patio, chapel, and church, and other parts of the convent, turned into blocks of private dwellings, two chapels used for a stable and blacksmith's shop, and the former library as a chapel for an American Protestant English service.

Juarez followed Comonfort. Then the confiscation of convent property became general. Monks and nuns ceased to exist, for their institutions were abolished, and schools were established outside of the Church. The Church saw what was going on, and took advantage of our civil war to regain her influence. Maximilian and Carlotta, two bigoted papists, were imported, and upheld by the arms of Napoleon and Eugenie in order to bring Mexico again to bow to the Church. Not Napoleon, principally, but the pope, Pius IX., was the instigator of that war. The pope, who alone of all sovereigns recognized as a nation the Southern Confederacy, sought by upholding our rebellion to give a European king and queen to Mexico, who would crush out the seeds of religious liberty. He succeeded. The French army subdued the republic, and Rome became mistress of Mexico. At the close of our war Mr. Seward, as we have said on a previous page, requested Napoleon to withdraw his troops. When the latter departed Juarez took possession of the country, Maximilian was shot, and Mexico was delivered from Rome.

The history of the more strictly religious uprising
great interest. Sometime between the years 1858 an
few priests, called Constitutionalists, established a new
something like that which is to-day in usage among t
estants. To them the president, Juarez, gave the us
of the confiscated churches. When the French cam
these priests was seized, the clerical tonsure on the t
head was scraped in order to degrade him from the pr
and he was led out to execution. When about to b
he saw the rifles leveled at his breast, and just before tl
he cried, "Viva Jesus! Viva Mexico!" Then Fran
lar, another priest, was converted and began to pre
a few months he became sick unto death, and in his d
ments he pressed the Bible to his bosom, saying, "
this peace and happiness," and fell asleep in Jesus.

On his death his Church, being without a pastor, se
United States to seek aid from the United States P
Episcopal Church. Rev. Dr. H. C. Riley, a native
born of English parents, but conversant with the Spa
guage from his birth, was preaching at that time to a
congregation in New York city. He gave up his c
tion, and in the year 1871 started for the country. Th
ican and Foreign Christian Union, his own purse, hi
purse, William E. Dodge, and others, supplied th
Almost as soon as he arrived there was a conspirac
his life. He preached and wrote earnestly, issuing
after pamphlet, arranging hymns and tunes, and the
prayer now in use in his congregations. He shortly p
two churches of the confiscated convents, that of S
cisco, and that of San José de Gracia; the cloister
Francisco, not forming a part of the church proper, w
ward purchased by the Methodist Episcopal Churc
have said.

Shortly the most popular preacher of the cathedral,
eloquence thousands had hung entranced, who had be
lent persecutor of the rising faith, a Dominican friar
Aguas by name, was converted. An exceedingly in
account of his conversion, written by himself, is giv
appendix. He preached with great success in Dr
churches for some time. One morning while he w

pulpit he was suddenly taken ill, and could scarcely finish his sermon. Soon he was dying. A friend asked him, "Do you now love Jesus?" "Much, very much," was his answer. This was in the spring of 1872. He was about fifty years of age when he died. The general impression among the Protestants of Mexico is that he was poisoned. We knew that he was held in great esteem. A photograph is given of him in the work just as we have seen it in Mexico. The Presbyterians, Baptist, Congregationalists, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have now missionaries in different parts of the country, as well as our own Church. A portrait is given of the Rev. John L. Stephens, who was assassinated in the spring of 1874, with a detailed account of his death.

The book is well written in the peculiar, racy style of the bishop, and contains a multitude of illustrating engravings. These are eminently true to nature, as we know from our own journeyings in the country, with perhaps the exception of one, which is the slaughter on the sacrificial stone. The slaughter is true, and that the stone is in Mexico is true; but the portrayal of the figures in the scene must have required some play of the imagination on the part of the artist, unless he obtained a drawing from some depository of Aztec curiosities, such as the National Museum. It is a most striking picture, wherever it may have had its origin, with its waiting victims, prostrate bodies, uplifted heart, and dripping gore.

We not only wonder, as we said at the beginning, how such a book could be the product of such a brief stay in the country, but also that so many accurate and varied representations of its cities, buildings, people, and natural scenery could have been procured as he hastened from spot to spot. All through the work, notwithstanding the bishop's frequent sallies of wit, there runs a deep religious spirit. There are frequent perspectives of a future Mexico, transformed and regenerated, sitting in her right mind at the feet of Jesus. Wherever there is a squalid hut, or an ignorant driver, or a drinking gaucho, or a deserted convent, or a miserable village, he sees, with the eye of a Christian and the love of a Saviour, an opening for the Gospel. His faith takes in the whole land. Mexico must and will become speedily a Protestant and truly Christian country. May God hasten the time!

Art. VII. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

Our Synopsis of Quarterlies, which has been held by our readers as a favorite peculiarity of our own Quarterly, discloses the fact that the "North American Review" has been for some time past the only general secular Quarterly that has been able to maintain a respectable existence. Besides the scientific and professional Quarterlies, the theological alone form the staple. These abound in articles of high intellect and erudition in theological and biblical science. Their discussions of the deepest questions of exegesis, theology, psychology, as well as of philosophy and science in their relations to theology, are fully abreast with the "thought" of the age. We believe that they may fear no comparison with the leading Quarterlies of the medical or legal profession, just as our present pulpit oratory may fear no comparison with that of the bar or the senate.

But there is one obstacle to the full effect of the power of our religious Quarterlies over the public mind. They exist and work in a state of professional exclusion. Though their topics possess the most momentous importance for all, and are really the topics that excite the general mind of the age, yet they are hemmed into the narrow circle of high theological readers. The productions of Spencer, Tyndall, Huxley, Draper, are spread without limit over the public mind. They are general science and literature. But the able replies that have appeared in our theological Quarterlies are limited to a purely professional audience. Even the great learning and ability of the "Bibliotheca Sacra," creditable as they are to the sacred scholarship of our country, render it no exception. We do not hesitate to say, that the very ablest assaults of the great masters of skepticism at the present day are encountered with successful ability. In the field of unsparing logic we believe that Christian philosophy is truly maintaining its ground. But it fails to locate its own side of the fight fairly and fully on the open field of the popular mind. Our religious, like our medical, Quarterlies are unnoticed by the secular newspaper press. The ordinary newspaper critic

has, indeed, not the qualification to write a respectable notice of the best theological productions. And, of all the mental abortions in the world, deliver us from the intellectual and moral stupidities of our secular newspaper theology. We see no direct remedy for this exclusion. We have only the indirect relief in the fact that our theological body is well posted, understands its own position, and is able to stand until "the indignation be passed." In this high intellectual battle, the pulpit, although the preacher generally needs to be master of the argument, can render us little direct aid. The sermon should generally assume the Bible and its evangelical truth as infallibly sure, and press their power home on the heart, the conscience, and the life. The open field of debate calls for *the independent volume*, furnished by master minds in science and philosophy, such as have come from the pens of M'Cosh, Winchell, Dawson, Le Comte, Bowne, and Southall. Never was there a greater demand than now for the Christian scientist to buckle on his armor and do the mighty battle. Some old exegeses will be readily corrected; some old positions may be surrendered; but we are sure that the banner of victory will finally float from the citadel of Christian truth. We KNOW it will; for we KNOW full well the divine Captain that commands that post.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1875. (Philadelphia.) — 1. Comparative Religion. 2. Scientists and Theologians: How they Disagree and Why. 3. The Sources of Luke's Gospel. 4. Dante. 5. Ezra the Scribe. 6. An Historical Inquiry. 7. The Future of Africa.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1875. (Cincinnati.)—1. Vaticanism. 2. Problem of the Supernatural. 3. The Logic of Roman Catholicism. 4. The Perfect Life. 5. Christ and Antichrist.

CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, July, 1875. (Boston.) — 1. James Monroe Bacon. 2. The Voluntary Societies for Christian Work, as Related to the Congregational Churches. 3. The Cost of Benevolent Work. 4. Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass. 5. Theron Baldwin. 6. Congregational Necrology.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1875. (New Haven.)—1. The Philosophy of Montaigne. 2. The Metaphysics of Evolution. 3. The Person of Christ. 4. The Trouble with the Caucus. 5. Mill on the Foundation of Mathematics. 6. Judge Farrar's Manual of the Constitution of the United States. 7. Intercollegiate Contests. 8 Review of Fiske's Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy. 9. The New Translations of Laocoon. 10. Review of Rev. Henry M. Goodwin's "Christ and Humanity."

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1875. (N
1. The Modern Theory of Forces. 2. Reason and Redemption. 3.
Question. 4. Studies in the Gospels: Luke the Gospel for the Gre
Progress and Prospects of Oriental Discovery. 6. Morality and Fi
7. Exposition of John xxi, 15–17. 8. Our Industrial and Financi
9. The General Assembly.

SOUTHERN REVIEW. July, 1875. (Baltimore.)—1. The Idea of Go
in Theology. 2. Henry Timrod. 3. Wind and Weather Probabiliti
hood as an Element in Modern Romance. 5. The Catacombs of R
Conflict between Science and Religion. 7. Blackwell *versus* O'Ke
versity Organization. 9. The Last Days of David Livingstone.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND THEOLOGICAL ECLECTIC, July, 1875. (Andove
Preaching to the Spirits in Prison. 1 Pet. iii, 18–20. 2. Dr. Watt
Christ's Pre-Existent Human Nature. 3. Misquotation of Script
New Testament View of Christ as Bearing Sin. 5. The Uses
6. Early History of Italian Painting. 7. Recent Books bearing u
tion of Science to Religion. 8. On the Method in the History
Christian Doctrine.

Dr. Thomson's article on "Misquotations of Scriptu
uable, but his positions in regard to their occurren
undiscriminating. The Jews were accustomed to
Old Testament very freely, running its words in w
of their own, and making applications quite at vari
the original meaning. St. Paul does the same with
freedom, blending different texts inextricably togeth
tuting words of his own, and supplementing with *a*
originalities.

To require us to give the benediction in the exact
2 Cor. xiii, 14, no more and no less, is to make us "
letter." It is right and proper to use its words in
whole, and to intertwine all suitable words therew
same may be said of a large abundance of texts.
have good verbal memories, others can give only th
varied terms, and we maintain the rights of the l
the best they can, provided they do not pervert Scrip
by quotations essentially false.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1875. (Londo
Origin of the Phenicians. 2. Personal Religion in the Homeric
Argument about the Manna. 4. A Colonial Sketch: Dr. John B
5. The Idea of Dogmatic Theology, and Classification of its Dog
Great Controversy. *Reprinted Article:* Oriental Pantheism and D
in Relation to Christianity.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1875.—(New York: Leonard S
ing Company.)—1. Augusta Treverorum. 2. Shakspeare's Charac
Career. 3. The Future of the English Universities. 4. Sin and
a Physician's Point of View. 5. Church and State in India. 6. M
Minister. 7. Edgar Allan Poe.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. The First Stewart in England. 2. Jamaica. 3. Virgil in the Middle Ages. 4. Balloons and Voyages in the Air. 5. The "Théâtre Français." 6. Falconry in the British Isles. 7. Memoirs of Count de Ségur. 8. Tennyson's "Queen Mary." 9. Church Law and Church Prospects.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1875. (New York: Leonard Scott Publishing Company.)—1. Sunday and Lent. 2. Macready's Reminiscences. 3. Allotropic Christianity. 4. The Pacific Islander's Protection Bill. 5. Education in Prussia and England. 6. The Guicwar of Baroda. 7. House Ventilation and Warming. 8. The Evidences of Design in Nature.

Allotropic Christianity, in the third article, is thus defined:—"When a gas assumes a form so far differing from its normal form as to be practically a distinct gas, it is called by chemists allotropic. Thus ozone is allotropic oxygen. Now as ozone differs from oxygen, so does Mr. Haweis's Christianity differ from the Christianity of the New Testament. Hence we have ventured to give to the religious system set forth by Mr. Haweis the name of Allotropic Christianity." The specimen of such Christianity criticised in the article is a volume of rationalistic sermons by Rev. Mr. Haweis, who occupies about the same theological position as James Freeman Clarke in this country. The title of the article suggests that this Review is itself a true specimen of *Allotropic Infidelity*. The time was, within our own memory, when it proposed a "Christian Theism;" that is, it maintained the existence of God, and held Christ to be in some way an exceptional teacher. As time has advanced it has lived in affinity with every new notion that has turned up opposed to Christ and Christianity. It has always taken the adverse side, and gone from bad to worse. It renounced the "Christian" name as being a dishonest assumption, even as a temporary provision against odium. It is now standing on the atheistic hard-pan. It shows, in the present article, that concessionists like Haweis and Clarke gain nothing by compromise. Indeed, the tenets of these thinkers, which are unsparingly crushed by the Review, are nearly the tenets of this Review forty years ago. It is indeed true that the present author disclaims atheism. He does not, he declares, deny a God; he only maintains that *no God can be proved*. Yet the whole argument itself denies a God. And so *allotropic* is the character of the "Westminster" that it may be but a question of time for it to entitle itself the Atheistic Quarterly. Such a change in its future would not be so great as its changes in the past.

The starting-point of the writer of the eighth article is Mr. Mill's remark, "'The evidence of design in creation can never amount to more than to the inferior kind of inductive evidence called analogy. Analogy,' he continues, 'agrees with induction in this—that they both argue that a thing known to resemble another in certain circumstances (call those circumstances A and B) will resemble it in another circumstance, (call it C.) But the difference is, that in induction A and B are known, by a previous comparison of many instances, to be the very circumstances on which C depends, or with which it is in some way connected.'"

We may reply to Mr. Mill's remark, that our knowledge of any "design" whatever in the universe, outside our individual *consciousness*, is derived through this same *analogy*. I know "design" in my own mind by direct introverted perception; I know "design" in any other being, finite or infinite, only by *inference*. If I could walk into any other being's consciousness, whether human or divine, I could then and there directly know *design*. But the real fact is, that while I see moving organisms around me, performing certain actions and emitting certain sounds, it is only by analogy drawn from my own mind that I can guess that back of such actions and sounds there actually is a mind, and that those complex phenomena are the result of "design." And so it will be found that a large share of this writer's argument would prove for me that there is no other "design," finite or infinite, except in the consciousness of my own individual I. In other words, the same sort of argument which proves human design proves divine design.

To Paley's argument of design from the instance of the watch, Hume replied in effect that we have seen a watchmaker make a watch, but never saw a world-maker make a world. But, in truth, no one ever saw the real watchmaker more than the world-maker. When we see a watch being made we only see one organism of matter moving under contact of another organism. But what really directs the latter organism in the modifications of its contact upon the former so as to design and form the watch we never saw. From our knowledge of our own minds we infer that back of both organisms there is a designing mind, and we have no conception how the watch can be so made without such designing mind. And so back of

the world making, we infer from our own minds that there is a designing mind, and we have no conception how the world can be made without such mind. It is a *problem* to be solved: *How can a systematic cosmos be formed?* The only solution human thought can furnish is: *By a designing will.* Paley's argument from the watch has been abundantly replied to, but never refuted—certainly not by this Review.

If the human frame with all its adaptations to a determinate end proves no plan, and no mind designing a plan, let us ask, then, what would prove such mind? If the foot was not made to walk with, the hand to manipulate with, the eye to see with, then what proof would demonstrate a purpose in Nature? If it were written in stupendous capitals upon the firmament, THERE IS A SUPREME CREATING GOD, that would prove nothing; for it is just as clear that the marks forming those letters might unite to form those words without design as it is that the parts of the human frame might unite without design to form a man. If an angel, with a form towering to the skies, should stand on the earth at noonday clothed in glory, and with a voice louder than thunder, yet sweeter than the music of the spheres, should proclaim in the ear of all the inhabitants of the earth, *There is a God*, that would prove nothing; for all those visibilities and audibilities might just as easily combine without any significance or anterior purpose as a human eye could come into existence undesigned. In fine, the man who is not convinced by his own structure as a man that there is a God would not be convinced by any possible proof.

If any person, as this writer, chooses to take the worst aspect of things, and hold it as the only aspect, there is such an aspect to be taken. The world may truly and scientifically be viewed as a great mud-ball, alternately baked and frozen, with various consistencies and shapes and hues of mud. And, then, all we animals, such as mammoths, sharks, men, tadpoles, and cats, are so many mud-specks in a highly stimulated state. And then, all such transcendental ideas as religion—sanctity, sacredness, honor—are simply gotten up as conveniences and expediencies, having no valid connection with any thing above the mud. And as life is a mere stimulation of the mud-speck, so death is a mere subsidence of the little mud-speck into the big mud-ball. If this is the whole significance of things, then

God. The views of Anselm were further developed by Descartes, Leibnitz, Wolf, Mendelssohn, and others, but found in Kant (Kritik der reinen Vernunft) so powerful an opponent that theologians and philosophers generally began to doubt the cogency of this one argument, at least in the shape which it had received in the writings of Anselm and his followers. Professor Koestlin also regards the argumentation of Anselm as unfounded, and the Ontological argument for the existence of God as one which had better be entirely abandoned by Christian theology.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology. Fourth Number. 1875.)—1. EBRARD, The Keledei of Ireland and Scotland. 2. HEPPE, The Confession de Foi of the Reformed Church of France. 3. TOLLIN, The Childhood and Youth of Sĕrvet.

The editor, Professor Kahnis, in Leipzic, announces in this number that the journal will be discontinued. It was established in 1832 as the organ of the Society for Historical Theology, and was first edited by Dr. Ilgen, the founder of the Society; after his death, in 1844, by Professor Niedner; and since 1865, by Professor Kahnis. It has, from its foundation, occupied a high rank among the theological quarterlies of Germany, but never been able to attain a circulation large enough to support it. Of late the number of its subscribers has greatly decreased, as a number of the other theological journals of Germany have also given a prominent attention to essays on Church history.

The first article of this number, by Dr. Ebrard, one of the standard writers on the early history of the Church of Ireland and Scotland, undertakes to prove the identity of the "Keledei" of the Iro-Scottish Church with the coenobial communities which had been founded by the scholars and successors of Patrick, Kentigern, Columba, Aidern, and others, and which had their center in Iona or Hij. In his work on the Iro-Scottish missionary Church, (Iro-Schottische Missionskirche, 1873,) Dr. Ebrard had adduced the following arguments for this identity:—1. That Keledeus can only be derived from the old Irish céle-dé, which admits of no other meaning than man of God, (*vir Dei*,) and that this same expression, man of God, is met with in the continental institutions of the missionary Church of Iona as the regular designation of this coenobial community; 2. That the very coenobia of Ireland and Scot-

land, in which, after the beginning of the ninth cen
Keledei make their appearance, can be shown to h
founded by the pupils and successors of Columba; and
those ecclesiastical peculiarities in which the Keled
from the Romish system—in particular, the marriage of
are already met with in the coenobial community of
and the younger Columba. The first of these three a
is now fully elaborated by the author in this essay, aft
first examined the various etymological explanations of
Keledeus, and the various views which have been
with regard to the true character of the persons called

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE (Christian Review.) January, 1875.—1. LIC
The Theological Faculty of Strasburg. 2. MASSEBIEAU, Alexander I
as Moralist. 3. E. DE PRESSENSE, The Roman Religion and Chri

February.—1. BERSIER, St. Paul and the Slave Onesimus. 2. ROUF
ciety of Jesus and the Roman Church. 3. WADDINGTON, Univ
4. PENEL, The Course of Instruction at the Sorbonne and the Collég

March.—1. STAFFER, Some Inedited Letters of Maine de Biran an
2. MASSEBIEAU, Coppée and Sully Prudhomme. 3. WADDINGTON,
of the Good. 4. ROLLER, The Present Ecclesiastical Crisis.

April.—1. REY, John Stuart Mill. 2. STAFFER, History of the Mes
from Alexander to the Emperor Hadrian. 3. Gladstone and
Question.

May.—1. NAVILLE, The State Churches. 2. MASSEBIEAU, Roland
3. BONNET, A Marriage under Francis I.

June.—1. NAVILLE, The State Churches. 2. BONIFAS, Roman Hi
Tragedies of Corneille. 3. BONNET, A Marriage under Francis I.

In its first article of 1875 the "Revue Chretienne" p
very interesting historical sketch of the theological
Strasburg. The author, Professor Lichtenberger,
been for many years one of the prominent contribut
"Revue Chretienne," was one of the theological pr
Strasburg during the French rule. A French patrio
like most Alsacians, of German name, he has not, lik
his colleagues, connected himself with the new univer
lished in the recovered imperial city, but co-oper
those of his colleagues who, like himself, preferred
French, in the establishment of the Free Theologi
of Paris. The essay now published by him in th
Chretienne" is one of the lectures given by him at t

The history of the Protestant Theological School of Strasburg presents some points of general interest for the Protestant world. The foundation of it was laid when the canons of the wealthy chapter of St. Thomas adopted the Augsburg Confession, and promised to devote themselves henceforth to public instruction. The school founded by them was called the Strasburg Academy, and the celebrity which it soon obtained may be inferred from the fact that some of the most earnest reformers of the sixteenth century, as Bauer, Capito, Hedion, and Peter Martyr, were among its teachers. Even Calvin, when he had to leave Geneva, was called to Strasburg, and there lectured for a few years on theology. In 1566 the magistrates of the free city of Strasburg, which at that time belonged to the German empire, obtained from Emperor Maximilian I. the privilege of an academy of four faculties. In 1621, by permission of Emperor Ferdinand I., the academy was changed into a complete university. In consequence of the geographical situation of the city of Strasburg, the university had from its beginning, to a higher degree than any other university of Germany, the character of an international institution. When Strasburg was annexed to France an article of the capitulation provided that the university should be preserved in its integrity. As, moreover, the German language continued to be that of the university as well as of the country, the university remained, until the great revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, more a German than a French institution of learning. Napoleon, in 1803, changed the university into a Protestant academy, or seminary, and reduced the number of professors to ten. As all the funds of the former university were retained for the use of the seminary, the new institution found itself in a very favorable pecuniary position. Louis XVIII., in 1818, established in Strasburg an academy which, like the other French academies, was connected with the University of Paris. The Academy of Strasburg was more complete than any other provincial academy; for while most of the other provinces had only three academies, Strasburg had five, including one of Protestant theology with five, subsequently six, professors. The number of theological chairs would have been insufficient to compete as a theological school with those of Germany, but the close con-

nection of the rich seminary with the theological faculty of the academy, enabled the Directory of the Confession of Augsburg, which controlled both, to arrange for the students of Protestant theology a course of study almost as thorough and complete as that provided for them at the German Universities. Until about 1840 nearly all the theological lectures were given in the German language, which was still the dominant language in almost every Protestant congregation of the country. But gradually the French superseded the German, and in 1870, when the great war between France and Germany broke out, the number of German courses of lectures had dwindled down to one or two. But though lecturing in French, the theological professors took as active a part in the theological questions of Protestant Germany as though they had belonged to a purely German institution. The most important works for which Protestant theological literature is indebted to the professors of Strasburg appeared either in Germany, or simultaneously in Germany and France. About 1850 the Strasburg academy became the cradle of a new theological school of Protestant France. Greatly influenced by the Tübingen school of Germany, some young theological teachers, especially Schérer and Colani, attempted to found a similar school in France. The organ of the school was the "Revue de Theologie," published at Strasburg by Colani. They rejected the infallibility of the Bible, and claimed full freedom with regard to the doctrines taught in the ancient standards of the Church, and proposed to make the exclusive belief in Jesus the God-man, and in salvation through Jesus alone, the exclusive basis of the Protestant Church. The "Revue" in its first numbers had articles from men like Pressensé, Verny, Bois, Jean Monod, and A. Matter; but gradually the breach between the Strasburg school and Protestant orthodoxy widened, and the former came to be looked upon as the standard-bearer of a new species of Rationalism. The war of 1870 reunited Strasburg and its theological school with Germany. In April, 1872, the French theological faculty gave its last lectures, and on May 1 the Imperial German University was reopened amid great solemnities. The new university retained a faculty of Protestant theology, at which nearly all the prominent professors of the French faculty remained, in addition to whom a number of

other professors were called from Germany. Those professors who preferred to cast in their lot with France first hoped to reopen their school at Nancy, where the professors of the other faculties of the Strasburg academy found a hospitable reception; but the municipality and academy of Nancy did not extend their hospitality to the Protestant theologians. They then turned their eyes to Paris; the Lutheran Oonsistory of Paris approved the plan, and the two Synods, held in 1872, agreed to ask the French government for the creation of a mixed (Lutheran and Reformed) theological faculty in Paris. The compliance with this wish was delayed in consequence of the great obstacles which had to be surmounted; but, in the meanwhile, the Minister of Public Instruction, Jules Simon, authorized the opening of a school which might receive the French remnants of the Strasburg faculty. But this project also failed in consequence of the opposition made to it by the theological faculty of the Reformed Church at Montauban and the Standing Committee of the Reformed Synod. The ex-professors of Strasburg, therefore, united with the Union of the Free Evangelical Churches of France in organizing, in Paris, the Free School of Religious Science, where now Lichtenberger and others teach in union with E. de Pressensé and his friends.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The second Synod of the Old Catholic Church was held in Bonn from May 18 to 22, under the presidency of Bishop Reinkens. Professor Langen submitted reports on a "Manual of Christian Doctrines," and a "Catechism," which have been prepared for general introduction into the Old Catholic congregations. A long discussion took place on the draft of a German Liturgy, and the Synod resolved to recommend it to the congregations. The definite and obligatory introduction into all the congregations will be a subject of discussion for next year's Synod. Again, it was moved by the delegates of several congregations to abolish the priestly celibacy and to allow the Old Catholic priests to marry; but, in accordance with the recommendation of the Standing Committee, the Synod, by an overwhelming majority, resolved not to take any definite action on the subject. Most of the members of the Standing Committee were re-elected, among them Professors Schulte, Knoodt, Michelis, Friedrich,

and Cornelius. Among the new members is the mayor of Carlsruhe, the capital of Baden. As it is known that besides the priests who have openly identified themselves with the Old Catholic movement there are quite a number of others who still remain under the jurisdiction of the papal bishops, the Synod resolved to publish an address to them which had been drawn up by Bishop Reinkens. A very full report on the history of the Old Catholic movement since the first Synod held in 1874 was read by Professor Schulte. This year's report gives the following statistics:—

	Congregations.	Adult Male Members.	Souls.
Prussia	32	6,530	18,765
Baden	35	4,871	14,953
Hesse	3	212	684
Bavaria	26	3,505	10,189
Oldenburg	1	91	193
Wurtemberg	1	57	102
Total	98	14,766	44,886

These figures, are, however, far from exhibiting the total strength of the Old Catholics. The report was closed on March 31, six weeks before it was read, and several lists of Old Catholic congregations were therefore not received in time. In Prussia, only those places have been registered where congregations have been fully organized; in Baden, only the communities which have been fully recognized by Bishop Reinkens, (besides which there are some twenty places with Old Catholic Societies;) and in Bavaria, only those places which had sent in lists of members. Moreover, quite a number of the lists are defective. But though the figures given in the report may be regarded as being considerably below the truth, the increase over the official figures of last year is considerable. The number of adult male members has increased by four thousand one hundred and fifty-one, of souls by nine thousand eight hundred and three. In Prussia parishes have been fully established in eleven places, and twenty-two priests are at work. In Baden there are twenty Old Catholic communities which have been recognized by the State, and in several localities the Old Catholics form a majority of voters of the parish, and, therefore, have been put in possession of the parochial churches, according to the provisions of the laws of Baden. In Baden sixteen Old Catholic priests have been appointed, seven more than in 1874. Bavaria is the only part of Germany where in consequence of the unfavorable laws no progress has been made. The number of Old Catholic priests is nine. During the summer of 1874 the bishop consecrated one new church, laid the foundation of another, and ordained six priests, three Germans and three Swiss. The number of Old Catholic students of theology at the University of Bonn is eleven, and of Old Catholic priests fifty-three, against forty-one in 1874.

A new Union Conference of theologians of the Old Catholic, Oriental, and Anglican Churches was held at Bonn from August 12 to 16. It was again presided over by Dr. von Döllinger, and also attended by a number of

Protestant theologians. The interest in the work of this conference has especially increased among the Oriental Churches, which were this year much more numerously represented than in 1874. The Patriarch of Constantinople, in compliance with an invitation from Dr. Döllinger, not only appointed several theologians to represent the Patriarchal Church, but his official paper, the "Neologos," expressed the hope that the project of uniting the Episcopal Churches of Christendom would be successfully accomplished. In an elaborate article on the history of the Old Catholics this paper says: "The period for the unity of the Church is at last arrived. The fanaticism of worldly power caused the separation; its abuses have caused the different peoples to draw near to each other through knowledge and science, and the common canons of logic and ethics. Very remarkable are the patience, the care, and the promptitude displayed by the Old Catholics in organizing their new, independent, and autocephalic Church, while at the same time they do not cease laboring, through the power of true learning and of kindly tact, for the unity of their Church with the rest of Christendom; but still more remarkable is the readiness with which the other Churches accept the invitation of the Old Catholics, with which they greet the beginning of unity. We say advisedly 'the other Churches,' for no political or ecclesiastical authority has in any way opposed this manifest tendency toward unity in which the most distinguished theologians and professors share. This unity will be brought about by the spirit of peace and Christian brotherhood, and not at all by that of damnation and of worldly interests." Among the prominent representatives of the Oriental Churches were Archbishop Lycurgos, of Syra and Tenos, who for many years has been the most prominent leader of the union movement in the Eastern Churches; two archbishops of Roumania; archpriest Yanishev, and Professor Ossinin, of Russia, who have taken an active part in all the previous assemblies of the German Old Catholics; Prof. Damalas and Prof. Rhossis, of Athens, both distinguished as theological scholars. Among the English and Americans who attended the conference we notice the names of the Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. Howson; Dean of Chester, Dr. Liddon; Canon of St. Paul's, London; Dr. Langdon, of Florence, Italy; Dr. Nevin, of Rome, Italy; Dr. Schaff, of New York. Among the Protestant Germans who attended was Professor Krafft, of the University of Bonn, and Protestant France was represented by De Félice, a Reformed clergyman of Paris. After long and animated discussions the Orientals, Old Catholics, and Anglicans at last agreed upon the following resolutions:—*Preliminary Resolutions:* 1. We agree together in receiving the œcumenical symbols and the doctrinal decisions of the ancient undivided Church. 2. We agree together in acknowledging that the addition of the Filioque to the creed did not take place in an ecclesiastically regular manner. 3. We acknowledge on all sides the representation of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as it is set forth by the fathers of the undivided Church. 4. We reject every proposition and every method of expression in which, in any way, the acknowledgment of two

principles or ἀρχαί, or αἰτίαι, in the Trinity, may be cont
cession of the Holy Ghost: We accept the teaching of
cus respecting the Holy Ghost, as the same is expresse
paragraphs, in the sense or the teaching of the ancie
Holy Ghost goes forth out of the Father as the Begin
Source of the Godhead. 2. The Holy Ghost goes n
Son, because there is in the Godhead but one Beg
through which all that is in the Godhead is produ
Ghost goes forth out of the Father through the Son.
is the image of the Son, as the Son is the image of t
Holy Ghost is the Personal Production out of the F
the Son, but not out of the Son, because he is the
of the Godhead, which speaks forth the Word.
forms the mediation between the Father and the So
gether to the Father through the Son. Dr. von Döll
again the central figure in the conference. At the be
sion he delivered a speech of from one to two hour
answering himself every objection brought forward
sides giving a very full history of the *Filioque* cont
length of the doctrine of the ancient Church concer
the dead and indulgences, in opposition to the doct
Middle Ages by the Church of Rome concerning p
gences. He stated that the Old Catholics agreed
Churches in rejecting the Romish innovations. He d
astrous influence which the papal system had had u
Poland, France, Spain, South America, and Italy.
that Christianity, after an existence of eighteen hun
fessed as yet only by a population of 350,000,000, w
120,000,000 of Mohammedans, and from 600,000,000
gans, he found the chief cause of the comparatively
Christian religion in Mohammedan and pagan count
divisions of the Christian Church. In conclusion, h
Union Conference would again assemble next year.
Syra, in Greece, and the Anglican Bishop of Gibral
name of their Churches their satisfaction with the p
Conferences, and their hope for a final reunion of t
The Old Catholic Bishop Reinkens closed the sessi
for unity of faith and love.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INT

GERMANY.

Dr. A. Ph. von Segesser, the leader of the ultramc
erland, has for some time been publishing a series
portant religious questions of the age. (*Studien und*
No. 2, 1870; No. 3, 1875.) The third pamphlet

conflicts between the European States and the Roman Catholic Church called forth by the decrees of the Vatican Council, and specially by the new doctrine of papal infallibility. The author does not conceal that he dislikes the promulgation of this doctrine, and he even censures the bishops of the minority for not voting openly against it. As all the bishops subsequently submitted, he regards the new doctrine as a Church law to which all the members of the Church must submit. He does not regard it as the duty of Catholics to believe in the doctrine, and he himself appears to persist in disbelieving it; but external submission and the abandonment of all open opposition the Church in his opinion may demand. Similar opinions are widely diffused among the Roman Catholic laity, but Segesser is the first man of prominence who publicly avows them.

One of the most interesting questions to which the reformatory movement within the Catholic Church has called greater attention, refers to the superiority claimed by the popes of the Middle Ages over all secular Governments. Few Catholic writers as yet have the courage to avow that the papal infallibility extends to these claims, and that they can be sustained by the Catholics of the present age. But a new work by a young Catholic jurist, Holtgreven, on the relation between Church and State, (*Das Verhältniss zwischen Staat und Kirche*, 1875,) shows from official documents that the popes always based the superiority claimed by them upon divine law, the holy Scriptures, and the doctrines of the Church; that the principles held by the popes concerning the relation of Church and State were officially promulgated to the entire Church in the Bull *Unam Sanctam;* and that in modern times the popes generally, and among them Pius IX., have expressed the same principles. Formerly, when Catholics were not bound to regard the pope as infallible, they were at full liberty to reject the political claims of the papacy as something medieval and obsolete; but now it is a just and cogent inference from the doctrine of infallibility that the pope has the right to fix alone the limits of the jurisdiction of the Church, to designate any departure from its law as invalid and void, to enforce obedience to any Church law conflicting with the laws of the State, and to demand disobedience to any State law condemned by the Church.

Prof. Schulte, the President of all the Old Catholic Congresses which have been held thus far, has begun a comprehensive history of the Canon Law from Gratian to Pope Gregory IX., in three volumes. (*Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechtes.* Vol. i, 1875.) As the author has long had the reputation of being one of the very first authorities in this kind of literature, it is expected that his work will be one of more than ordinary merit.

An entirely novel subject is treated of in the History of Religious Enlightenment in the Middle Ages, from the end of the eighth century until the beginning of the fourteenth, (*Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung.* Vol. i, 1875,) by Prof. Herrmann Reuter, who by his great work on Pope Alexander III. has secured a place among the prominent Church histori-

A new "History of Philosophy," with special reference to the philosophical writers of France, (*Histoire de la Philosophie.* Paris, 1875,) has been pubished by Alfred Fouillée. The progress of philosophy in our days, according to this writer, is terminating in two opposing systems—the fatalist system and the system of liberty. The fatalist doctrine is a pure abstract speculation on what is possible. The doctrine of liberty is a result of the practical obligations which our will imposes upon itself. It is the duty of man to decide in favor of the latter system, and thus the metaphysical problem is turned into a moral problem.

The dissensions in the Reformed Church of France (for a full account of these dissensions see "Methodist Quarterly Review," July, 1875) have called forth, as might be expected, a number of works on both sides. That a permanent separation between the Orthodox and the Liberals must take place, appears now to be admitted on all sides. Whether the Liberals, who are in a minority, should receive when the final separation shall take place a portion of the Church property, and how large a portion, is a controversy on which the representatives of the Orthodox majority are by no means agreed. How bitter and violent feelings have been awakened by this controversy may be seen from a pamphlet which an Orthodox member of the Church, who styles himself a Huguenot of the Cevennes, has published under the title, "The Pretended Rights of the Liberals in the Reformed Church of France." (*Les Prètendus Droits des Libéreaux.* Paris, 1874.) "Liberalism," says the author, "is infidelity, revolution, blasphemy, and lie. They are bastards in our Church. We concede to them only one single right—the right of disgrace which they may share with others." To concede to them one cent of the present property of the Church would be, in his opinion, treason against the Reformed Church. The "Revue Chrétienne," which is foremost among the evangelical Protestant papers in advising the Orthodox portion of the Reformed State Church to advocate a fair division of the Church property, concludes its review of the pamphlet with the remark that the author appears to be in earnest, but that he had added to his pamphlet verses which might make one believe that he was not in earnest.

Among the greatest works of the Protestant literature of France belongs the Commentary to the Bible, published by Professor E. Reuss, of Strasburg. It contains, besides a new French translation, an introduction and a commentary to each biblical book. The Old Testament will be completed in eight, the New Testament in six volumes. The whole will be finished in three or four years. The author is well known as one of the greatest Protestant theologians of Europe.

An essay on the educational ideas of Rousseau and their relation to the Bible has been published by A. Grotz, (*J. J. Rousseau et l'Education.* Strasburg. 1874.) The conclusions at which the author arrives are, that education should be the work of the family, and its aim should be to shape man according to a Christian ideal.

A. Eschenauer, formerly Protestant pastor at Strasburg, has published a work on General Ethics, (*La Morale Universelle.* Paris, 1874,) which has

been crowned by the French Academy. It undertakes to show that the views of different nations on morality are not so different as has often been maintained, but that the difference relates more to some details, the applicability of a general principle in particular cases and to special points, than to the great principles of morality themselves.

The work, by Gaston Boissier, on the Roman Religion from Augustus to the Antonines, (*La Religion Romaine.* Paris, 1874,) is declared by Pressensé, who reviews it in the "Revue Chretienne," to be one of the most remarkable works which have honored French science for many years.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Commentary on the New Testament. By D. D. WHEDON, LL.D. Vol. IV. 1 Cor.–2 Tim. Pp. 460. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The fourth volume of this Commentary on the New Testament will be on the counter, we trust, about the time this notice is read. It embraces the text from First Corinthians to Second Timothy, inclusive. One volume more concludes the work. The whole work is thus far done by the single writer, with the exception that in the present volume Philippians and Colossians are furnished by the author's nephew, Rev. D. A. Whedon, D.D., and we doubt not that his contribution will be entirely acceptable to its readers. These five volumes, in connection with the eight Old Testament volumes now in preparation by some of our best biblical scholars, including the two by Rev. M. S. Terry, already published and well received by our public, will form a complete set on the entire Bible, which will occupy a plane of its own, and fill a vacant place in the biblical literature of our Church and country, and we may, in fact, say, of our English language. We expect that it will gather in the latest researches and the products of the latest scholarship. It will be so executed that while our best scholars will find it valuable for consultation, the Sunday-school instructors, the family, and the intelligent popular reader, will find it clear and satisfactory.

So far as the New Testament volumes are concerned, they will be found true to the evangelical theology, or we think it would be more correct to say, the catholic theology; the theology of the apostolic type, which St. Paul was so earnest that Timothy should preserve unchanged; the theology which was catholic before Rome arrogated the name. This theology, imbued with the liv-

ing spirit, is saving Christian truth. We do not date our theology with the Reformation; we rather date it with that primitive type which the earliest centuries that formed the canon accepted. We believe that the sacred canon was providentially selected by the divine Head of the Church, and that in its true interpretation, secured by the best attainable aids, Christian truth is attained. While thus conservative, however, no labor of thought has been spared to contribute some fresh suggestions to the elucidation of texts on which our predecessors have labored. None of the writers will confine themselves to abject compilation. Living thought will, as we may expect, pervade the pages. And while mere individualisms and ambitious straining after originality will be avoided, fresh contributions may be made to the clearing up of difficulties and the bringing out of improved results.

In the Notes on the New Testament, both in the previous and the forthcoming volumes, we may call attention particularly to those comments upon texts usually quoted to prove either that the New Testament writers maintained that the Second Advent was to take place in their own day, or that it was to precede the day of Millennial Evangelization; that is, the doctrine of the Millennial Advents. If any reader will take Dr. Buck's late able article in our Quarterly, on the "Premillennial Advent," and consult our notes on the texts he has quoted from the New Testament, it may be found that his argument based on those texts are uniformly, and, we trust, satisfactorily, answered, so far as our volumes have gone. If we are permitted to finish the Apocalypse, we hope to be able to show in our notes on that book that to make St. John teach therein the doctrine of a post-advent millennium is a violation of the soundest principles of interpretation. And we may here add, that thirty years ago we published in the Methodist Quarterly an article reviewing the claim that premillennialism is sustained by the authority of the extra-biblical fathers of either the Jewish or Christian Church. Dr. Summers promptly declares that premillennialism is condemned by our Articles of Faith; which statement appears to be true, as Bishop Burnet interprets the Articles. He also avers that it is contradicted by the Apostles' Creed, which seems to be true, as Pearson interprets the creed. It is also contradicted by most of the "Reformed" creeds.

In our Fourth Volume we call attention to our notes on the bodily resurrection in 1 Cor. xv; and especially to our notes on baptism "for the dead." In Ephesians i, we trust the primitive catholic doctrine of Election as distinguished from the

Augustinian is clearly exhibited. We may, in Ephesians, call attention to notes in chapter i on the phrase "heavenly places"; in ii, 1–3, on the phrases "prince of the power of the air," "children of wrath," and "even as others." In 2 Thess. 1-10, we believe that some additional clearness is given to Paul's prediction of the true place of the advent, and the identification and destiny of the "Man of Sin." We trust that the true position of the doctrine of the "manifestation in the flesh," 1 Tim. iv, 15, 16, as opposed by antithetic Gnosticism, is more clearly exhibited in these notes than has hitherto been done. What may be called the constitution of the invisible world (namely, the synthesis of Hades, Paradise, the threefold Heavens, and Gehenna) is discussed in the light of modern science in a series of notes on different passages connected by references to each other.

We have serenely congratulated ourself on what we believed a succession of successes in drawing up an analytical "Plan" of each of the Apostolic Epistles. We sanguinely believe that these Plans are both new and true, as well as truly valuable for use to the close student of St. Paul's productions. For our Plan of Acts we were slightly indebted to Baumgarten; for that of Romans to Olshausen; for all the others to nobody. The Plans of Corinthians in Stanley, to whom we looked for something "advanced," is an advance backward. It is to the true Bible student that a true, clear plan is a great boon. Such a student should read a whole epistle as one whole, and deposit it as a symmetrical unit in his brain. For no one passage is surely understood until the *drift* of the paragraph is understood; and the drift is understood only by understanding the whole epistle as a unit. The cutting up in print of our Bibles into chapters and verses, the family and devotional reading of a single chapter by itself, and the preaching from isolated texts, completely chop our Bible to mince-meat. Happily, isolated passages sometimes, when half understood, and even when misunderstood, have often a great spiritual power in them. But so far as Bible aliment is concerned, our people, and even preachers, live very much on slices and chops. In fact, great doctrinal errors have arisen, and have their basis, in a disregard of the purpose and purport of an epistle as a whole. Place yourself in the right position in viewing the sacred document, and the true view of its meaning becomes comparatively easy. Perhaps any one who will consult our Romans and Ephesians will readily see that more than half the battle is fought in the Plan. And in every epistle disputed passages will be found where the debate

is easily settled by a clear preparatory exhibit of the order and current of thought.

At the finishing of this volume, as of its predecessors, we avail ourself of the editorial privilege to record our most devout and heartfelt thanks to the divine Giver of health, strength, and intellect, that thus much, in which our heart and soul have for years expended themselves, is placed beyond contingency. "May you live until you finish your Commentary!" is a kindly wish which we have heard so often that we smile as the simultaneous *finis* of work and life which the prayer assigns draws nigh. Very well. If there be any death whose mode we covet, it is that of venerable Bede.

Christ's Second Coming. Will it be Premillennial? By Rev. DAVID BROWN, A.M., St. James' Free Church, Glasgow. 12mo., pp. 500. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1866.

The belief that the millennium is to be accomplished not by the spread of the Gospel through the agency of the Church, but by the sudden interposition of the visible person of the Son of man, smiting down the wicked and placing the saints in resurrection, exerts a romantic fascination over some minds. It gives a relief at the contemplation of the triumphs of iniquity and infidelity. It works a sweet and solemn subjective piety in the soul. But it is often adverse to the aggressive and campaigning spirit of our day. Our great modern Christian organizations and enterprises have been based upon the faith in the world's conversion, and the belief that the burden of the work is laid upon the Church. It would be a fine task for some Christian philosopher to analyze how much of the philanthropic spirit of the age springs from this hope. On the contrary, the believer in the premillennial advent points to the failure of many a Christian enterprise, with a dangerous spirit of triumph, in proof that there exists not in Christianity the elements of a world-conquering power. The evidences of Christianity are debatable, and fail to convince many a fair and powerful mind. Time is attenuating their force. Science is in arms against the Bible. Iniquity is on the increase as population grows dense, and advancing science and civilization do but perfect the methods of wickedness and open new inventions of sin. What then can we do but withdraw our own souls from the evil that is in the world, and sweetly sigh and pray for the advent of the great Restorer?

And yet the look is that Christianity will become the religion of the world. Not only are antichristianities fading away, but antichristian races are dying out. And is there not an infinite

reserve of power in the divine Spirit when it shall please to come forth in power? May not science and the Bible soon be brought to harmony? May not Satan be bound by a divine Hand, and so the adverse *temper* of the world be reversed? May not the minds and hearts of men cease to be blind to the sublimity of God and the glory of a glorious eternity, so that religion shall harmonize with the noblest and sweetest emotions of men? When progressive culture shall rightly attune the human faculties, religion will become the central harmonizer of the soul and of the institutions of men. And thus in the final blend of human development and divine influence do we recognize the hope of the latter-day glory. In the midst of all adverse omens the eye of our faith looks to a blessed future for our world in its march to a perfected Christian civilization.

Turning to the pages of the Bible, it is to be readily granted that, as read by some of the noblest Christian scholars, all the hope of a better state lies beyond the advent. The world is waning into ruin, inevitable but for the sudden rescue of the hand of Christ. Biblical scholars like Hengstenberg, Meyer, and Lüneman maintain it in Germany. Dr. Schaff's edition of Lange's "Bibel-werk" is on that side. In England a body of zealous students of prophecy enthusiastically maintain the theory. And yet so powerfully is the spirit of our Christian age embarked in Christian enterprise in behalf of the "world's conversion" that premillennialism stays a feeble specialty.

While numerous volumes have appeared on the premillennial side, the ordinary view now held by the Church has had scarce a single full and formal statement meeting the argument in its varied modern forms. Jonathan Edwards, and Dr. Bellamy, of New England, both published admirable treatises on the subject, and established the views of New England Calvinism. On the other side Dr. Breckenridge published an able essay, charging that the doctrine of the pre-advent millennium is destroying Calvinism. Calvinism teaches the predestinated limitation of the elect; while our millennialism has a universality about it that is eating out the vitals of predestinarian particularism. Nevertheless, this volume of David Brown, a high Scotch predestinarian, is the ablest and completest statement of the true view yet published. Mr. Brown is full master of the field. He analyzes most acutely all the specialties of premillennialism, meets them at every turn, and furnishes a satisfactory statement of the true doctrine and its valid argument. From some of its subordinate methods we differ. But our minis-

try and people ought to be well grounded on this truth, and Mr. Brown's book should come into every well-trained theological student's course of readings.

Through several chapters Mr. Brown shows with great clearness that the second advent is the terminus of human probation and the commencement of retribution. It is the transition point for our race and world from time to eternity. All the parts of God's earthly scheme converge to this focus. The Church, the completed elect, then is presented as a pure and perfect bride to her groom. All the wicked shall then be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord. All the agencies and means of grace, the day of grace, the baptism, the Lord's Supper, the commission to disciple all nations, look to that advent as their end. The intercession of Christ at the right hand of God ceases when he descends from the highest Heavens to the throne of earthly judgment. With this clear view we have a complete whole, a perfect unbroken picture of the scheme of God.

Mr. Brown then at length shows that the kingdom of Christ is now in being. He shows through what stages it passes until its final form in eternity. He shows that the entire Church are made alive or changed to glory, and the entire wicked raised to life, amid the conflagration of the world, with great suddenness, and by one resurrective act of the Son of man. Of the millennium he shows how it is brought about, its nature, its termination in a closing apostacy which is arrested by the advent of the "great white throne." Our interpretation of many texts would materially differ from Mr. Brown's; but, as a whole, we recommend his work as a very conclusive refutation of the arguments and exposure of the complexities, perplexities, and fallacies of premillennialism.

All for Christ. By Rev. THOMAS CARTER, D.D., Author of "History of the Great Reformation," etc. 16mo., pp. 192. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The subject of the consecrated life has drawn out a number of our best writers, Dunn, M'Cabe, Crane, Steele, and others; but the modest volume of Dr. Carter is, "though last, not least." It is marked by a lucidity of thought and graceful amenity of style, winning the reader all the way to the end. It especially excels in its practical character. The chapters on "Integrity in Business," "Social Tastes," and "Money Consecrated," are illustrated by striking pen-portraitures, and breathe a chaste severity without running far into bleak asceticism. Its theology is marked by the author's

individualism, without, so far as we can see, varying from our old Wesleyan standard.

The difference between the justified life and the wholly consecrated life Dr. Carter rests mainly in the fuller spiritual "knowledge" with which the latter is endowed. Our own view rather emphasizes the fullness of spiritual "power" over sin and toward God; and such, also, is the definition of Wesley. Dr. Crane holds also that entire consecration belongs to all our justified life; it is the "normal" state of the true Christian. Yet, as he admits that there is a great amount of justified life below this "normal" state, it comes to about the same thing. Wesley's "entire sanctification," Dr. Carter's "entire consecration," Dr. Crane's "normal" Christian state, and Boardman's "higher life," amount, in our view, to about the same doctrine in different phrase.

Dr. Carter discusses in a full chapter the salvability of the merely justified man. To what he says we suggest the following thoughts: 1. The sins of the justified are held by God to be the offenses of a child, not the hostilities of an enemy. They grieve the Holy Spirit, but induce him not yet to depart. The man's spiritual life is feeble, but not extinct. Hence, if he do die, he enters the future world in a *forgiven* state, yet, perhaps, but "scarcely saved." 2. His soul is henceforth, at death, exempt from the sinward tendencies of the body. 3. It emerges into Paradise, a holy atmosphere beyond the sphere of temptation, in presence and society of Christ and all the holy. 4. It is filled to its capacity, greater or less, with the blessed Spirit. Its perfect holiness, in its measure, is thence secure.

Sermons and Songs of the Christian Life. By EDMUND H. SEARS. 12mo., pp. 334. Boston: Noyes, Holmes, & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen, & Haffelfinger. 1875.

The Preface tells us that "the discourses comprised in this volume have been selected with special reference to those days observed by the Christian Church in commemoration of the fundamental facts of the Gospel history, and to the Christian life and experience." There are nineteen of the Sermons, and twenty-three of the Songs; the themes being Calvary, the Resurrection of Christ, the Judgment, Heavenly Treasures, etc. There are thought and beauty in the Sermons, and true poetry in the Songs; the whole being the work of a scholar and a thinker. The author is a Unitarian, and now and then alludes to "orthodoxy" as if it were something to which he makes no claim, and yet, in discussing the

most vital subjects, he often pitches his tent so near the orthodox lines that we wonder why he does not enter them. We think that in his peculiar methods of stating Scripture doctrine, instead of sharpening the gospel tools, he dulls them; still, we admire the grace and skill with which he wields them into the shape which he prefers, and we feel no inclination to "forbid him because he followeth not us."

Sports that Kill. By T. DE WITT TALMAGE. Phonographically Reported and Revised. 12mo., pp. 241. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

This beautiful little volume contains eleven Discourses. Six on the Theater, two on Intemperance, and one each on Corrupting Literature, the Extravagance of Modern Society, and Licentiousness. And they are all faithful Sermons, not one hair's breadth in advance of what the Word of God teaches and the true interests of men demand. The saddest feature of what is called civilized society is that so many people want to live by ruining the rest. This is emphatically true of our great cities. We are glad that Mr. Talmage is sounding these warnings, and we would rejoice to know that every pulpit in the land is speaking out as plainly and strongly. This book is a good one, always clear, pungent, and eloquent in style, full of impressive incidents, uncompromising on all moral questions, a model of a kind of preaching of which the community need much, and get, we fear, too little. It is the work of one in whom we recognize a faithful minister of Christ, thoroughly in earnest, and "afraid of nothing but sin."

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Great Ice Age and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man. By JAMES GEIKIE, of H. M. Geological Survey of Scotland. 12mo., pp. 545. 1875.

For a considerable period of time geologists were sorely puzzled with the phenomena of *drift*, covering a large share of our Northern Hemisphere. This *drift* consisted of sand, clay, bowlders, and confused *débris*, all bearing the appearance of having been washed, or some way *driven*, from the arctic regions southward. A vague theory was for a while extant that this *drift* was the product of a stupendous wave from the Northern seas; but it was impossible to account for the production of such a wave, and quite as impossible to make the wave account for all the phenomena. Especially difficult was it to attribute to water certain "striæ," or horizontal streaks and scratches, etched in the rocks, so universally prevailing as to

require a uniform and widely extended cause. It was the genius of Agassiz, who learned in his native Switzerland the chirography of the glaciers, which taught the scientific world that all these phenomena were the result of ice, and opened the way to the knowledge of the existence of a great ice period in the distant past over our hemisphere. Time was when an arctic winter for, perhaps, centuries, capped our hemisphere with ice. New and momentous questions then arose as to the cause, nature, and date of this Ice Period; and to the solution of this question Mr. Geike's present work is devoted. Geologists have heretofore been jealous of looking beyond Geology for this solution. The favorite theory has been that the phenomena were the results of terrene upheavals. All these notions Mr. Geike discards, and looks to Astronomy for the true solution. Aided by a paper published not long since by Mr. Croll, he professes to trace the true history of the "Glacier Period," deducing its phenomena from what we may analyze as three causes: The Ellipticity of the Earth's Orbit, The Precession of the Equinoxes, and The Reversal of Mitigating Atmospheric and Ocean Currents. These we may roughly sketch as follows:—

1. *The Ellipticity of the Earth's Orbit.*—The earth revolves around the sun annually, not in a circle, but in an ellipse, bringing the sun, not in the center of the orbit, but in the focus. But in great periods of time, of different lengths, the ellipse is pulled, by the attraction of the heavenly bodies, so as gradually to elongate to a great eccentricity or distance from the sun, and then as gradually returns toward a circular figure, but never to perfect circularity. At the present time we are proceeding toward circularity, and in about 24,000 years will reach the nearest proximity to a circle, then the elongation will recommence and continue again until the farthest ellipticity is reached. These revolutions from greatest circularity to greatest ellipticity, and return, are of variable lengths in time. We are now about ninety millions of miles from the sun; but at greatest ellipticity our earth will revolve to more than eight million miles greater distance, with an increased severity of cold.

2. *The Precession of the Equinoxes.*—Twice a year, at the equinoxes, our day and night are of equal length. Our vernal equinox, the proper inauguration of the spring and summer season of the year, takes place on the twentieth of March. But in truth this equinox is every successive year taking place more than twenty minutes earlier, carrying our summer backward. In time this

little "precession" of some twenty minutes will roll our summer back through February and January, and so onward, "swinging around the circle," until, *first*, our present summer months will be our then winter months; and, *second*, in the completion of the revolution our seasons will have returned to their present position. This revolution of 21,000 years in which our seasons will revolve round to their present position is called "the great Platonic year." During the first half of this great year, embracing 10,500 years, our hemisphere is in its summer; during the next half our brethren of the southern half will take their turn. We shall be losers by the exchange. The second half will have a winter longer by about thirty-six days than the first, and, consequently, become proportionately severe.

If now the winter period of the Platonic year should for our northern hemisphere coincide with a period of greater ellipticity, there would be a double condition of severity of cold. Our range will be then eight millions of miles farther from the sun, our winter thirty-six days longer. Both conditions would sink our average temperature below the freezing point.

3. *The Reversal of Mitigating Atmospheric and Ocean Currents.*—The Gulf stream, which, now flowing northwardly, so warms and tempers our northern regions, Mr. Geike believes to be the effect of the winds rushing northward from the equator, and these winds are responded to by polar winds rushing south to restore the equilibrium. But the intense chill produced by the maximum distance of earth from sun, coinciding with the hemispheric elongation of winter, would not only conquer the breezes from the equator to our pole, but would drive the warm ocean currents to the south, and give our extremely southern brethren at the antarctic a tropical climate. But what one of these two hemispheres loses the other gains. It is "ride and tie." Each enjoys the summer of one half the great year, and then shivers through winter.

And now the question arises, Do we know of any period in which the maximum ellipticity coincided with our northern hemispheric winter? Mr. Geike, following Croll, after very elaborate calculation concludes that in the last three millions of years there have been three periods of such extreme ellipticity "as to produce extreme conditions at the poles." These were periods, respectively, of 170,000, 260,000, and 160,000 years in length.

"So that even in the shortest of these periods there would be time for the precession of the equinoxes to complete several revolutions. That is to say, that our hemisphere, during this long cycle of great eccentricity, might experience several glacial periods, and

several periods of such genial climates as we have referred to above, and each of these periods would last for thousands of years. For, as we have seen, the equinoxial point takes something like 21,000 years to effect a complete revolution upon the ecliptic, in half of which time the seasons in the two hemispheres would, of course, be reversed—and the pole which had enjoyed continuous summer would then be doomed to undergo perpetual winter. . . . We are at present concerned only with those excessive glacial conditions that were the result, as we have reason to believe, of the last great increase in the ellipticity of our earth's orbit, which began some 240,000 years ago and terminated about 80,000 years ago—embracing a period of 160,000 years. The cold was most intense about 200,000 or 210,000 years ago, that is, about 30,000 or 40,000 years after the glacial period had commenced. Now, during the continuation of this vast age of high eccentricity, our hemisphere must have experienced several great vicissitudes of climate. Glacial periods, lasting for thousands of years, must have alternated with equally prolonged periods of genial conditions; for the latter, no less than the former, are a necessary consequence of extreme ellipticity, combined with the precession of the equinoxes."—P. 134.

In accordance with these astronomical conditions, Mr. Geike finds the geological strata affording proofs of alternate cold and warm climates. He believes that the volume of the earth's great book consists of alternate pages of white summer and black winter. He maintains that this alternation exists from the earliest geologic ages. The great winters, of course, could leave fewer fossil monuments than the correspondent summers. The glacial *till*, or rude amalgam of ground bowlders and clay, produced by the grinding friction of the rolling ice masses, are a sure but a comparatively slight monument. The streaks and scratches cut in the rocks of the moving glacier may be erased by ages of change. Still Mr. Geike claims that traces of the successive ice-periods are to be found through the Mesozoic, and even down to the Silurian. Although he holds that the earth has been losing cosmical heat, he discards the idea that any climatal results can be attributed to that cause. He fully negatives the idea that the earlier geologic ages were ages of uniformly warm or equalized temperature.

All this accounts, and is, he thinks, necessary in order to account, for the fact that tropical animals have left their bones to fossilize in northern regions, and arctic animals in southern.

Buckland found huge piles of hyena bones in an English cavern. The reindeer once lived in the south of France. The flint implements and other mementos show that the human race was witness of these changes. And one precious human "fibula" has actually been found (as Mr. Geike seems to have stopped his press to annotate) stuck in "glacial clay!" Man is clearly "glacial," probably "inter-glacial," possible "pre-glacial." He is at least 80,000 years old; perhaps 200,000. We have only space to let Mr. Geike speak for himself, without controverting his positions.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Revised Compendium of Methodism. Embracing the History and Present Condition of its Various Branches in all Countries; with a Defense of its Doctrinal, Governmental, and Prudential Peculiarities. By Rev. JAMES PORTER, D. D. 12mo., pp. 506. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Four years ago we took occasion to say that lay representation having been adopted we have the best system of Church government in the world; and, no great question now disturbing the Church, we have nothing now to do but to run the system to its highest power, and fight sin and the devil. But, as if there was not enough of this last business to do, we seem, quite a number of us, to feel an "aching void" gnawing our "inwardness." For want of other excitement, a number of us appear to be proposing a general taking down of our Church timbers, a self-disintegration; or, if no *one* of us proposes that entire process, there is a sum total of propositions from individual geniuses sufficient to amount to a very handsome *hari-kari*. From high quarters it has, for some time, been proposed to quadrennialize our Episcopacy; and sometimes, from the ciphering of the cost of a bishop, we imagine that the underlying meaning of *quadrennialize* is *abolish*. Next, our presiding elders are to be made elective. Next, our weekly periodicals are all to be taken down save one or two. Next, our itinerancy is to undergo "disintegration" by unlimited time of appointment. Finally, it was a while since hinted that our notions of the value of ordination render it a "fetich," and it is now suggested that a man before ordination is as much a minister as after ordination. So that the sum of the whole seems to be, that as soon as the next General Conference organizes, the shortest and cheapest way will be for the most *sapient* member of the body to rise and move that "we go into general liquidation." Dr. M'Clintock once wisely said, that it would be to our disgrace in

history if, our simple-hearted fathers having left us one of the most wonderful religious systems that ever appeared, and we, their enlightened sons, have not the sense to preserve it in successful existence.

We are obliged to decline the Quaker doctrine, that a man "called to preach" is as much a minister without ordination as with. He may be a "preacher," but he is not yet a *minister* until recognized by the Church; and the New Testament form of that recognition is *ordination*. Ordinarily the unordained man should not preach. Still less should he administer the sacraments. This is the hitherto uncontradicted doctrine handed down to us from our Methodist fathers. For years our "societies" in America refused to be *Churches*, and our "preachers" refused to be *ministers*, because they were not *ordained*. Our first conferences passed rigid enactments forbidding any "preacher" from administering the ordinances until a *Church*, with an ordained *ministry*, was organized. When a few excellent preachers in Virginia took it upon themselves to commence mutual ordination in order to the sacraments, the entire body of "preachers" and "societies" (not *ministers* and *Churches*) united in repressing the movement. For four years they waited before Mr. Wesley would yield to their earnest and united request to furnish them with *an ordained ministry* competent for sacraments and Churchdom. He did *ordain* two elders and a bishop. He did this upon the fundamental assumption that a man called of God to preach is not as much a minister before ordination as after. Our Conference received Mr. Wesley's missive as being truly LETTERS OF EPISCOPAL ORDERS. They received Coke and the elders expressly because they "were satisfied of the validity of their ordination." *Ordination, therefore, historically lies at the basis of our Church.* Even though it be at the expense of being held as making a "fetich" of ordination, we believe that our entire Church, ministry and people, now as ever, are ready to trample upon the enthusiastic Quaker doctrine that a man may as truly be a minister without ordination as with, as being fundamentally unmethodistical and untrue.

There seems to be a few of our ministry, otherwise good and true men, ready to imbibe this final radicalism. Their assumptions would carry them the full length of Church voluntaryism, so energetically stated by Henry Ward Beecher. As ordination is a mere manipulation, so a Church is, in the extreme opinion, merely a spontaneous human organization, formed to build and run a meeting-house; just as a joint-stock association may form and run a cotton-

mill. They own the concern, and the preacher is their hired man. If a man of ability, he is well paid and well used; provided always the principal capitalists in the business do not fancy some other man better. That minister, as a minister, has no special sacredness of character. His ordination is no "fetich," making him any specialty over any other sort of *employé*. He has no efficient ecclesiastical organization back of him, to protect him from the caprices of the employing power. And often where an organization, as a "Presbytery" or "Association," exists, it lacks that impressiveness that commands the lay respect, and that energetic reach that can rescue the object of official rough-handling, which are so well secured by our episcopacy.

That we do not here speak with unwarrantable disrespect of lay caprice in our non-episcopal sister Churches there is ample proof. While arranging these thoughts we encountered the following paragraph, headed "Plain Talk," in that spirited hebdomadal, "The Baptist Weekly:"

"The Niagara Presbytery lately indulged in some plain talk concerning ministers and congregations. In other denominations some very similar unpalatable truths might be spoken. We quote: 'We have a surplus of ministers in the Presbyterian Church. We mean, we have more well-qualified ministers than we can employ efficiently and support comfortably. Probably we have about five hundred men of fair qualifications who are unemployed in the ministry, because they cannot find living fields, and our Home Mission Board cannot sustain them. We see no hope of better things until our ecclesiastical bodies are willing to look this important fact squarely in the face. It is manifest that many and grave evils flow from this condition of things. Our Churches become fastidious, conceited, and proud, like a rich dowager with a hundred suitors at her feet. They become restless, fond of changes, novices, and novelties. Settlements become a misnomer, and installations little better than a solemn farce. No salutary fear of losing a pastor prevents ill-usage. They well know that however ill they treat a pastor, it is very easy to obtain another only too eager to obtain the vacated place, even though he may expect similar treatment after a little time. Churches understand that the ministerial market is overstocked. No wonder that the sacred calling is less reverenced than formerly. The precious sons of Zion—comparable to fine gold—how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter! The average term of pastorates and stated supplies is less than three years. In the event of these frequent changes, the weaker Churches

often suspend their services for a season with discouragement and loss. The stronger are famished and distracted by listening to candidates. It would be better to change periodically by rule, than thus at hap-hazard by revolution. We believe that changes are more frequent and vacancies more protracted than they would be, if Churches were as much obliged to seek ministers as ministers Churches.' "

Look upon that picture, and then upon this:—

"Bishop Janes, in his address made a few days ago at the Annual Conference at Princeton, Ill., stated that out of about ten thousand preachers stationed during the past year by the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *only three declined to accept their appointments, and not a single Church rejected its preacher.* This is a remarkable record, furnishing conclusive evidence of the loyalty of preachers and people to our general system of pastoral appointments."—*Christian Advocate.*

Such testimonies, spontaneous and contemporaneous, may tell our young ministry that after all there is some Church tyranny worse than an itinerancy, and reveal to them that there may be far more protection than oppression in our Methodist Episcopacy. Even for our Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian brethren, there is, as they are beginning to acknowledge, food for quiet meditation. After all the boasts of the superior freedom of Congregationalism, its own pencil paints it as a remarkable blend of anarchy and tyranny. "My lords brethren are harder than my lords bishops." While with our non-episcopal denominations there are discords, despotisms, Churches without ministers, and ministers without Churches, with us all is harmony, energy; every Church with its minister and every minister with his Church. "Three years" is with them more than an average limit of pastorate. The changes of pastorate begun by faction, continued amid strife and lacerated feelings, end in the maimed reputation of the unhappy pastor. Forlorn and penniless, he must undergo the degradation of "candidating;" a process which, under form of preaching an authoritative gospel to dying men, is truly a dramatic performance, in which the clerical *solitaire* is rendered a show in market. Well may our ministry say, if there must be a triennial change, let it be by a healthful organic process in which all are united and cheery. With us it is a harmonious process, largely because it is performed by an authority endowed with a veneration and prestige commanding the hearty and loyal respect of all parties. Bishop Hedding once piquantly and truly said at the closing session of a certain Conference: "Do

not feel bad at being moved, brethren; if we did not move you the people would."

Whether our Episcopacy is worth preserving is a legitimate question, at the proper time. To calculate its cost in dollars and cents, and so to estimate whether it costs more than it comes to, is a proper process. Our Episcopacy is a voluntary institution, removable by a constitutional method. And so its abolition is, at the proper time, an open question. Yet the query remains, When is an editor justified in starting and pressing through months and years the question of a change so fundamental? It strikes us as clear that when there is no spontaneous demand in the mind of the Church, when there is little or no independent spontaneous response to the proposition, when the proposition is simply the persistent individualism of an editor or two, the results are evil and only evil. It creates discontent and dissatisfaction; it unnerves the power of our institutions; it turns our attention from destroying sin to destroying ourselves. We think that no demand of the Church has ever required the opening of this question.

In calculating the pecuniary cost of our Episcopacy, it were well if it could, *per contra*, be ciphered how much our Episcopacy in its past entire history, and in its future possible history, has and may contribute to the making the payment of that cost possible, easy, and desirable. From the time that our founder, Bishop Asbury, "the man on horseback," overrun the United States in his own person and his itinerants, to the time when Kingsley laid himself to repose in Syria, what has our Episcopacy been worth to us? If it has not clearly "come to" a great deal more than it cost, and whenever it ceases to pay a good balance, then wipe it out. It was certainly the original spring of our movement. Through our whole career it has inaugurated, energized, unified, centralized, and guided us. Its founding and continuance are a creation of positive power to the Church. Taking a select corps of our best, deliberately chosen representative men, and presenting them before the world, doubles the moral power and prestige of each one of them, and doubles the structural impressiveness and moral power of the entire Church. We say it creates in the Church a new sum total of moral and religious power. It makes, in the first place, the Church itself a greater power in its balance and battle with the secular world; in commanding the respect and attention of the age, enabling us to push our peculiar institutions and methods persistently before the world, and so opening a successful way to our great mission of "spreading scriptural holi-

ness throughout the land." There is not a Church, nor a minister, nor a loyal member, that does not experience, however little realized, the prestige of belonging to the Methodist *Episcopal* Church. It makes, secondly, the Church a greater power in its balance with sister denominations. And, finally, it is a complete make-weight in restoring the lost balance between ministry and laity; enabling the former to maintain its proper standing in equipoise with the overwhelming power of the former. With the laity, in the total, are the numbers, the wealth, and all the substantial power. With the lay officiary in a given Church are permanent position, permanent and regular organization, home possession, and money power, in balance with the itinerant minister, who is transient, alone, and penniless. But against this fearful over-balance our structural Church polity, crowned, confirmed, and weighted with the Episcopacy, has a powerful, yet impartial, protectorate, not only in its efficiency to right the individual wrong, but in the fact that the venerability of that power inures in so large a degree to the dignity and weight of the ministry. The highest executive department of the Church is, as it should be, not lay, but ministerial. And our reflective laity themselves feel a higher and nobler self-respect in dealing with a body of ministry whom they respect. Since the happy adoption of lay representation the laity have a co-ordinate authority with the ministry over the bishops. The laity have their co-ordinate share in electing the bishops; and the Episcopate itself cannot stand long after the laity has made up its mind that it does not morally and pecuniarily balance cost. But while it stands it is a memento that our Church's highest executive is, as it should be, ministerial and not lay. We suggest, then, especially to our younger ministry, the query how wise it may be to indulge largely in that fine democratic eloquence about "the priesthood of the people," the fetichism of ordination, and the oppressiveness of Episcopacy. For our own part, we repeat, with double emphasis, what we said four years ago. We are not Presbyterian nor Congregationalist, any more than we are Calvinist. And ours is not, and we trust never will be, a Methodist Presbyterian Church, nor a Methodist Congregationalist Church, nor a Methodist Quaker Church. It is just what Wesley and the fathers meant it should be, THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Dr. Porter's volume, which stands rubric for our expatiations thus far, has long been an accepted and valuable "Manual" for all, inside and outside our Church, who desire to understand

Methodism. It deals, not with our theology alone, but with every phase of our system—our history, both English and American, our doctrines, our usages, our officiary, and the various sects and sections that wear the "Methodist" name. The mind of one who thoroughly understands and gratefully loves the Church he has so many years served pervades all parts of the work. His reasons in behalf of the various peculiarities are given with candor and force. The work is written, not with a high literary finish, but in a clear, idiomatic style, addressed to the popular common sense. The revision brings it down to the latest period. It is a "Manual" for every intelligent Methodist.

Gems of India; or, Sketches of Distinguished Hindoo and Mahomedan Women. By MRS. E. J. HUMPHREY. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 206. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The sin charged upon some missionaries of coloring heathendom over darkly in order to magnify their own office, can hardly be imputed to Mrs. Humphrey. The magnificent mausoleum built by Shah Jehan to the memory of his queen, awakened in her mind the recognition of the fact that flowers may bloom in the desert. The blessed Spirit broods over every land, and every soul for which Christ died. None the less will the Christian heart yearn to bear even to such a soul the glad tidings that the Redeemer did so die, and yet still lives. We sympathize in the love which Mrs. Humphrey has for her Moslem and Pagan sisters. Her narratives are full of oriental life. We were especially pleased to complete our knowledge of the lady Noor Mahal, with whom, long since, in our teens, indeed, we contracted a slight acquaintance in the pages of Moore's "Lalla Rookh." This casket, rich with the gems of India, should find favor in the eyes of the women of America.

Memorial of Jesse Lee and the Old Elm. Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Jesse Lee's Sermon under the Old Elm, Boston Common; held Sunday evening July 11, 1875. With an Historical Sketch of the Great Tree. 12mo., paper cover, pp. 55. Boston: J. P. Magee. 1875.

The glory of Boston is her "Common," the glory of her "Common" is its Old Elm, and the glory of the Old Elm herein is Jesse Lee. This last glory is set forth in the present memorial, detailing the performances of the eighty-fifth anniversary of Lee's salutatory sermon. This memorial contains Memorial Address by Hamilton, Address by Kendig, Address by Bates, and Prayer and Benediction by Dr. Warren. We remember that at the General Conference of 1852, in Boston, Dr. Bangs ventured to propose that the Conference hold a memorial service at the Elm, but was promptly

negatived by leading Boston Methodism, on the ground that
ton would hardly brook such a display. Whether Boston M
odism has grown more audacious, or Boston more complais
we are unable to say; but Dr. Bangs's proposal has been, so
years after date, accepted and verified.

Southrondom has seldom made a more beneficent present to th
Northerners than when, in the person of Lee, she gave Methodism
to the illustrious capital of New England. When the centennial
of that sermon arrives we hope that many a Southern and North-
ern Methodist will sit under their Elm, none molesting or making
them afraid. And we imagine that even now every Southern
Methodist would join in saying:—

Woodman, spare that tree!
Touch not a single bough!
It once protected LEE,
And I'll protect it now.

Literature and Fiction.

The Lesser Hymnal. A Collection of Hymns, selected chiefly from the Standard Hymn-Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

This little book is published by our Agents in compliance with a recommendation of the Book Committee. The compilers are Henry W. Warren, Pastor of St. John's M. E. Church, Brooklyn, and brother of Dr. W. F. Warren, President of the Boston University, and the well-known Eben Tourjée, of Boston. Dr. Warren has selected the hymns, and Mr. Tourjée has edited the musical department. They inform us that "the object of this book is manifold: 1. To aid in giving unity to the Church social meeting and Sunday-school. 2. To put at the lowest possible price a large variety of sterling standard hymns, unaltered and unabridged. 3. To suggest a great variety of tunes, both old and new." At present there is little similarity between Church and prayer-meeting hymns and music, and the tendency is to destroy even the little similarity yet remaining; while Sunday-school music, as a class, is hardly worthy even of being described as it is by Bishop Janes, in an introductory note which he has furnished to the "Lesser Hymnal." Speaking of our Church hymns he says, "O, how different from those flippant, sentimental, semi-religious songs used in so many of c Sunday-schools!" That they are often flippant and sentimen

is too true; but we suggest that irreligious would frequently be nearer the truth than "semi-religious."

That such a work is needed we think all will concede, and a careful examination convinces us that the compilers have done their work in general very well. Many of our best hymns are here, and some of the best of those which have been more recently introduced. The musical department exhibits, as might have been expected, knowledge, taste, and discrimination. We are sorry, however, that so good a work should be marred by the admission of any doggerel or machine-made poetry, however little, and candor requires us to say that some of it has crept in, of which we mention, as a specimen, the chorus and part of the body of hymn 333. The first of the Temperance Hymns also will not bear inspection, and the other is an oration rather than a hymn, and is no more suitable to be sung by a congregation than Watts's

> "My thoughts on awful subjects roll,
> Damnation and the dead."

We should not have noticed these blemishes in an ordinary book, but this is so excellent that spots elsewhere invisible are quite conspicuous. Two remarks in the introduction strike us as peculiar. "If a hymn is a prayer, as hymn 335, the school may pray it with closed eyes and uplifted hands." We doubt the propriety of such advice, as tending to a kind of dramatic unreality in the worship of youth. Let children be taught in genuine prayer to close their eyes and reverently bow, and thus preserve the distinction between different exercises. If there should be a vein of praise in the formal prayer, none would suggest that the children should rise from their knees or in any way change their attitude on that account. Let us not systematically destroy simplicity. The other remark is headed: "Important. Sing familiar tunes for worship. Learn new pieces at praise meetings." Are we to understand that "praise meetings" are not "worship," and that the phrase is but another name for "singing school?" The propriety and good taste of connecting this "Church Hymnal" with the "Tribute of Praise," a previous work of Dr. Tourjée, may be seriously questioned. And many doubtless would have preferred new music from various sources rather than so much from one, however excellent. In concluding our notice of the "Lesser Hymnal," we express the hope that it will find access to many Churches and Sabbath schools, and that the efforts of the compilers will be rewarded by general approbation. We regard their

work as creditable to them, and our criticisms will fail of their purpose if they do not lead the readers of the Quarterly to a careful examination of the "Lesser Hymnal." B.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Humanität und Religion. (Culture and Religion.) Von JULIUS HARTMANN, Ph.D., Stadtpfarrer zu Widdern, Württemberg. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

This work obtained the prize offered by the "Society of Haag for the Defense of Christianity." It attempts to answer the questions: How can the condition of humanity be most successfully ameliorated? and, What is the share of Christianity in this work? In answering them, Dr. Hartmann passes rapidly over nearly all the subjects embraced in the wide fields of politics, ethics, and religion, and his judgments are mostly very liberal and very sound. How is the broadest, soundest, richest, most ideal culture of the race to be reached? Only by first getting at the true ideal of man, and then removing the hinderances and using the helps to its attainment. This can be effected only by observing the just middle between the reactionary and the revolutionist. To eliminate the evil and to call forth the good elements in the individual and in society, in the relations of the sexes, in the laws of inheritance, in the mutual relations of the classes of society, of capital and labor, of politics and ethics, of ethics and religion, of religion and education—such is the task of all who would successfully contribute to prepare humanity for its golden future. But what is the fundamental principle that is to give direction and unity to the many phases of this work? It is the ideal of humanity. First, ascertain what man is *for;* then you can see how to prepare him *for* it. But what is this ideal? It is that of a created, free personality *living truthfully*, that is, living in harmony with its Creator and with its fellows in so far as normal. And this method applies not merely in general, but also in details. First, get the true idea of wedlock, and then all questions as to rights of husbands and wives are as simple as a problem in addition or subtraction. The husband's, the wife's, the child's, the ruler's, the subject's, the soldier's, everybody's right, is limited by the very idea of his quality or relations.

Some of Dr. Hartmann's ideas are pointedly put: What is the best government? That in which the virtue of the whole is used for the members, and the virtue of the members for the whole. What is the wisest treatment of the "social evil?" Not "regula-

tion," but reformation: make the race better and it will cease. How cure intemperance? Destroy its cause; ennoble the masses. What is the only remedy for war? To inspire nations with a national conscience. What is the glaring stain upon American society? The frequency of criminally childless marriages. What is the relation of morality to religion? Religion is the roots and soil; morality is the flowers and fruit. Why is so much humanitarian effort fruitless and vain? Because it seeks fruit on branches without roots; because it pursues a special good in an isolated manner. Isolated effort is *always* barren. Anchor your work in God, or it will fail to stand.

The verdict of Dr. Hartmann, then, is: True culture *is* religion; healthy religion *must* be culture. A pretended culture without religion is a hollow sham. Plant humanity in true religion, that is, in God, and its ailments will fall off, and its beauty and strength come forth.

Miscellaneous.

The Old Paths. By Rev. JESSE S. GILBERT, A M. With a Preface by Rev. J. T. CRANE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 158. Newark, N. J.: Ward & Tichenor. 1875.

Uncrowned Kings; or, Sketches of some Men of Mark who Rose from Obscurity to Renown, especially illustrative of the Means by which they Achieved Success. For Young People. By Rev. DANIEL WISE, D.D. 12mo., pp. 301. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

My Uncle Toby: His Table-Talks and Reflections. By an Attorney-at-Law. 12mo., pp. 328. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

A Humble Overture for Methodist Unification in the Dominion of Canada. By JOHN CARROLL. Pamphlet. Toronto.

Ayesha: A Tale of the Times of Mohammed. By EMMA LESLIE. Four Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 308. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1875.

The Abbé Tigrane. Candidate for the Papal Chair. By FERDINAND FABRE. Translated by the Rev. LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12mo., pp. 272. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1875.

Amy's Temptation; or, One Year with the Leonard Family. By Mrs. S. E. SELLS. 24mo., pp. 300. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1875.

St. Simon's Niece. A Novel. By FRANK LEE BENEDICT, Author of "Miss Van Kortland." 12mo., pp. 189, paper cover. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Jean. A Novel. By Mrs. NEWMAN, Author of "Too Late." 12mo., pp. 142, paper cover. Price, 50 cents. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

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Atwater on Hebrew Tabernacle. Dodd & Mead.
Cocker on Theism. Nelson & Phillips.
Waring on Mosaic Cosmogony. Schermerhorn & Co.
Lost Forever. By L. T. TOWNSEND, D.D. Lee & Shepard.
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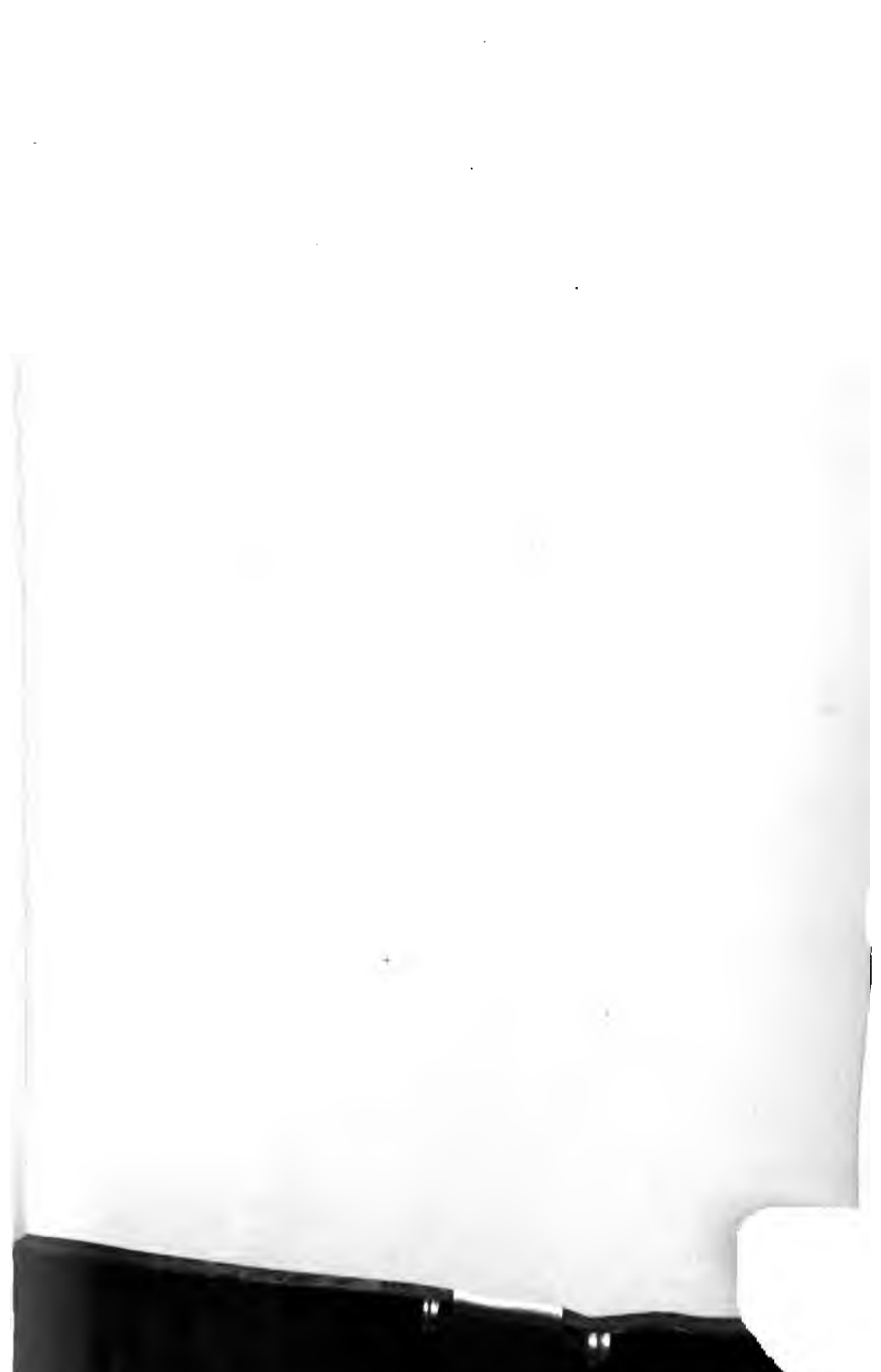
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